

# Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies

Ruth Macrides, J.A. Munitiz and Dimitër Angelov



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The work known as Pseudo-Kodinos, the fourteenth-century text which is one of two surviving ceremonial books from the Byzantine empire, is presented here for the first time in English translation. With a facing page Greek text and the first in-depth analysis in the form of commentary and individual studies on the hierarchy, the ceremonies, court attire, the Blachernai palace, lighting, music, gestures and postures, this volume makes an important new contribution to the study of the Byzantine court, and to the history and culture of Byzantium more broadly.

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PSEUDO-KODINOS AND  
THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN COURT:  
OFFICES AND CEREMONIES

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# Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies

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DIMITER ANGELOV

ASHGATE

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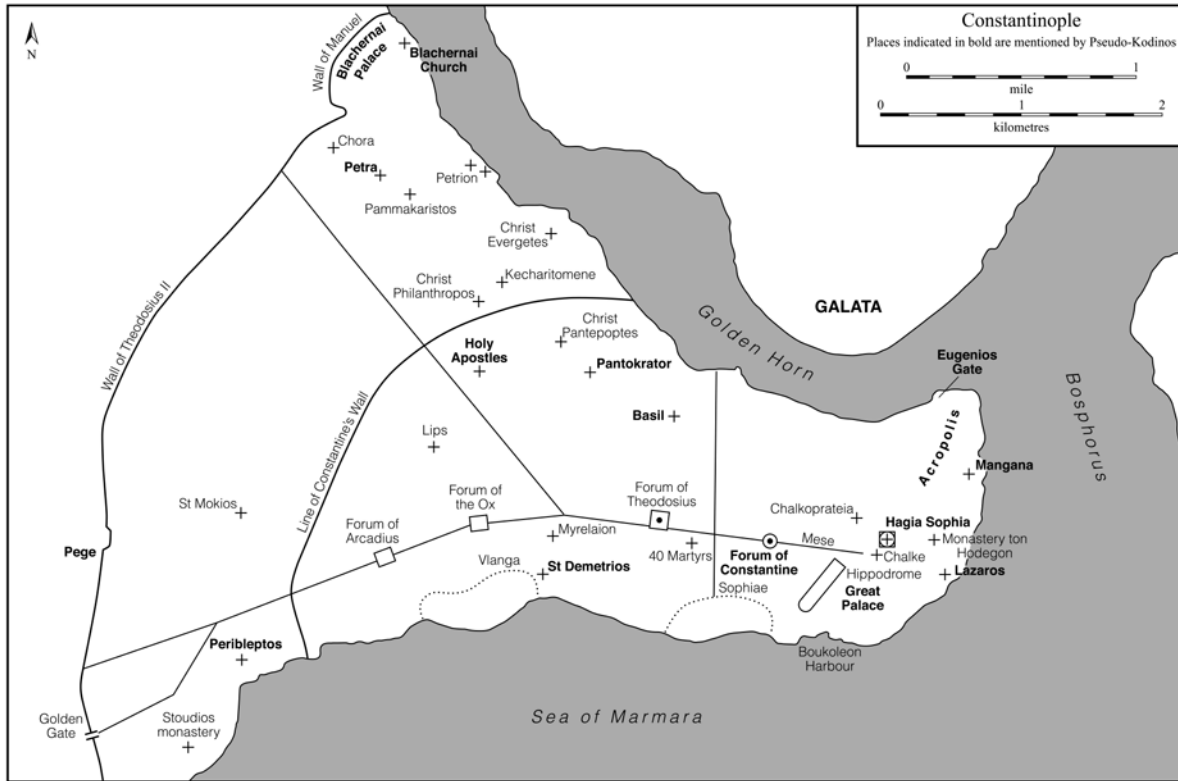
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*for*  
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Map of Constantinople (map by Henry Buglass; image source: R. Macrides, 'The citadel of Byzantine Constantinople')

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# List of Abbreviations

Akrop.	George Akropolites
<i>B</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>ByzForsch</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BSI</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
Chon.	Niketas Choniates
<i>DAI</i>	<i>De Administrando Imperio</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EEBS</i>	<i>Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
<i>EI</i>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i>
<i>EO</i>	<i>Échos d'Orient</i>
Greg.	Nikephoros Gregoras
<i>JÖB</i>	( <i>JÖBG</i> = vols. 1-17) <i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
Kant.	John Kantakouzenos
MB	<i>Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη</i>
MM	<i>Miklosich-Müller</i>
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
Pach.	George Pachymeres
<i>PBW</i>	<i>The Prosopography of the Byzantine World</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PLP	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i>
Ps.-Kod.	Pseudo-Kodinos
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
<i>RESEE</i>	<i>Revue des études sud-est européennes</i>
Rh-P	Rhalles-Potles, <i>Σύνταγμα</i>
Skyl.	John Skylitzes

Theoph.	Theophanes
Theoph. Cont.	Theophanes Continuatus
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
Zon.	John Zonaras
<i>ZRVI</i>	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

# A Note on Transliteration and Citation

Greek names and terms have been transliterated as closely as possible. Common Christian names and well-known place-names are given in the form most familiar to English readers. Greek  $\eta$  is rendered as ‘e’ and  $\beta$  as ‘b’ for Byzantine names, except where the Latin origin of the name makes ‘v’ more appropriate.

All works cited are given in an abbreviated form by author and short title and listed in full in the bibliography.

All references to the text of Pseudo-Kodinos are to the edition and translation published here. The page numbers of Verpeaux’s edition are given in brackets in the Greek text and in the translation. References to chapters (ch.) I-XII are to the sections of the text.

Although every effort has been made to create a correspondence between the Greek text and the English translation, for formatting reasons it has not always been possible to match them exactly.

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# Preface and Acknowledgements

The text presented here, known until now as the *Treatise on Offices* in the edition by Jean Verpeaux (1966), first attracted my attention by its extensive description of the procedure for the emperor's riding out in Constantinople to receive petitions from his subjects. The anonymous author gives an account not only of the number of the accompanying horses and types of musical instruments, but also the reasons for both. His explanations draw on a well-documented incident from the reign of the emperor Theophilos and the author's own conjecture. Until now, however, the anonymous author's work has been known and most cited for its hierarchical list of offices and the functions attached to them. Verpeaux's excellent edition, precise and concise commentary, and discussion of authorship and context of the text's creation have served the scholarly community well. Since its publication, and especially in the last two decades, studies have appeared on almost every aspect of court life referred to by the text: silk textiles and clothing, insignia, colour, music, ceremonial. This book has been written in an effort to review developments in these areas and others. The English translation of the *Book of Ceremonies* (2012) and the forthcoming new edition of that text, with French translation and commentary, make the re-examination of the fourteenth century text timely. These texts can now be studied together and not in isolation from each other, as has been the case.

The study of ceremonial is central to the study of Byzantium. The three centuries in which surviving ceremonial protocols were collected, the sixth, the tenth and the fourteenth, are also the three centuries from which legal compilations have survived, the Justinianic corpus, the *Basilika* and the *Hexabiblos*. This coincidence of ceremonial collection and legal compilation is by no means fortuitous. Ceremonial, like law, was concerned with the establishment of order, *taxis*, *eutaxia*, as the prefaces to the *Eisagoge*, the Book of the Eparch, the *Taktika* of Leo VI and the *Book of Ceremonies* by Constantine VII state. That ceremonial texts were regarded as imperial ordinances is made explicit in the preface to the ceremony book of Philotheos (899).<sup>1</sup>

The book began as a weekly text seminar of the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek, University of Birmingham, in 2003. Anthony Bryer, Joseph Munitiz, Dimiter Angelov, Mary Cunningham and Kayoko Tabata contributed, as did the graduate students of the Centre, among whom Savvas Kyriakidis and Polyvios Konis were the most active. The work of the seminar culminated in May 2005 in a two-day international workshop, generously funded by the British

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<sup>1</sup> Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, ed. Oikonomides, 83.33–85.2. For the legal compilations of the Macedonian period, see P. Magdalino, 'Orthodoxy and history in tenth-century Byzantine "Encyclopedism"', 143–159, here at 149–153.

Academy. Contributors were Anthony Bryer, Niels Gaul, Dimitris Kyritses, Paul Magdalino, Arietta Papaconstantinou, Maria Parani, Warren Woodfin. Niels Gaul subsequently published his paper, 'The partridge's purple stockings', as did Paul Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople'. Their contributions have been formative for this book, as has the unpublished paper by Warren Woodfin, 'The materials make the man'. Joseph Munitiz, Dimiter Angelov and I took the project on to publication. Joseph Munitiz prepared an edition based on that of Verpeaux with a simplified apparatus. Dimiter Angelov wrote the chapter on 'Hierarchy' and most of the commentary on that section, as well as Tables I, II, IV, V. Both read over the final draft and contributed many useful observations.

I would like to acknowledge the support of institutions and individuals. In 2005/06 the AHRC granted me funding under the extended leave scheme and in 2010 Dumbarton Oaks awarded me a fellowship. Paolo Odorico invited me to give a series of seminars on Pseudo-Kodinos at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, in May 2008. I tried my ideas out on audiences in Oxford, London, Istanbul, Cologne, Nicosia, Łódź, Belgrade and Drama. For all these opportunities and experiences I am grateful and also express my appreciation and thanks here to Debbie Brown and the library staff at Dumbarton Oaks and at St Andrews.

A number of individuals have shared their expertise, their photographs and articles on palaces, headgear, footwear, textiles, insignia, music and the church. I am indebted to Meg Alexiou, Nathanael Aschenbrenner, Julian Baker, Jonathan Bardill, Jane Bridgeman, Béatrice Caseau, Anna Christidou, John Cotsonis, John Coulston, Slobodan Ćurčić, Albert Failler, Jeffrey Featherstone, Sharon Gerstel, Cecily Hilsdale, Polina Ivanova, David Jacoby, Michael Jeffreys, Jean Johnstone, Savvas Kyriakidis, Alexander Lingas, Master Cobbler (St Andrews), Michael Michael, Ann Moffatt, Rhoads Murphey, Bob Ousterhout, Maria Parani, Amanda Phillips, Günter Prinzing, Father John Raffan, Roderich Reinsch, Alexander Riehle, Alex Rodriguez, Jonathan Shea, Frouke Schrijver, Vlada Stanković, Ida Toth, Carlo Virgilio. For proofreading the Greek text, we are grateful to Eirene Harvalia-Crook. Last but not least I would like to record my appreciation of, and delight with, my first year students for the exuberance they brought to their study of Constantinople in their first semester at university.

Ruth Macrides  
St Andrews and Birmingham  
December 2012

# Introduction

## The Emperor and the Ceremonial Book

The *Book of Ceremonies* dominates our thinking about ceremonial and ceremony books. To begin with, its two *prooimia*, written ostensibly by the emperor Constantine VII, give evidence that the emperor was behind the enterprise.<sup>1</sup> They make clear the central role of the emperor, if not in compiling the work, certainly in instigating its creation. The emperor puts emphasis on his own interest in the ‘undertaking’ and the vital connection between order in the palace and imperial glory and splendour.

Perhaps this undertaking seemed superfluous to others who do not have as great a concern for what is necessary, but it is particularly dear to us and highly desirable and more relevant than anything else because through praiseworthy ceremonial the imperial rule appears more beautiful and acquires more nobility and so is a cause of wonder to both foreigners and our own people.<sup>2</sup>

Given Constantine VII’s close connection with the *Book of Ceremonies* and the central significance in the governing of the empire that ceremonial had, it might seem evident that an emperor was responsible for the creation of Pseudo-Kodinos’ book also. However, Pseudo-Kodinos’ work has no preface or statement of purpose. No emperor is visible in the way that Constantine VII is. Yet, in less direct and more subtle ways, traces of an emperor are present in Pseudo-Kodinos: that is, John VI Kantakouzenos, the last emperor mentioned by name in the text.<sup>3</sup>

John VI is implicated in the book in a number of ways. First, like Constantine VII, he is an emperor interested in ceremonial. Not all emperors were. Some thought it a ‘bore’.<sup>4</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras reports Andronikos III’s unconcern for, and dislike of, ceremonial:

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<sup>1</sup> For the unpublished letter from the emperor Constantine VII in which he acknowledges his role in the writing of the *prooimia* but nothing more, see I. Ševčenko, ‘Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus’, 173, 182.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Reiske, 3–4; trans. Moffatt and Tall, 3–4.

<sup>3</sup> Ps.-Kod. 26.18–19.

<sup>4</sup> Bryer, Introduction to ‘The Ceremonies of Constantine’, film made by the University of Birmingham 1973.



He had no communion with others and hated to see a crowd of people around him, whence he could not bear to be involved in imperial concerns and business; not even on the great imperial feast days did he carry out the customs of the imperial office, I mean the spectacular and popular processions and the kindly and generous benefactions and distributions of money and titles ...<sup>5</sup>

He likewise had disregard for maintaining difference between him and his subjects. 'He had some idiosyncrasy of nature that he did not aspire at all to the magnitude of the imperial majesty. Often one could see him more humble than his subjects'.<sup>6</sup> Gregoras explains that Andronikos allowed his subjects, not just noble youths but also his servants, to mount the dais where his throne was positioned, a place reserved only for the imperial family, while he often descended to the floor of the reception hall.<sup>7</sup> Another way in which he showed neglect of customs was in headgear. Andronikos allowed all kinds of hats to be worn in the palace and by the young as well as the old.<sup>8</sup> Gregoras saw danger in Andronikos' lack of concern for the maintenance of palace customs:

The customs of imperial good order whose memory emperors handed down in succession to their descendants were in danger of sinking into the depths of oblivion; after the passing of time and passing of those who had knowledge it would be difficult for their successors to know the necessary things'.<sup>9</sup>

Gregoras claimed that 'people feared the end of the empire was drawing near'.<sup>10</sup>

Andronikos III's grandfather, Andronikos II, was another emperor who disliked or avoided some aspects of court ceremonial. George Pachymeres observed that he rejected luxury and comfort and thus did not dine at the imperial table where every day he could have honoured 'senators and the bravest'. He pursued his ascetic life of endurance even if it meant that 'he rendered ineffectual ancient imperial usage'.<sup>11</sup>

In the accounts of both Gregoras and Pachymeres the connection between ceremonial behaviour and regulation – indeed, the law – is evident; hence, the importance of ceremonial and the frequency with which departures from the regulations were commented upon by authors. If an emperor particularly enjoyed ceremonial, this too was worthy of comment. Theophanes Continuatus says of

<sup>5</sup> Greg. I, 565.18–24.

<sup>6</sup> Greg. I 566.19–22.

<sup>7</sup> Greg. I, 566.23–567.16.

<sup>8</sup> Greg. I, 567.16–568.5.

<sup>9</sup> Greg. I, 565.24–566.3.

<sup>10</sup> Greg. I, 568.6–8.

<sup>11</sup> Pach. III, 215.22–217.11, here at 217.8–11: εἰ καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἀθετεῖσθαι συνέβαινε νόμιμον.

Theophilos that he took such pleasure in proceedings at the Sigma that he did not arise, 'as laid down in books of rules (*taktika*) and imperial ceremonial, until he had enjoyed the spectacle of those dances and leaps performed by the citizens'.<sup>12</sup>

In contrast to Andronikos III, his close companion John Kantakouzenos did display a keen interest in ceremonial.<sup>13</sup> In his *History* written after his resignation from the imperial throne, he frequently points out that a certain action was 'an old custom' or was carried out 'according to the custom'. This is the case in his descriptions of coronations – his own, his wife's, their son's and their daughter Helen's – as well as his daughter Theodora's *prokypsis* in Selymbria at the time of her marriage to Orhan. In all of these cases Kantakouzenos indicates that everything was carried out as it should have been.<sup>14</sup> Such interest in the proper procedure can be expected of a man whose elevation to the throne was not without controversy.

Yet Kantakouzenos' interest in custom and tradition goes beyond his need to certify his legitimacy, and extends to ceremonial performances that do not involve him or members of his family. He refers to a range of customary practices. Thus, for example, he speaks of the custom of raising the imperial flag on the island of Chios and acclaiming the emperor every Saturday.<sup>15</sup> In giving an account of the taking of oaths upon the death of an emperor, Kantakouzenos reveals that:

A custom prevails among Romans when an emperor dies:  
all the administrators of the provinces are dismissed from their  
office. They come together and certify by oath their loyalty to  
the surviving emperor, whether there be one emperor or two....  
This was ordained also then by the emperor, after the death of  
his son the emperor Michael.<sup>16</sup>

He has a great deal to say about the performance of *proskynesis* on a number of occasions and in different circumstances. Describing a meeting in the palace of Andronikos II with his grandson Andronikos III he relates that:

A custom has prevailed among the emperors of the Romans  
whenever one of their blood relations or otherwise one of those  
in office performs *proskynesis*, he kisses the foot of the emperor and  
is kissed in turn on the face.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Theoph. Cont. 142.14–19; trans. Mango, *The art of the Byzantine empire*, 162.

<sup>13</sup> This aspect of the *History* was commented on by Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, I, 472.

<sup>14</sup> Kant. II, 165.23–166.6, III, 29.13–30.23 (John Kantakouzenos); III, 269.7–14 (Matthew); III, 30.19–23 (Helen); II, 587.16–588.16 (Theodora).

<sup>15</sup> Kant. III, 82.9–10.

<sup>16</sup> Kant. I, 16.8–14.

<sup>17</sup> Kant. I, 76.16–24.

Kantakouzenos also mentions the *proskynesis* of the Genoese and Venetians in Constantinople on Sundays.

A custom prevailed for a long time that, on this first day of the week, the Genoese and the Latins from Venice come to the palace for the sake of honour and admission of their subjection to the emperor of the Romans but nothing more; having rendered *proskynesis* only, they again go home.<sup>18</sup>

Kantakouzenos shows interest in the protocol to be followed in encounters with the emperor on horseback. The following passage lays out the correct procedure when two emperors meet.

An ancient custom has prevailed among the emperors of the Romans, when they are about to encounter each other [on horseback]. Those who are in the entourage of each dismount from their horses and follow on foot, while [as for] those who meet on horseback, the younger [of the two] bends and clasps the hand of the elder emperor, having first removed his hat (*pilos*) from his head; he then lifts his head and kisses the father on the face.<sup>19</sup>

In his statements acknowledging ‘custom’ (ἔθος), ‘the things sanctioned by established tradition’ (τὰ νενομισμένα), Kantakouzenos displays his knowledge of procedure, the customs and traditions of the imperial office, and a strong attachment to executing them to the letter. These qualities make him the sort of emperor who could have had an interest in seeing a ceremonial book assembled.

In favour of this view of Kantakouzenos as a latter-day Constantine VII are the overlaps or coincidences of his *History* with Pseudo-Kodinos. Like Pseudo-Kodinos, Kantakouzenos recounts the historical origins of practices. He traces the beginnings of the oath taken to all the emperors, not only to those who have been crowned, to the days of Michael VIII Palaiologos: ‘This custom began in the years of the first of the Palaiologoi, Michael. Before, it was not necessary to give oaths to the son of the emperor’.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, Kantakouzenos explains that he gave his eldest son Matthew no named dignity but honoured him ‘above the despot’ so that he came just after the emperor in the hierarchy. Kantakouzenos drew a connection with the first of the Palaiologoi, Michael who ‘innovated for his son the *porphyrogennetos* Constantine, so that he seemed to have something more than the dignity of despot’.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Kant. I, 61.7–12.

<sup>19</sup> Kant. I, 167.21–168.3. For other passages on *proskynesis*-horse etiquette, see II, 236.18–24; 261.13–262.13 (among the Serbs).

<sup>20</sup> Kant. I, 16.8–17.8. On this oath see 428 n. 205.

<sup>21</sup> Kant. III, 33.4–9.

He likewise gives a historical overview when discussing the measures taken by Andronikos III on behalf of the towns in northern Epiros in 1337. 'From the years of the emperor Manuel Komnenos until the second Andronikos of the Palaiologoi, no other emperor came to them or deemed them worthy of so much care'.<sup>22</sup> A similar interest in the origins of certain practices can be seen in Pseudo-Kodinos' work. In the latter also historical memory extends back beyond the founder of the dynasty, Michael VIII.<sup>23</sup>

Further overlap between the two authors is evident in the mention of a number of practices, the wearing of white as an imperial mourning custom, the presence of the icon of the Hodegetria in the palace, the *proskynesis* performed by the Genoese, the rules governing entry into the courtyard of the palace on horseback, the one-fifth division of booty granted to both the emperor and the *mezas domestikos*.<sup>24</sup> Both authors make use of the same coronation protocol, Kantakouzenos in his account of Andronikos III's coronation in 1325. The possibility of a direct connection between Kantakouzenos and Pseudo-Kodinos is further strengthened by this shared document.<sup>25</sup>

However, the strongest indication of Kantakouzenos' hand in the making of Pseudo-Kodinos' work is the prominence in the text of the *mezas domestikos*, the title Kantakouzenos held just before he became emperor. For, of all the court title holders in Pseudo-Kodinos' work, it is the *mezas domestikos* who stands out, both in terms of the number of references in the text to this official and the privileges accorded to him. A whole chapter is devoted to his service in the army, while references to his ceremonial role in the palace are many and scattered throughout the work. In addition, certain honours are mentioned in connection with this title holder alone.

In Pseudo-Kodinos the *mezas domestikos* has two key ceremonial roles: he holds the emperor's sword and he serves the emperor at table on Christmas day, Palm Sunday and Pentecost.<sup>26</sup> The *mezas domestikos* also serves the emperor at the banquet on the day of his coronation.<sup>27</sup> Several marks of honour are indicated by Pseudo-Kodinos as specific to the *mezas domestikos*. At the meal on Christmas day the title holders do not retire but remain in their positions 'in honour of the

<sup>22</sup> Kant. I, 498.22–24.

<sup>23</sup> See 12–13 for a fuller discussion of Pseudo-Kodinos' historical interests.

<sup>24</sup> Kant. II, 167.6–8 (white); III, 8.10–15 (Hodegetria), I, 61.7–12 (Genoese *proskynesis*), II, 78.20–22, 79.4–5 (courtyard), I, 498.8–12 (booty), I, 196.8–204.3 (coronation protocol); Ps.-Kod. 262.3–5 (white), 231.1–5 (Hodegetria), 236 (Genoese), 169.9–13 (courtyard), 251.7–13 (booty), 252–273 (coronation protocol).

<sup>25</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 31–35; below, 428.

<sup>26</sup> Ps.-Kod. 118.8–10, 120.3–4, 158.11–164.7, 172. 17–19, 190.1–4. Although Pseudo-Kodinos mentions only these three feast days explicitly as days when the *mezas domestikos* serves the emperor at table, it is likely that he also served on the other two feast days on which meals were held: Epiphany and Easter Sunday.

<sup>27</sup> Ps.-Kod. 238. 1–3.

*megas domestikos*'. The emperor gives the *megas domestikos* his plate with his own hand'; the latter is allowed to keep the gold or silver plate as a gift. The *megas domestikos* gives the emperor the *panagia* at the end of the meal. The emperor addresses the *megas domestikos* directly, wishing him 'many years' in a loud voice and everyone leaves with the *megas domestikos*.<sup>28</sup>

The attire of the *megas domestikos* distinguishes him from the other title holders at whose head he is in the hierarchy. In his attire he shares elements with the dignitaries, in particular, the despot's pearls and violet and white caftan with borders. His *skiadion* is also like that of the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar in that it has a brim and pendants. The *megas domestikos*' *skaranikon* is unlike anyone else's; the image engraved on the metal plaque shows the standing emperor, front and back, with angels on either side of him. The iconography is unique. No other title holder has the emperor with angels, while the standing emperor on front and back is also unique and shows this official's superior status to all other title holders.<sup>29</sup> The attire of the *megas domestikos* marks him out as a dignitary (*axiomatikos*).<sup>30</sup> Of all the title holders only the *megas domestikos* is allowed to wear the *lapatzas* with one sleeve hanging loose from the belt. It is a 'mark of honour' which relates him closely to the emperor who alone wears both sleeves loose.<sup>31</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos appears to highlight the prominence of the *megas domestikos* also when he makes references pointing forward to other passages in his text where this official will be discussed. In chapter IV, after describing the manner in which the *megas domestikos* wears the *lapatzas*, Pseudo-Kodinos announces, 'The service of the *megas domestikos* in the palace is as we described. His service outside the palace will also be spoken about shortly'.<sup>32</sup> At the end of chapter V where the feast days celebrated in churches and monasteries in the city are listed, Pseudo-Kodinos states: 'This is what takes place on the feast days. Since, when we spoke about the functions of the *megas domestikos* in the palace, we announced that we would indicate also his functions outside, that is in the army, it is time to speak of these as well'.<sup>33</sup>

In another, more subtle way Kantakouzenos' career and influence appear in Pseudo-Kodinos' text, in its organisation. The protocol for a coronation in chapter VII follows the chapter 'Concerning the service of the *megas domestikos* in the army', as if mimicking John VI's rise from *megas domestikos* to emperor.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Ps.-Kod. 160.15–17, 162.6–10, 164.4–7. Thomas Magistros speaks of the prestige that direct address by the emperor carries. See Treu, 'Die Gesandtschaftsreise des Rhetors Theodulos Magistros', 11.31–37.

<sup>29</sup> The standing emperor motif indicates higher rank than the seated emperor. See 383. See 344–345.

<sup>31</sup> Ps.-Kod. 164.8–166.4.

<sup>32</sup> Ps.-Kod. 166.5–6.

<sup>33</sup> Ps.-Kod. 202.7–9.

<sup>34</sup> Observed by Gaul, 'The partridge's purple stockings', 82 and n. 53.

These aspects of Pseudo-Kodinos' text seem to point to one special *megas domestikos* whose extraordinary privileges and functions are described. Should Kantakouzenos be seen as the emperor behind the work, anxious to promote the figure of the *megas domestikos* and to restore old, nearly forgotten ceremonial practices, after years of neglect in Andronikos III's reign? The visibility of the *megas domestikos* in the text and Kantakouzenos' interest in ceremonial have led some to conclude that Kantakouzenos himself or someone in his entourage had a hand in composing the text or parts of it.<sup>35</sup>

Kantakouzenos was indeed the most prominent *megas domestikos* in the history of the empire. Before and after Kantakouzenos' tenure of the office, information about *megaloï domestikoi*, their role in the army and in ceremonial, is scarce, making it difficult to determine when the *megas domestikos* acquired the roles described by Pseudo-Kodinos.<sup>36</sup> Is the *megas domestikos* in Pseudo-Kodinos' work Kantakouzenos himself or a reflection of the important position that all *megaloï domestikoi* had?

The *prostagma* of Michael VIII for his son Andronikos II upon his coronation in 1272 is a text – the only one – that gives us an opportunity to see the *megas domestikos* independent of Pseudo-Kodinos and Kantakouzenos. The *prostagma* is a description of the practices to be followed by Andronikos II, both when he is with his father in Constantinople and when he is outside the capital. The *prostagma* constitutes a protocol. The *megas domestikos* makes two appearances in the document, both in a ceremonial context. The emperor Michael ordains that when his son is away from Constantinople, one of those accustomed to hold the imperial sword, the *megas domestikos*, or *protostrator* or *parakoimomenos*, should hold it. Likewise, if one of the great feast days should occur while Andronikos is away, the *megas domestikos*, 'according to his custom', will serve at table. This is 'the service attached to his *offikion*'. In this document there is no indication that what is being outlined is a novelty. 'According to custom' is a phrase repeated several times. How old the customs are it is impossible to ascertain but it would not be surprising should they relate to twelfth century practice or earlier, given Michael VIII's efforts to return to a pre-1204 past. If there is novelty, it lies in the existence of a document outlining the crowned heir's ceremonial responsibilities and behaviour.<sup>37</sup>

From the *prostagma* it can be concluded that the ceremonial role of the *megas domestikos*, as it is presented in Pseudo-Kodinos, that of sword bearer to

<sup>35</sup> Gaul, 'The partridge's purple stockings', 84–5.

<sup>36</sup> See the survey of *megaloï domestikoi* in Kyriakidis, 'The *megas domestikos* in the late Byzantine army', 241–58.

<sup>37</sup> For a discussion of the context of the *prostagma*, see 428–29. The 1272 ordinance continues by delineating ceremonial acts that are for the most part documented also in Pseudo-Kodinos. There is little in the *prostagma* that is not also in Pseudo-Kodinos. See 362.

the emperor and chief attendant at his table, was associated with the title of old. Pseudo-Kodinos merely elaborates on the duties.

The chapter outlining the role of the *megas domestikos* in the army likewise has many stipulations that can be traced back to a time before Kantakouzenos. For example, ‘no one dismounts before the *megas domestikos* assigns the appropriate place to each banner’. Tenth-century military treatises concur that the commander of the army plants his banner first when a campsite is chosen.<sup>38</sup> Further, the *megas domestikos* receives the battle horse and weapons of mercenary soldiers who die childless, according to Pseudo-Kodinos. Pachymeres confirms that in the early fourteenth century, Alexios Raoul, the *megas domestikos*, was ordered to take away the arms and horses of the Alans who were leaving the emperor’s service.<sup>39</sup> Finally, the statement that the emperor and *megas domestikos* each receive 1/5th of the booty is said to be an ‘old custom’ by Kantakouzenos. If this is so – and 1/5th as a unit of measure is attested also in earlier texts – then the regulation predates Kantakouzenos as *megas domestikos*.<sup>40</sup> Although some stipulations in this chapter read like special advantages for a special *megas domestikos*, such as, ‘the *megas domestikos* does have the right to roll out his [banner] whenever he wishes, even before the imperial ones’, this is not necessarily specific to Kantakouzenos.

The existence of a separate chapter on the service of the *megas domestikos* in the army<sup>41</sup> appears exceptional and unprecedented in a ceremony book. However, the protocols that have survived are a minute portion of those that were created, as is indicated by authors’ references to texts no longer extant.<sup>42</sup> There may have been in existence a protocol for each member of the court hierarchy, delineating his service. The possibility cannot be excluded.

The *megas domestikos*, as far as can be determined from the few sources available, was an important office before Kantakouzenos was given the position. Individual *megaloi domestikoi* achieved high status and prestige, also before John Kantakouzenos. Niketas Choniates comments that the *megas domestikos* John Axouch who was the same age as the emperor John II Komnenos and his dearest friend enjoyed great influence as a consequence. Many of the emperor’s distinguished relatives, upon meeting Axouch by chance, would dismount from

<sup>38</sup> Ps.-Kod. 207 n. 593.

<sup>39</sup> Ps.-Kod. 209 n. 597.

<sup>40</sup> Ps.-Kod. 209 n. 596.

<sup>41</sup> It has been said of this chapter that it resembles certain aspects of a military treatise. It uses technical military terms, discusses camp organisation, functions of the military offices and organisation of the palace guard units. See Kyriakidis, *Warfare in late Byzantium*, 4.

<sup>42</sup> In his *prooimion* to the *Kletorologion* Philotheos (83.29–31) speaks of sifting through ancient treatises (*ektheseis*) which have become faded by time. Pseudo-Kodinos also mentions other protocols of which he is aware: ‘This arrangement holds in the very same way also for the weddings of emperors’ (242). For the West, see the comments of Paravicini, ‘Europäische Hofordnungen als Gattung und Quelle’, in Kruse and Paravicini, *Höfe und Hofordnungen*, 15–16.



their horses and perform *proskynesis*.<sup>43</sup> The prestige he enjoyed as the emperor's best friend was not unlike Kantakouzenos' situation. In his *History* he declares that many who chanced upon him on horseback would descend from their horses and render him 'the greatest honour'. Those who came to his house would leave their horses outside the courtyard and enter on foot,<sup>44</sup> as was the practice when entering the courtyard of the imperial palace. The case of John Axouch gives evidence for exceptional situations in the past. In this context, Pseudo-Kodinos' references to the *megas domestikos* appear in a different light, one not necessarily related to the direct influence of John Kantakouzenos on the work.

George Akropolites, writing during the reign of Michael VIII,<sup>45</sup> gives a further suggestion of the importance of the office of *megas domestikos* in the thirteenth century. In recounting the appointments made by Theodore Komnenos Doukas after he was proclaimed emperor in 1224/5, Akropolites states that he 'dealt with affairs in an imperial manner', he appointed despots, and *sebastokratores*, *megaloï domestikoi*, *protovestiarioi*, and all the rest of the imperial hierarchy'.<sup>46</sup> Akropolites names the *megas domestikos* at the top of the hierarchy, just after the *axiomatikoi* and even before the *protovestiarios*. Although the order in which the court title holders are mentioned may not be an accurate reflection of the hierarchy of his time, it is indicative that the *megas domestikos* is shown to be one of the most important among them.

Thus, some aspects of Pseudo-Kodinos' presentation of the *megas domestikos* – the sword-holding, table attendance and service in the army – have been shown to apply to the office, even if every statement about the functions and privileges of this title holder cannot be corroborated by other sources. However, other aspects of his presentation appear to point to one special *megas domestikos* whose extraordinary privileges are described. One of these is his attire which is closer to that of the dignitaries, the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, than it is to the title holders below him.<sup>47</sup> Other extraordinary aspects of Pseudo-Kodinos' *megas domestikos* are described in the protocol for the Christmas day meal.<sup>48</sup>

This mixture of elements specific to Kantakouzenos' case, and others that apply to all *megaloï domestikoi*, suggests that Pseudo-Kodinos' work is a compilation. Verpeaux identified the protocol for coronation as an independent text taken over by Pseudo-Kodinos and also used by Kantakouzenos in his *History*, in place of his own eyewitness account of Andronikos III's coronation.<sup>49</sup> However, this protocol is not the only text Pseudo-Kodinos incorporates in his work. His is a compilation made up of many different texts from different periods which he has put together,

<sup>43</sup> Chon. 9.23–10.36. Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 194–95.

<sup>44</sup> Kant. II, 78.11–79.8. For horse etiquette, see 389–90.

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of the possible time of writing, see Macrides, *The History*, 31–34.

<sup>46</sup> Akropolites, §21: 34.5–8; Macrides, *The History*, 164–165.

<sup>47</sup> See above, 6 and 344–45.

<sup>48</sup> See above, 5–6.

<sup>49</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 31–35; Gaul, 'The partridge's purple stockings', 82–84.



providing editorial comments, explanations, interjections, historical background. The latter give Pseudo-Kodinos' work a substantially different character from the other book of ceremonies, known as the *Book of Ceremonies*.

### The Compilatory Nature of Pseudo-Kodinos' Text

The protocol for a coronation is not the only text Pseudo-Kodinos takes over whole and incorporates into his work. Chapter I, the hierarchical list of court titles, is another such text. It can be demonstrated that this chapter is based on a list that had come into being by 1305 or earlier but was reworked, with notes that report modifications that were made to the hierarchy subsequently.<sup>50</sup> Most prominent among these notes, and the latest in date, is the statement about John Kantakouzenos, that he was appointed *megas domestikos* by Andronikos II and Andronikos III and raised above the *panhypersebastos* and the *protovestiarios* by Andronikos III. The note contains, in addition, the information that Kantakouzenos 'became also emperor'. This comment could have been written only after 1341 when Kantakouzenos was proclaimed emperor in Didymoteichon. The list in chapter I also indicates changes introduced to the hierarchy after the Second Civil War (1341–1347), showing John Kantakouzenos' supporters to have been rewarded, while those of the regency were demoted. In other words, chapter I represents an attempt by someone to bring the hierarchy up to date along Kantakouzenian lines. Moreover, chapters II and III differ from chapter I and were not by the same author-compiler. Although the two later chapters on attire and service of the titles follow the hierarchy laid out in chapter I in general, they do not show any of the adjustments evident in chapter I and, further, they introduce variations which are based on observation of practice at court.<sup>51</sup> Chapters II and III are also more similar to each other than to chapter I because of the kinds of interventions or comments they contain, comments that match others in the rest of the work.<sup>52</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos' book of hierarchy and ceremonies is composed of a number of texts, some ostensibly taken over as whole texts, as discussed, and incorporated in his work but also others that are combined with other texts to create a protocol which is more than a protocol. Signs of his use of different texts which he consulted and joined together can be seen in the way he scatters information, rather than keeping everything to do with one subject together in the same chapter. Thus, for example, the emperor's attire is discussed in the description of the Christmas protocol and not in chapter II on attire. The daily reception is described partly in the protocol for Christmas Eve and not on its own. Another indication of his assemblage of different texts is in abrupt changes in the direction of his account. Thus, in giving an account of the service performed by the *komes* of the imperial

<sup>50</sup> See 275–280.

<sup>51</sup> For this argument see 280–89.

<sup>52</sup> See 289–91.

horses, he provides a long explanation – a story from the reign of the emperor Theophilos (829–842) – of the ‘in-train’ horses that are always available when the emperor rides out. After this account he relates what the emperor wears on his feet when he rides out and where his footwear is kept. Following directly on from these statements he says, ‘When the emperor is ready and has mounted’ which leads to a description of the kinds of musical instruments that are sounded, when and why. All of this serves as an explanation of the *komes*’ service. It is only at the end of this long, meandering passage that Pseudo-Kodinos reveals what the in-train horses and the ‘riding out’ are about: the emperor’s reception of petitions while on horseback. Thus, Pseudo-Kodinos has subsumed an account of the horseback emperor dispensing justice under the service of the *komes* of the imperial horses.<sup>53</sup>

In other passages, discrepancies in the information provided are a possible indication that Pseudo-Kodinos has used more than one protocol. A sign of this practice are his sudden switches from the singular to the plural in reference to the emperor. On Christmas Eve, while Pseudo-Kodinos has been speaking of only one emperor, he suddenly refers to the son of the emperor who mounts the *prokypsis* platform; further on the acclamation of ‘the emperors’ is mentioned.<sup>54</sup> In chapter X in the promotion of a patriarch, although the description has to do with one emperor, when acclamations are mentioned it is to the ‘emperors’.<sup>55</sup> In chapter XI he states that ‘it is not permitted to anyone to wear black in the palace’, yet in other parts of the work, he refers to the ‘black’ *sakkos* of the emperor and the black *himation* of the emperor’s mother.<sup>56</sup> The protocol for the reception of an imperial bride-to-be in Constantinople gives two different points of disembarkation for a bride who comes by ship, near the Blachernai church and near the Acropolis at the Eugenios Gate.<sup>57</sup> In describing the meal at Christmas he states that the title holders are summoned to table up to those who wear red *skaranika*. He then however mentions the *protonotarios* who also comes forward. Yet the *protonotarios* is, according to the list in chapter II, one of the red *skaranikon* wearers. He should not have been called forward since this group was not included.<sup>58</sup>

## Other Characteristics: Interest in Origins and Change

These and other discrepancies and changes in subject give evidence of Pseudo-Kodinos’ use of a number of sources for his compilation. In a ceremony book this practice is not exceptional, if we take the *Book of Ceremonies* as our model. Furthermore, like the compiler(s) of that work Pseudo-Kodinos gives directives:

<sup>53</sup> Ps.-Kod. 72.5–82.8.

<sup>54</sup> Ps.-Kod. 132.2, 3, 132.16, 142.5–8, 146.3–4.

<sup>55</sup> Ps.-Kod. 250. 14, 17, 252.14.

<sup>56</sup> Ps.-Kod. 264. 12, 224.3–4, 140.4.

<sup>57</sup> Ps.-Kod. 266.7–9, 266.16–17.

<sup>58</sup> Ps.-Kod. 160. 14–17.

‘One should know that...’ However, Pseudo-Kodinos’ notes, unlike those in the *Book of Ceremonies*, give more than additional information. They provide editorial direction. Pseudo-Kodinos guides the reader by inserting phrases such as, ‘The reason will be given afterwards’, ‘as mentioned’, ‘whom we have often mentioned’. He diverts from his subject to include other information but makes the reader aware that he is conscious of the diversion: ‘Let the discussion of the meal wait for a while...’; ‘Let us speak first about them, then we will explain about the meal’; ‘One must return again to the point from which we started’. These interjections show the compiler at work to create a unity in the text and to exert control over his material.

Inquisitiveness is another characteristic of the work of this compiler-author. Pseudo-Kodinos asks questions and tries to provide answers. He inquires of a range of subjects: Why is it that the emperor’s bootmaker and no one else carries the *dibellion* to monasteries where the emperor celebrates certain feast days? Why do cantors precede the emperor to the palace after the coronation, holding spears with red and white silk streamers? Why do the clergy of the emperor include an archdeacon now whereas the Church has none? Why are trumpets not sounded if the emperor rides out after the meal? Pseudo-Kodinos answers the questions he poses, sometimes with knowledge but often with an admission of ignorance: ‘The reason is not known,’ or ‘The reason is wanting.’ On one occasion he ventures a guess, ‘The reason is not known. Nevertheless, conjecturing, I would say that ...’.

Curiosity about the origins of practices and objects is thus a hallmark of Pseudo-Kodinos’ work. Why are there always horses in train when the emperor rides out? Why do the Venetians come neither to the *polychronion* at Christmas nor the kiss at Easter? What is the origin of the *pilatikia* displayed on the *prokypsis* platform? How is it that the diadem no longer signifies the crown but refers rather to a belt? Pseudo-Kodinos searches to provide the origins of these varied practices and objects. His explanations involve figures from the distant and not so distant past: Cyrus the Great, king of the Persians;<sup>59</sup> the soldier-martyrs in the early church;<sup>60</sup> the emperors Theophilus and Michael VIII Palaiologos. In the last two cases Pseudo-Kodinos cites the sources of his information: a treaty of Michael VIII<sup>61</sup> and written or oral sources (‘it is said’).<sup>62</sup> In each case the information Pseudo-Kodinos gives is a mixture of the documented and verifiable with the unattested and made up.

Pseudo-Kodinos shows an interest in the past, in origins, but also in developments, in change with the passing of time. The reader is reminded of adjustments and alterations in every chapter of his work. The changes have to do with place names and names of items of clothing, with customs and practices:

‘Of old it was called the Forum’.

<sup>59</sup> Ps.-Kod. 149–150.

<sup>60</sup> Ps.-Kod. 134.17–136.5.

<sup>61</sup> Ps.-Kod. 184.2–3.

<sup>62</sup> Ps.-Kod. 76. 15–17.

‘What is now called a *stemma* once had the name diadem’.

‘It was an old custom for the imperial cortège to consist of 6000 people ...’.

‘It was formerly the custom in this celebration for the emperor’s horse to wear ... what are called *chaiomata* ... Now, however, the former are no longer ...’.

‘In former times he [the *pinkernes*] carried a cup on a chain when he followed the emperor outside the city ... This is not the practice at present’.

‘Of old the Church also had an archdeacon but now it does not, whereas the clergy of the emperor do have one’.

‘It was an old custom at this vesper service for the emperor to enter the holy sanctuary and to cense the holy altar table and to give the clerics a gift of 100 pounds of gold from the *vestiarion*. Now this does not take place’.<sup>63</sup>

In this way Pseudo-Kodinos acknowledges change and the passing of time, taking the reader back and forth between the present and the past.

Pseudo-Kodinos shows an interest in the past, with stories and traditions which serve to annotate the protocols. However, his book also reflects contemporary practice, that is, contemporary with the mid-fourteenth century. The early Palaiologan period until the mid-fourteenth century is well served by historical narratives, those of Pachymeres, Gregoras and John Kantakouzenos, which give evidence of a number of practices that were in place from the reign of Michael VIII until John VI. When Pseudo-Kodinos’ work is compared with the narrative descriptions of ceremonies given by these authors, the contemporary sources support his assertions. For example, Pseudo-Kodinos states that at Christmas and Epiphany an emperor who is in mourning ‘goes out, as is the custom, with a white garment and his *skiadion*. He stands in front of the all holy Theotokos Nikopoios ...’.<sup>64</sup> By this statement Pseudo-Kodinos shows that a mourning emperor wears white and his everyday hat, the *skiadion*, and he stands in the courtyard of the palace. The wearing of white for mourning is attested also by Gregoras, Kantakouzenos and Panaretos.<sup>65</sup> The curtailed ceremonial for an emperor in mourning at Christmas and Epiphany is corroborated by Pachymeres, referring to Christmas 1282 when Andronikos II mourned the death of his father. No *prokypsis* took place. Andronikos ‘stood below as a demonstration of his sorrow’.<sup>66</sup> Elsewhere Pseudo-Kodinos gives evidence for a change in the cityscape. He relates that the Forum of Constantine, the site of the 1 September celebrations, is now called the Porphyry Column.<sup>67</sup> Gregoras, writing about an incident that occurred on that day in 1327, speaks of the ‘office at the Porphyry Column’, making no reference

<sup>63</sup> Ps.-Kod. 194, 134, 130, 236, 156, 230, 186. On this subject, see Macrides “‘The reason is not known’”. Remembering and recording the past’, 317–330, here at 320–26.

<sup>64</sup> Ps.-Kod. 174. 12–14.

<sup>65</sup> See the commentary at ch. XI.

<sup>66</sup> See the commentary at 175.

<sup>67</sup> Ps.-Kod. 194.4–6.

to the older name of the place, the Forum.<sup>68</sup> It seems from the accounts of both Pseudo-Kodinos and Gregoras that all that remained of the Forum was the column of Constantine. A document from the Patriarchal Register of the mid-fourteenth century shows that the area had been given over to the planting of vines.<sup>69</sup>

A comparison of Pseudo-Kodinos with contemporary accounts creates a catalogue of corresponding practices. Table III makes evident that a large number of ceremonies, customs or items of clothing, ceremonial accessories reported by Pseudo-Kodinos, are attested for the fourteenth century, independently from him. The lack of narrative accounts after John Kantakouzenos' *History* makes it impossible to determine whether some ceremonies or practices attested in Pseudo-Kodinos were in use only after John VI's reign. One exception is the description by Pseudo-Kodinos of the *akakia*, 'a silk cloth similar to a scroll, tied with a handkerchief'. His is the only such description and it is matched visually by the mosaic of John V in Hagia Sophia whose outline alone is visible today but which the Fossati brothers preserved in a drawing. Pl. 1. Mango dates the mosaic to 1354–1355, after Kantakouzenos' abdication.<sup>70</sup> Paris. gr. 1242, f. 5v, likewise produced after Kantakouzenos' abdication, shows John VI presiding over a church council holding the *akakia* in the traditional way, without handkerchief.<sup>71</sup> Pl. 2 It may be that this was indeed the way Kantakouzenos always held the *akakia* during his reign and that the handkerchief is a later innovation, dating from John V's reign. If this is the case it would be an indication of the date of composition of Pseudo-Kodinos' work.

We can conclude from the above that Pseudo-Kodinos describes practices that were current in the time of the Palaiologoi and in the reign of John VI Kantakouzenos. His protocols were not, as far as can be determined, obsolete ceremonies, dug up from the distant past. Although historians have sometimes labelled Pseudo-Kodinos' work 'antiquarian',<sup>72</sup> it has this quality only insofar as Pseudo-Kodinos is interested in origins and reasons for practices. He attempts to convey the practice of his time but he also embellishes the descriptions with historical 'notes', with information about what used to be. His is an annotated ceremony book.

<sup>68</sup> See 195 n. 558.

<sup>69</sup> See 195 n. 558.

<sup>70</sup> See 141 n. 360. Kantakouzenos (III, 30.6–10) says that he began the mosaic decoration of Hagia Sophia but it was finished by John V.

<sup>71</sup> Drpić, 'Art, hesychasm, and visual exegesis', 220 and n. 20. The manuscript was commissioned by John VI after his abdication and completed in 1375.

<sup>72</sup> See, e.g., Dawkins, 'The later history of the Varangian guard', 39, with regard to the Englishness of the Varangians in the fourteenth century. What Pseudo-Kodinos says is, however, corroborated by contemporary evidence. See the commentary at 155 n. 410.

## Origins of the Protocols

Pseudo-Kodinos' interjections, his questions, explanations, references to custom and the past, constitute his mark on the protocols he compiled. These characteristics are particularly visible in chapters II, III, IV, V, VII, IX, X, while chapters I, VI, VIII, XI, XII he appears to have taken over with little or no intervention. In those chapters there are signs of different protocols having been used and pieced together but not always of Pseudo-Kodinos' characteristic interventions.

That these protocols were created from ceremonies that took place at different times, in different reigns, is clear, even if their date of origin cannot be found in most cases. Chapter I on the hierarchy of titles has internal references which show that it came into being in the 1340s. Chapter X on coronation was available to Kantakouzenos when he wrote his *History* in the 1360s<sup>73</sup> but the protocol could have been older; it contains elements that correspond with Pachymeres' account of Michael IX's coronation in 1294.<sup>74</sup> The regulations in chapter II on attire match to an extent the visual record with respect to the colour of the *skaranika* (gold-red) for the top officials but the image of the emperor on the hat does not correspond with surviving images from the first three decades of the fourteenth century.<sup>75</sup> Chapter XI mentions the despot brothers of the emperor in the context of the latter's mourning attire, while all the other references to despots in the work are to sons, in-laws and brothers. Thus the protocol in chapter XI could date from the reign of Michael VIII or Michael IX who are the only emperors to have promoted their brothers as despots.<sup>76</sup> None of these suggested dates is firm or convincing; they rely on coincidences in the sources.

However, one protocol may be dateable: that is, the Christmas day meal. This passage features the *mezas domestikos* and the 'nephews of the emperor', the *panhypersebastos* and the *protovestiaros*. The *mezas domestikos* addresses the *panhypersebastos* and the *protovestiaros*, summoning them to take a plate from his hand. In the same protocol the *mezas domestikos* is said to receive his own plate – gold or silver – from the emperor's hand and to keep it as a gift. Furthermore, the emperor addresses only the *mezas domestikos* directly, wishing him 'many years'. At the end of the passage information is given about the *lapatzas* and the way the *mezas domestikos* wears it, described as a 'mark of honour'. Pseudo-Kodinos adds a final statement, transitional in nature, in which he points to the chapter on the service of the *mezas domestikos* outside the palace.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos*, 100 and n. 170. The last datable event Kantakouzenos mentions is the election of the patriarch Philotheos in 1364. A manuscript note states that the book was written in 1369.

<sup>74</sup> See 419–420.

<sup>75</sup> On the date of the manuscript, see Hutter, 'Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikons', 79–114.

<sup>76</sup> See commentary at 262.6–7.

<sup>77</sup> Ps.-Kod. 158.11–166.6.

This passage on the Christmas meal has the greatest concentration of references to the *megas domestikos* in the whole work and includes several signs of the prestige he enjoyed. Anyone reading this part of the Christmas protocol and noting the high prominence of the *megas domestikos*, might surmise that John Kantakouzenos is the *megas domestikos* of the passage.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, Niels Gaul has seen Kantakouzenos as the *megas domestikos* of the protocol. He infers from this protocol that only someone of the same status or higher than the *panhypersebastos* and the *provestiarios* would be in a position to address these high title holders directly, as the *megas domestikos* does at the Christmas day meal.

John Kantakouzenos' status as *megas domestikos* is described in a note to the hierarchy list in chapter I. When he was made *megas domestikos* by both emperors Andronikos II and Andronikos III, he was then 'equal in rank' with the *panhypersebastos*.<sup>79</sup> After the death of Andronikos II (1328) Andronikos III honoured Kantakouzenos the *megas domestikos* by making him 'superior over everyone, over the nephews of his grandfather the emperor ... even the *panhypersebastos* and the *provestiarios*'.<sup>80</sup> Thus, according to Gaul who notes that only one emperor is mentioned in the Christmas protocol, the protocol could have applied to Kantakouzenos and the nephews of Andronikos II, John and Andronikos Palaiologos, in the 1320s.<sup>81</sup> Gaul points out that if Kantakouzenos was not promoted until Andronikos III's coronation in 1325 the time span to which the protocol relates is short, given John Palaiologos' death in 1326.<sup>82</sup> However, Kantakouzenos could have been made *megas domestikos* at any time after the death of the other co-emperor Michael IX in 1320.<sup>83</sup> If this was the case then the period of time to which the protocol might refer is considerably longer.

While it is possible that the Christmas protocol originated in circumstances of the 1310s or 1320s, the suggestion rests on the supposition that a *megas domestikos* could not address a *panhypersebastos* or a *provestiarios* directly unless he were of the same status or higher than they. Yet the *megas domestikos* was, according to the 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII, the court title holder who served the emperor on feast days and, as such, would have had to summon forth the two highest court title holders (after the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar). The concentration of references to the *megas domestikos* in this section can also be explained by the fact that the ceremonies for Christmas are described extensively by Pseudo-Kodinos who does not go into as much detail for any of the other feast days. It is also the day on which the service of the *megas domestikos* in the palace is greatest.

<sup>78</sup> So Cvetković, 'Prilog proučavanju vizantijskog dvorskog kostima', 143–155 (French summary 155–156) who sees Kantakouzenos as the *megas domestikos* behind the comment about the wearing of the *lapatzas*.

<sup>79</sup> Ps.-Kod. 26. 20–21.

<sup>80</sup> Ps.-Kod. 28. 1–4.

<sup>81</sup> Gaul, 'The partridge's purple stockings', 79–80.

<sup>82</sup> Ps.-Kod. 26. PLP 21479.

<sup>83</sup> See Loenertz, 'La chronique brève de 1352', 333.



Thus, although it is possible that John Kantakouzenos is the *megas domestikos* of the protocol for Christmas, it cannot be proven. He is not, however, everywhere in Pseudo-Kodinos' text, and he is not present to the exclusion of other *megaloï domestikoi*. Nor does it seem that John Kantakouzenos the emperor is behind the work. Were this the case, one might expect Pseudo-Kodinos to have better information at his disposal about the service of individual title holders.<sup>84</sup> One might also expect to see a greater correspondence between the *History* and the ceremony book. Although there are similarities,<sup>85</sup> there are also significant differences. Kantakouzenos speaks of wearing white at the death of Andronikos III who was his 'brother'.<sup>86</sup> According to Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol, however, emperors wear yellow when they mourn the death of their brother and white for their parents, wife, son or grandson. Kantakouzenos states that the representatives of the Genoese and the Venetians came to the palace on Sundays to perform *proskynesis*.<sup>87</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos indicates that the Genoese come 'every day' and perform *proskynesis*, while the Venetians come but do not perform *proskynesis*.<sup>88</sup> Kantakouzenos describes in detail the *prokypsis* of his daughter Theodora in Selymbria, when she married Orhan. 'It is the custom for emperors to do this for daughters who are getting married.'<sup>89</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos calls only the Christmas and Epiphany appearances of the emperor with his crowned sons and despots *prokypsis*.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, he does not give a protocol for the display of an imperial bride. These differences indicate that the emperor John VI did not have a direct influence on Pseudo-Kodinos' compilation either as an advisor or commissioner of that work.<sup>91</sup>

## Date of Compilation

Pseudo-Kodinos' work has, until now, been dated to John Kantakouzenos' reign or later, in the time after his abdication.<sup>92</sup> An indication of the date of his compilation

<sup>84</sup> See 306 and ch. III.

<sup>85</sup> See above, 4–5.

<sup>86</sup> Kant. II, 167.11–12. See discussion by Gaul, 'The partridge's purple stockings', 70 and n. 3, 71.

<sup>87</sup> Kant. I, 61.7–12.

<sup>88</sup> Ps.-Kod. 184.

<sup>89</sup> Kant. II, 587.16–588.17, here at 587.21–22.

<sup>90</sup> See 401–11.

<sup>91</sup> It is worth noting that Verpeaux did not express the view that Kantakouzenos might have been involved in the work, directly or indirectly, and he never commented on the large presence of the *megas domestikos* in it. See Verpeaux, *Traité*, 25–35.

<sup>92</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 25–35. Verpeaux saw 1366 as a *terminus post quem* for the compilation because Pseudo-Kodinos does not mention the feast day of Gregory Palamas (second Sunday in Lent) who was proclaimed a saint in that year.



is the statement in chapter I that John Kantakouzenos became emperor after he was *megas domestikos*, thus any time from 1341. Chapter II, however, makes reference to the promotion of John and Manuel Asan to *sebastokrator*, an event that can be dated to the start of John Kantakouzenos' reign in Constantinople, in 1347.<sup>93</sup> Verpeaux remarked that the use of the pluperfect – ἐγγεγόνει – in reference to Kantakouzenos' elevation to the throne mentioned in chapter I, was a sign that he was no longer emperor at the time of Pseudo-Kodinos' writing.<sup>94</sup> However, it has been demonstrated that in most cases the pluperfect has the meaning of the aorist or imperfect.<sup>95</sup> All that can be said with certainty is that Pseudo-Kodinos compiled his work some time after John VI came to the throne.

Another possible pointer to the date of compilation is the reference in chapter I to the fact that the position of the *epi tou kanikleiou* was not known because Choumnos never came to the palace on feast days to take up his position. An *epi tou kanikleiou* was appointed after him, a Manuel Angelos who may have held this title by 1354 but certainly did by 1369.<sup>96</sup> Since, however, the authorship of chapter I cannot be ascribed to Pseudo-Kodinos with any confidence, Manuel Angelos' appointment cannot act as a *terminus ante quem* for Pseudo-Kodinos' work.

It has been argued above that John Kantakouzenos did not have a direct influence on Pseudo-Kodinos' compilation, that is, that he did not commission the work or oversee it. If this is correct it is likely to be the case that Pseudo-Kodinos was working after John's abdication, in the reign of John V, but not at his bidding. Pseudo-Kodinos used the protocols that were available to him, protocols generated by the ceremonial at the Palaiologan courts of John V's predecessors but possibly also at John V's court. The mosaic in Hagia Sophia showing this emperor holding the *akakia* with handkerchief, just as Pseudo-Kodinos describes,<sup>97</sup> is the closest we come to evidence for this dating.<sup>98</sup> Pl. 1

## Author and Audience

The author-compiler, known today as Pseudo-Kodinos because of an erroneous identification with a certain George Kodinos,<sup>99</sup> makes his presence felt in the

<sup>93</sup> See at Ps.-Kod. 44.4–6.

<sup>94</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 29.

<sup>95</sup> See at Ps.-Kod. 26.20.

<sup>96</sup> See 279 for a discussion of the evidence.

<sup>97</sup> See above, 14 and 141.

<sup>98</sup> Stein, 'Introduction à l'histoire et aux institutions byzantines', 153, already in the 1940s suggested that Pseudo-Kodinos put together his compilation in John V's reign but he gave no reasons for this dating.

<sup>99</sup> In a publication of 1588, Darmarios identified the author of the ceremonial book with George Kodinos because this name appeared in manuscripts that contain both the *Patria* and the text of the compilation. See Verpeaux, *Traité*, 87–107, for the manuscripts;

work in a number of ways: by interjecting in the first person,<sup>100</sup> addressing his readers, giving directives, making editorial comments,<sup>101</sup> discussing the origins of objects or ceremonial practices, explaining the reason why things are done in the manner he says they are.<sup>102</sup> By these means Pseudo-Kodinos shatters the illusion of timelessness, a hallmark of ceremonial books.<sup>103</sup> He takes his readers back and forth in time, acknowledging change and the passing of time. His anonymity is diluted by these features and he acquires a presence. Even so, his role at court is unclear and indeterminable, unless we assume that he was a master of ceremonies. His intended audience is equally unknown. If we assume that he compiled the work for officials in the palace who organised ceremonies – the *protovestiarites* was, for example, the master of the daily reception<sup>104</sup> – we might expect his work to include a larger, more comprehensive repertoire of protocols. Yet, a number of major occasions are not represented.<sup>105</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos makes passing references to some ceremonies or merely alludes to others without giving a protocol for them. Nevertheless, they were certainly performed: imperial births, baptisms, weddings, funerals and receptions of ambassadors.<sup>106</sup> He does not provide an account of any of the above directly, although he describes aspects of some of these ceremonies, giving us reason to believe that the ceremonies did take place. For example, he supplies a protocol for the reception of an imperial bride-to-be in Constantinople but does not describe an imperial wedding. He devotes a whole chapter to the attire of an emperor who is in mourning, yet he does not give a protocol for a funeral. He mentions ambassadors whose business might be communicated to the emperor during the daily reception but he does not describe an audience with an ambassador. He makes mention of the women of the court, the wives of the title holders, who greet the foreign bride and prepare her for her new life in Constantinople, yet he says nothing about the parallel court receptions and celebrations that the women performed and celebrated. Other written sources indicate that these ceremonies did

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*Traité*, 102, for Darmarios. The first editor of the *Patria*, George Dousa (1596), attributed authorship of that work to Kodinos. In modern scholarship the *Patria* is sometimes still cited under the name Pseudo-Kodinos. For the *Patria* manuscripts see Berger, *Accounts of medieval Constantinople*, 281–282.

<sup>100</sup> Ps.-Kod. 46.1, 82.4, 140.5: first-person singular and plural.

<sup>101</sup> See above, 11–12.

<sup>102</sup> On this aspect of the work, see Macrides, “‘The reason is not known’”. Remembering and recording the past’, 320–330.

<sup>103</sup> McCormick, ‘Analyzing imperial ceremonies’, 2; Cameron, ‘The construction of court ritual: the Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*’, 106–110.

<sup>104</sup> Ps.-Kod. 88.10–90.2: the *protovestiarites* at the daily reception.

<sup>105</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 39, was of the opinion that the work is unfinished and that Pseudo-Kodinos intended to return to it. He drew this conclusion from Pseudo-Kodinos’ expression ‘it is wanting’ (ζητεῖται) which he understood literally as ‘it is being sought’. Verpeaux did not note or question the lack of protocols for many major ceremonies.

<sup>106</sup> See below, e.g. 268.3–4.

take place.<sup>107</sup> He makes reference to the ‘usual reception’,<sup>108</sup> and to a protocol for Christmas which is not the usual one,<sup>109</sup> thus suggesting that much more is known than appears in the text. Some ceremonial practices are presented in the context of a description of the function of a court title holder, in passing, and not as protocols in their own right.<sup>110</sup> In these ways Pseudo-Kodinos gives the reader the impression that there is a great deal more to the ceremonial of his time than he relates.

This is no dossier of ceremonies. It is a book which is much more than a collection of protocols. Description of ceremony is only a part of Pseudo-Kodinos’ work. His book is quite different from a ceremonial book as it has been defined.<sup>111</sup> The compiler-author is interactive, inquisitive and, above all, rooted in time and historical. These qualities or features of his work make it more a didactic piece than a collection of documents. Pseudo-Kodinos seeks to explain, to point out, to address his reader(s). He is writing for a person, or persons, with some acquaintance with the palace. He refers to the *tetrastylon* in the courtyard of the palace as a ‘well known place’.<sup>112</sup> He speaks of the ‘customary’ reception and the ‘customary’ garment. His work appears to aim at informing readers who have some knowledge of the palace about developments in ceremonial, what goes on in the palace and why, rather than to provide them with a source of protocols. Written in a high level of written koine, with a large number of technical terms, many taken from other languages,<sup>113</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos’ compilation may have had as its purpose to produce a work informative of the court hierarchy and the palace routines in a time of change, disruption, upheaval. In this situation, after two civil wars, a work was needed that could provide knowledge of past customs and traditions and present procedures. Pseudo-Kodinos’ work was *not* a protocol book to be followed and used as the basis of ceremonial displays. It was an annotated ceremony book with historical notes.

Although the audience of Pseudo-Kodinos’ work, like its author-compiler, ‘is not known’, although their faces are hidden, the text itself reveals a great deal about the Blachernai palace and its routines but also about Pseudo-Kodinos’ interests and methods. His work differs in a fundamental way from the ‘other’ book of ceremonies, demonstrating that ‘every text changes the genre in which it is written’.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Pach. III, 171.26–173.25: 29 June. See 318, 353 also.

<sup>108</sup> Ps.-Kod 158.1.

<sup>109</sup> Ps.-Kod 124.11–15.

<sup>110</sup> E.g. Ps.-Kod. 84.7–86, 6; 88.10–92.6.

<sup>111</sup> For that definition, see McCormick, ‘Analyzing imperial ceremonies’, 2.

<sup>112</sup> Ps.-Kod. 44.12–46.1.

<sup>113</sup> Gaul, ‘The partridge’s purple stockings’, 86–89.

<sup>114</sup> Mullett, ‘Novelisation in Byzantium’, 5.

# The Text, Translation and Commentary

## The Manuscripts and this Edition

In the preface to his critical edition published in 1966 Jean Verpeaux identified the early, and most reliable, manuscripts containing the text without an attribution of authorship. Verpeaux distinguished between two main textual families thanks to a lacuna in the first chapter. On mentioning (28.19–21) the promotion of Theodore Metochites from *logothetes tou genikou* to *megas logothetes*, some manuscripts, notably A and B, omit the personal name of the emperor responsible, Andronikos II, and the participle ‘honouring’ (τιμήσας), while still mentioning the emperor’s dynastic surname (τῶν Παλαιολόγων). The reason for this omission is not clear and may point to a phase, probably closer to the original or its sources, when it was considered unnecessary to mention Andronikos’ name.<sup>1</sup>

The key manuscript, A (*Parisinus gr.* 2991A), is the only codex to assign titles and numbers to all twelve chapters. A was copied in 1419 after being commissioned by Matthew Palaiologos Laskaris, an *oikeios* of the emperor Manuel II and ambassador to sultan Murad II.<sup>2</sup> The codex includes the satiric dialogue *Mazaris*, a parody of the late Byzantine court, and two of the fourteenth-century lists of court titles (the versified list of Matthew Blastares and the Anonymous versified list).<sup>3</sup> By 1426 the manuscript fell into the possession of Matthew Palaiologos Sgouromales from Sparta.<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos’ ceremonial book, thus, reached the fifteenth-century Byzantine court at Mistra. In the Ottoman period the codex found its way to the library of the monastery of St. Anastasia Pharmakolytria in Chalkidike, where François Sevin purchased it between 1728 and 1730 for the collection of the king of France.<sup>5</sup> The second manuscript retained here, B (*Vaticanus gr.* 1002), belonged to, and was annotated by cardinal Isidore of Kiev. Written in the middle of the fifteenth century, it contains works of George Gemistos Plethon. It has characteristic lacunae in the second chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> See 276–89 for an argument for the compilatory nature of the list of court officials in chapter I.

<sup>2</sup> PLP 14552. See the note published in Lampros, ‘Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι’, 183. The *floruit* of Matthew Palaiologos Laskaris is 1405–1422. He is last heard of when falling prisoner to sultan Murad II.

<sup>3</sup> On this manuscript, see Verpeaux, *Traité*, 44–48, 314, 330; Gamillscheg, ‘Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung’, 227, 229. On the connection of this manuscript to *Mazaris*, see Walther, ‘Zur Hadesfahrt’, 202–203; Angold, ‘Political arts’.

<sup>4</sup> PLP 24995. See the note in Lampros, ‘Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι’, 183.

<sup>5</sup> Darrouzès, ‘Les manuscrits’.

Most of the manuscripts of the second branch of the manuscript tradition contain alongside the ceremonial book of Pseudo-Kodinos works dealing with the history of Constantinople, such as the *Patria Constantinopolitana*. One important manuscript of the second branch, C (Jerusalem, Hagiou Taphou, 46), can be dated from the watermarks to the fifteenth century. Verpeaux notes that the scribe or his model makes one intelligent addition and considers the codex to be a good representative of the section of text it transmits (as far as the first half of the fourth chapter).<sup>6</sup> Two manuscripts also containing fragments demonstrate that excerpts from the ceremonial book of Pseudo-Kodinos circulated independently during the fourteenth century. D (*Dionysiou* 367 [= *Athon*. 3901]) gives some long extracts from the work. L (*Vaticanus* gr. 778) dating to the late fourteenth century contains solely the chapter on the election of the patriarch of Constantinople (chapter X).

Most of the extant manuscripts of the ceremonial book of Pseudo-Kodinos were copied in the West and are of relatively lesser importance. By identifying the earlier tradition Verpeaux was able to eliminate accretions added to the text in a redaction produced after the fall of Constantinople. Two manuscripts, V (*Vaticanus* gr. 162) and W (*Vaticanus* gr. 975), both from the sixteenth century and distinguished by their link with the *Patria Constantinopolitana*, make substantial historical additions regarding the court hierarchy laid out by chapter I. The source for the historical information was none other than the *Alexiad* of the twelfth-century author Anna Komnene. More than two-thirds of the 60 or more extant copies of the text were produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries thanks to the humanist interest of late Renaissance scholars. That interest may have been aroused by pure academic curiosity, but soon sectarian motives – in defence either of the newly founded Protestant churches or the traditional Roman hierarchy – added new vigour. The first two printed editions by François Dujon (1588 and 1596) stem from the reformist milieu of Heidelberg, while the third one was produced by Jacobus Gretser, the Jesuit editor of texts who worked in Ingolstadt (the edition was published in Paris in 1625).<sup>7</sup> The early editors were hampered in their work by the inventive copying activity of Andreas Darmarios, an infamous scribe who had no scruples about making additions and changes.<sup>8</sup> All three editions had serious defects, presenting a version of the ceremonial book obscured by such additions (e.g., a chapter on the patriarchal offices) and later reworkings. The editions give the text the Latin title *De officialibus* or *De officiis et officialibus*. Darmarios was also responsible for the misapprehension that the work should be attributed to Kodinos; after copying one work attributed (falsely) to him, he put the words ‘By the same’ at the head of a copy of the ceremonial book.<sup>9</sup> Gretser’s edition was republished by Goar in 1648, who accompanied it with a more extensive commentary and a few minor additions to the

<sup>6</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 222.

<sup>7</sup> Verpeaux, ‘Les premières éditions’; Verpeaux, *Traité*, 114–123.

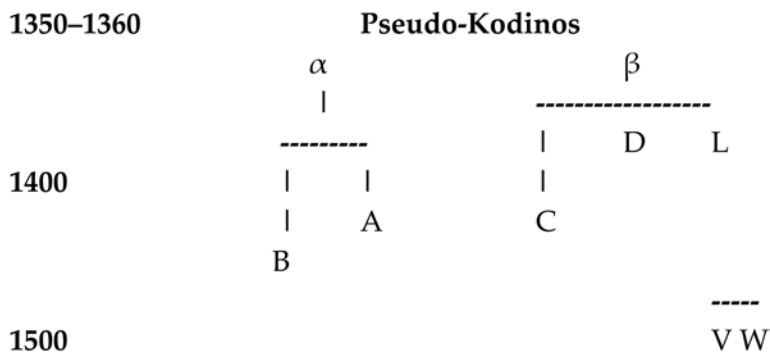
<sup>8</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 63–72; Kresten, ‘Der Schreiber und Handschriftenhändler Andreas Darmarios’.

<sup>9</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 114–115. On the attribution see also Introduction, 18 n. 99.

critical apparatus. Gretser's and Goar's edition was reprinted in the Bonn Corpus under the title *Codini Curopalatae De Officialibus Palatii Constantinopolitani et De Officiis Magnae Ecclesiae Liber* (Bonn 1839), pp. 6–108, and in Jean-Paul Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, volume 157 (Paris 1866), cols. 29–121.

The simplified edition of the text which is presented here was produced for use in a reading seminar held at the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Birmingham between 2003 and 2005. It is entirely based on the excellent critical edition prepared by Jean Verpeaux, which was published in 1966 by Paul Lemerle with the help of other French scholars after the premature death of the main editor. The initial approach in this edition was to note the readings from the most important manuscripts. Since, however, this edition adheres closely to Verpeaux's with respect to the manuscript readings, it was deemed necessary that we should indicate in the footnotes only cases when the two editions differ. The footnotes, thus, point to a few emendations of Verpeaux's text and highlight a case of an added word reasonably supplied by Verpeaux. The footnotes also point to notable additions or omissions in the main manuscripts. Verpeaux felt the need to include as parallel text the redaction of the beginning of chapter I in V and W (the two sixteenth-century manuscripts) because this text played an important role in earlier editions. The text of V and W is given here in the Appendix, 270.

### Stemma



### Sigla

A	Paris. gr. 2991A (1419)
B	Vat. gr. 1002 (mid. 15th c.)
C	Hierosol. Met. S. Sepulcri 46 (early 15th c.)
D	(Athon. 3901) Dionysiou 367 (14th c.)
L	Vat. gr. 778 (14th c.)
V	Vat. gr. 162 (early 16th c.)
W	Vat. gr. 975 (early 16th c.)

Α΄ Περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν τε ἀξιωματῶν καὶ ὀφικίων·

Β΄ Περὶ τῶν φορεμάτων ἐκάστου τῶν τε ἀξιωματῶν καὶ ὀφικίων·

Γ΄ Περὶ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἐκάστου τῶν ὀφικίων·

5 Δ΄ Περὶ τῆς τῶν Δεσποτικῶν ἐορτῶν τάξεως καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς τελουμένων ἐθίμων·

Ε΄ Περὶ ἐτέρων διαφόρων ἐορτῶν ἐν αἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέρχεται, εἰ ἐνδημῶν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει εὐρίσκεται·

Σ΄ Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ φωσσάτῳ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου ὑπηρεσίας·

10 Ζ΄ Περὶ στεφηφορίας βασιλέως·

Η΄ Περὶ προβλήσεως δεσπότη·

Θ΄ Περὶ προβλήσεως σεβαστοκράτορος καὶ καίσαρος·

Ι΄ Περὶ προβλήσεως πατριάρχου·

ΙΑ΄ Περὶ πενθίμων βασιλικῶν φορεμάτων·

15 ΙΒ΄ Περὶ μελλονύμφης δεσποίνης·

- I. Concerning the order of the dignities and offices
- II. Concerning the attire of each of the dignities and offices
- III. Concerning the service of each of the offices
- IV. Concerning the ceremonial for the dominical feasts and the customs observed for them, in which an account is also given of the service of the *megas domestikos*
- V. Concerning various other feasts to which the emperor goes, if he is residing in Constantinople
- VI. Concerning the service of the *megas domestikos* in the army
- VII. Concerning the coronation of an emperor
- VIII. Concerning the promotion of a despot
- IX. Concerning the promotion of a *sebastokrator* and a caesar
- X. Concerning the promotion of patriarchs and archbishops
- XI. Concerning the imperial mourning attire
- XII. Concerning an imperial bride-to-be



[p. 133] Α' Περί τῆς τάξεως τῶν τε ἀξιωματῶν καὶ ὀφφικίων.

Οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως υἱοί, οἱ δεσπότες, προΐστανται τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν  
γαμβρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, δεσποτῶν καὶ αὐτῶν ὄντων.

- 5           δεσπότης<sup>1</sup>  
          σεβαστοκράτωρ<sup>2</sup>  
          [p. 134] καίσαρ<sup>3</sup>

- πρωτοβεστιάριος· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ τῶν Παλαιολόγων ὁ πρῶτος,  
ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοσεβάστου τὰ πράσινα φορέματα ἀφελὼν, ἐφόρεσε ταῦτα τὸν  
10 ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ Μιχαὴλ τὸν Ταρχανειώτην, τιμήσας πρωτοβεστιάριον·

- μέγας δούξ  
          μέγας δομέστικος· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀνδρόνικος τῶν Παλαιολόγων ὁ πρῶτος,  
ἐπάρας ἅπερ ἀρχήθεν ἐφόρει ὁ ἑπαρχος κίτρινα, ἐφόρεσε ταῦτα Ἰωάννην τὸν  
Παλαιολόγον τὸν ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου υἱόν, ποιήσας  
15 πανυπερσέβαστον, [p. 135] τῶν ἀνεψιῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπερέχοντα πάντων, ἔτι γε μὴν  
καὶ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου, τοῦ μεγάλου δουκός, τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου, καὶ  
τῶν λοιπῶν. Ὁ δὲ γε βασιλεὺς Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ δεῦτερος καὶ οὗτος δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ  
πάππος αὐτοῦ ἐποίησαν τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν Ἰωάννην, ὃς  
ἐγεγόνει καὶ [p. 136] βασιλεὺς, ἰσοστάσιον τῷ πανυπερσεβάστῳ· ἔπειτα οὗτος  
20 δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀνδρόνικος μετὰ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως θάνατον τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ,

<sup>1</sup> The opening in V and W is as follows: δεσπότης· σημείωσαι ὅτι οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως υἱοὶ οἱ δεσπότες προΐστανται τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ γαμβρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, δεσποτῶν καὶ αὐτῶν ὄντων.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, 270.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix, 270–71.

## [p. 133] I. Concerning the order of the dignities and offices

The emperor's sons, the despots, precede the emperor's brothers and relations-in-law who are also despots.<sup>1</sup>

despot

*sebastokrator*

[p. 134] caesar

*protovestiarios*: The first emperor Michael of the Palaiologoi taking away the green attire of the *protosebastos*, had his nephew Michael Tarchaneiotēs wear this, honouring him as *protovestiarios*.

*megas doux*

*megas domestikos*: The first emperor Andronikos of the Palaiologoi took away the yellow attire which the eparch wore from the beginning and then had John Palaiologos, his nephew, the son of the Porphyrogennetos,<sup>2</sup> wear this, making him *panhypersebastos*, [p. 135] superior to all his nephews as well as to the *protovestiarios*, the *megas doux*, the *megas domestikos* and the others. The second emperor Andronikos and his grandfather, the emperor, appointed John Kantakouzenos, who became also [p. 136] emperor [later],<sup>3</sup> as *megas domestikos*, equal in rank with the *panhypersebastos*.<sup>4</sup> After the death of his grandfather, the emperor, the emperor Andronikos

<sup>1</sup> When despots are mentioned in the text, their relationship to the emperor is sometimes specified, sometimes not. Here and at 42.4–5, *gambroi*, relations-in-law (sons-in-law or brothers-in-law) by marriage to a female relative, are mentioned. For the kin term see Binon, 'À propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue', 388–92, esp. 391–2. *Gambroi* despots are lower in the hierarchy than son despots and wear different *skiadia*. See below, 42. In practice, under the Palaiologoi, the majority of despots were younger sons and brothers of the emperor, followed by brothers-in-law. See Guillard, *Recherches* II, 1–24.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Porphyrogennetos' is Constantine Palaiologos, the son of Michael VIII and the only *porphyrogennetos* mentioned in the text. He was born in the chamber of the Great Palace called the Porphyra, sometime between August and December 1261. Holobolos states that his birth 'renewed' the Porphyra: ed. Treu, 77.74–78; 91.3–11. For Constantine, see Failler, 'Chronologie et composition dans l'Histoire de Georges Pachymère', 19–20. Constantine's son, John, was 17 when he was made *panhypersebastos* in 1305. See Pach. IV, 565.3–12; Greg. I, 271.9–18; Failler, 'Pachymeriana altera', 72. See also below, 53 n. 64, where the attire of the *panhypersebastos* is described.

<sup>3</sup> Proclaimed in Didymoteichon in 1341, Kantakouzenos was crowned in Constantinople in 1347. See Kant. II, 165.23–167.6; III, 29. 1–14. Verpeaux, *Traité*, 29, suggests that the pluperfect ἐγγέρονει (26.20), if taken literally, could indicate that Kantakouzenos was no longer emperor at the time of Ps.-Kod.'s redaction of the text. Although the work might have been compiled after Kantakouzenos' reign, the pluperfect cannot sustain the weight of this argument. See Hinterberger, 'Die Sprache der byzantinischen Literatur', 107–142, here at 113–120, 141, who demonstrates that in the overwhelming number of cases the pluperfect has the meaning of the aorist or imperfect. For the date of the compilation, see the Introduction, 17–18.

<sup>4</sup> For Kantakouzenos' appointment as *megas domestikos*, see below at 51 n. 62.

- τιμήσας τοῦτον δὴ τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν ὑπερέχοντα πάντων ἐποίησε, τῶν μὲν τοῦ πάππου καὶ βασιλέως ἀνεψιῶν, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θείων, τῶν ἐτέρων τε πάντων, καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ πανυπερσεβάστου καὶ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιάριου· ἦν οὖν οὗτος ἐντεῦθεν ὁ μέγας δηλαδὴ δομέστικος μετὰ
- 5 τὸν καίσαρα ἀρχή, καὶ καθεξῆς οἱ λοιποί·  
 [p. 137] πανυπερσεβάστος  
 πρωτοβεστιάριος  
 μέγας δούξ  
 πρωτοστράτωρ
- 10 μέγας στρατοπεδάρχης  
 μέγας πριμικήριος  
 μέγας κονοσταῦλος  
 μέγας λογοθέτης  
 πρωτοσέβαστος
- 15 πιγκέρνης  
 κουροπαλάτης  
 παρακοιμώμενος τῆς σφενδόνης  
 παρακοιμώμενος τοῦ κοιτῶνος  
 λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ· τὸν οὖν Μετοχίτην Θεόδωρον, λογοθέτην ὄντα τοῦ
- 20 γενικοῦ, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀνδρόνικος τῶν Παλαιολόγων ὁ πρῶτος τιμήσας<sup>4</sup> μέγαν λογοθέτην πεποίηκεν, ὃς καὶ ἦν μὲν ὑπερέχων τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπεδάρχου, ὑπὸ τὸν πρωτοστράτορα δέ. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦ κοιτῶνος παρακοιμώμενον,  
 πρωτοβεστιάριτης  
 [p. 138] δομέστικος τῆς τραπέζης
- 25 ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης  
 μέγας παπίας  
 ἔπαρχος  
 μέγας δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης  
 μέγας ἐταιρειάρχης
- 30 μέγας χαρτουλάριος<sup>5</sup>  
 λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου  
 πρωτασηκρήτις  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ  
 μυστικός
- 35 δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν

<sup>4</sup> The words Ἀνδρόνικος and τιμήσας are missing in both A and B.

<sup>5</sup> The spelling χαρτουλάριος given by Verpeaux from the manuscripts has been corrected in order to fit the form χαρτουλάριος consistently found elsewhere in Pseudo-Kodinos.

honoured the same *megas domestikos* Kantakouzenos by making him superior over everyone, over the nephews of his grandfather the emperor, over his own uncles and over everyone else, even the *panhypersebastos* and the *protovestiarios*.<sup>5</sup> Thenceforth it was he, that is, the *megas domestikos* who was the first one after the caesar, and the rest followed.

[p. 137] *panhypersebastos*  
*protovestiarios*  
*megas doux*  
*protostrator*  
*megas stratopedarches*  
*megas primmikerios*  
*megas konostaulos*  
*megas logothetes*  
*protosebastos*  
*pinkernes*  
*kouropalates*  
*parakoimomenos tes sphendones*  
*parakoimomenos tou koitonos*

*logothetes tou genikou*: The first emperor Andronikos of the Palaiologoi honoured Theodore Metochites who was *logothetes tou genikou* by making him *megas logothetes*. He was superior to the *megas stratopedarches* but below the *protostrator*. After the *parakomomenos tou koitonos* comes the

*protovestiarites*  
 [p. 138] *domestikos tes trapezes*  
*epi tes trapezes*  
*megas papias*  
*eparch*  
*megas droungarios tes vigles*  
*megas hetaireiarches*  
*megas chartoularios*  
*logothetes tou dromou*  
*protasekretis*  
*epi tou stratou*  
*mystikos*  
*domestikos ton scholon*  
*megas droungarios tou stolou*  
*primmikerios tes aules*  
*protospatharios*  
*megas archon*

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<sup>5</sup> This note to the title *megas domestikos* explains how Kantakouzenos' elevation by Andronikos III raised him above the emperor's relations and even the *panhypersebastos* and the *protovestiarios*. Below, again at 160. 3–13, these two title holders are mentioned together as nephews of the emperor. See the Introduction, 16.

- μέγας δρουγγάριος τοῦ στόλου  
 πριμμικήριος τῆς αὐλῆς  
 πρωτοσπαθάριος  
 μέγας ἄρχων  
 5 τατᾶς τῆς αὐλῆς  
 μέγας τζαούσιος  
 πραίτωρ τοῦ δήμου  
 λογοθέτης τῶν οἰκειακῶν  
 μέγας λογαριαστής  
 10 πρωτοκυνηγός  
 σκουτέριος  
 ἄμηράλιος  
 ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων  
 κοιαίστωρ  
 15 μέγας ἄδνουμιαστής  
 λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ  
 πρωτοἰερακάριος  
 λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγγελῶν  
 μέγας διερμηνευτής  
 20 ἀκόλουθος  
 κριτῆς τοῦ φωσσάτου  
 ἄρχων τοῦ ἀλλαγίου  
 πρωταλλαγάτωρ  
 μέγας διοικητής  
 25 [p. 139] ὀρφανοτρόφος  
 πρωτονοτάριος  
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναμνήσεων  
 δομέστικος τῶν τειχέων  
 προκαθήμενος τοῦ κοιτῶνος  
 30 προκαθήμενος τοῦ βεστιαρίου  
 βεστιαρίου  
 ἐταιρειάρχης  
 λογαριαστής τῆς αὐλῆς  
 στρατοπεδάρχης τῶν μονοκαβάλλων  
 35 στρατοπεδάρχης τῶν τζαγγρατόρων  
 στρατοπεδάρχης τῶν μουρτάτων  
 στρατοπεδάρχης τῶν τζακῶνων  
 προκαθήμενος τῶν μεγάλων παλατίων  
 προκαθήμενος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν παλατίων  
 40 δομέστικος τῶν θεμάτων  
 δομέστικος τῶν ἀνατολικῶν θεμάτων  
 δομέστικος τῶν δυτικῶν θεμάτων  
 μέγας μυρταίτης  
 πρωτοκόμης

*tatas tes aules*  
*megas tzaousios*  
*praitor tou demou*  
*logothetes ton oikeiakon*  
*megas logariastes*  
*protokynegos*  
*skouterios*  
*ameralios*  
*epi ton deeseon*  
*koiaistor*  
*megas adnoumiastes*  
*logothetes tou stratiotikou*  
*protoierakarios*  
*logothetes ton agelon*  
*megas diermeneutes*  
*akolouthos*  
*krites tou phossatou*  
*archon tou allagiou*  
*protallagator*  
*megas dioiketes*  
 [p. 139] *orphanotrophos*  
*protonotarios*  
*epi ton anamneseon*  
*domestikos ton teicheon*  
*prokathemenos tou koitonos*  
*prokathemenos tou vestiariou*  
*vestiariou*  
*hetaireiarches*  
*logariastes tes aules*  
*stratopedarches of the monokaballoi*  
*stratopedarches of the tzangratores*  
*stratopedarches of the mourtatoi*  
*stratopedarches of the tzakones*  
*prokathemenos of the Great Palace*  
*prokathemenos of the Blachernai palace*  
*domestikos of the themes*  
*domestikos of the Eastern themes*  
*domestikos of the Western themes*  
*megas myrtaites*  
*protokomes*

παπίας  
 δρουγγάριος  
 σεβαστός  
 μυρταίτης

- 5 Εἰσὶ καὶ προκαθήμενοι πόλεων κατ' ἁξίαν ἐκάστης αὐτῶν.  
 [p. 140] Ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου ἦν ὁ συμπένθερος τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ Χοῦμνος καὶ οὔτε εἰς παράστασιν ἐστάθη ποτέ, οὔτε εἰς ἀσπασμὸν παρεγένετο· διὸ καὶ ἦν ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ ἀνεπίγνωστος· κατεῖχε δὲ δικανίκιον ξύλον λεῖον· ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου βαϊούλου τόπος ἀνεπίγνωστος ἦν.

*papias*  
*droungarios*  
*sebastos*  
*myrtaites*

There are also *prokathemenoi* of the cities, in accordance with the importance of each of them.

[p. 140] Choumnos, the in-law of the emperor,<sup>6</sup> was *epi tou kanikleiou* and he neither took part in a reception,<sup>7</sup> nor was he present for [the ceremony of] the kiss.<sup>8</sup> Therefore his position was not known.<sup>9</sup> He held an unadorned wooden staff.<sup>10</sup> The position of the *megas baioulos* was likewise unknown.

<sup>6</sup> The daughter of Nikephoros Choumnos, Eirene, and the son of the emperor Andronikos II, the despot John Palaiologos, were married in 1303. Thus, Choumnos and Andronikos II were co-fathers-in-law (*sympentheroi*). PLP no. 30936: Eirene Palaiologina Choumnaina.

<sup>7</sup> The word *parastasis* denotes the reception by the emperor of the dignitaries and holders of court titles (literally, their standing position, στάσις), but also those who take part in the reception (244.4), and the room itself in which the reception is held (168.3). Pseudo-Kodinos and later authors use this word (see Doukas, 227.5–13; Syropoulos, 234.20), but the *Book of Ceremonies* (e.g., ed. Reiske, 136.25) and some writers (e.g. Pach. IV, 553.20) refer to the *proeleusis*, ‘procession’, to indicate the reception in the palace. Cf. also *parastasimon*: ed. Reiske, 70.10–13; Vogt, Commentary, I, 102–103. For the significance of the ‘daily reception’, see 395–98.

<sup>8</sup> See below, 182–87, for the Easter Sunday kiss.

<sup>9</sup> For hierarchical position, displayed at the (daily) reception, and for the ‘kiss’, see 380–87. Ševčenko, *Études*, 157–168 (followed by Verpeaux, *Traité*, 28–9), surmises that Choumnos, humiliated by the advancement of the *megas logothetes*, Theodore Metochites, to 9th place in the hierarchy, a position which eclipsed Choumnos’ position, did not come to public gatherings of the court. This passage has been used to give a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of Pseudo-Kodinos’ text. Kantakouzenos (I, 67.19–22) and Choumnos, however, supply a possible reason for the latter’s absence from court: illness. Appointed *epi tou kanikleiou* in 1295, he was forced to withdraw from public life approximately a decade before his death, in 1314/16, because of gout. For this argument, a discussion of the evidence and dating, see Riehle, *Funktionen*, 18–20, 40–43, 15–40. On this passage and its implications for dating, see 278–79.

<sup>10</sup> A few holders of court titles, the *tatas tes aules*, the *praitor tou demou*, the *megas dioiketes*, the *archon tou allagiou*, etc., are also said to carry a wooden staff that is ‘smooth’, that is, plain, unadorned, not incised. For this meaning, see Greg. I, 170.19–20 who describes as *λείαν* a headdress without embroidery. On staffs, see 336–38.



[p. 141] Β΄ Περὶ τῶν φορεμάτων ἐκάστου τῶν τε ἀξιωματῶν καὶ ὀφφικίων.

Τὸ σκιάδιον τοῦ δεσπότης ὀλομάργαρον, ὃ ἀῆρ αὐτοῦ ἔχει ὄνόμα[ρ.  
142]τα τοῦ φοροῦντος αὐτὸ χρυσοκλαδικὰ συρματέϊνα· τὰ σεῖα οἷα

[p. 141] II. Concerning the attire<sup>11</sup> of each of the dignities and offices

The *skiadion* of the despot is covered all over with pearls;<sup>12</sup> his brim<sup>13</sup> bears the names [p. 142] of the wearer<sup>14</sup> in gold-wire embroidery.<sup>15</sup> The pendants<sup>16</sup> are the

<sup>11</sup> The word φόρεμα is generic for 'attire' but is also specific to headwear. See 138.2 for the latter usage, 140.12 for the former. The word is sometimes accompanied by the phrase 'for the head', as at 138.1–2, leaving no room for doubt, but in other cases, such as at 134.5–6, it is not clear which meaning is intended.

<sup>12</sup> The *skiadion*, the hat that was part of the everyday attire of the holders of court titles, as is clear from 126.1–2, has not been securely identified with any hat known from visual representations. See 326–28. The pearl decoration of the despot's hat is likewise mentioned by Pachymeres (II, 417.16: *kalyptra*). No text relates the colour of the *skiadion* of the emperor's despot sons or brothers: see ch. I, n. 1 for 'despot'. The pearl decoration dominates according to this description. See below, at 42.4–5, for the *skiadia* of despots who were relations-in-law; they had gold-red hats with a more limited pearl decoration.

<sup>13</sup> The *aer* is otherwise, and more commonly, known as a liturgical cloth or veil that covers the elements of the Eucharist: ODB 1, 27. In Ps.-Kod. the word appears to have two different meanings. Below at 44.8 *aer* refers to the 'background' or 'field' of the fabric, a meaning attested also in Attaleiates' will (ed. Gautier, 129.1779: see n. 29 below. In this passage the meaning of the word is disputed. Verpeaux (*Traité*, 142 n.1) translates it as 'veil' and proposes that the *aer* covered the neck. However, the *skiadion* cannot be identified with certainty with any hat represented in images, and no hat represented in images is shown with a 'veil', although Choniates (271.35–36) mentions a white linen cloth at the back of the senators' hats. If the *skiadion* is to be identified with the hat of John VIII Palaiologos in the Pisanello medallion, the '*aer*' can perhaps be better understood as the 'brim', a meaning proposed by Du Cange, *Glossarium*, 33, and the earlier editors of the text, as Verpeaux indicates. For the hat of John VIII as a *skiadion*, see 327.

<sup>14</sup> The 'names of the wearer' are probably the monograms of the wearer embroidered onto the brim of the hat. See Grierson, *Catalogue*, V/1, 99, for the use of letters and monograms in the Palaiologan period for decorative purposes. See also the monograms on the clothing of unidentified persons in the tombs of the Chora monastery: Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I, 285, 288–92. See Pl. 3.

<sup>15</sup> The phrase, *chrysokladarika syrmateina*, used here to describe a monogram and below, at 58.12, to describe an image on a hat, indicates embroidery made with gold wire (*syрма*). In the 1396 inventory of Hagia Sophia the expressions 'with gold wire' and 'gold *syrmateinon*' appear next to each other, implying that they are synonymous: MM II, 568.11–13. The inventory also refers to objects as *chrysokladarika*, 'embroidered': MM II, 568, 7, 9, 25, 26, 28–29. Theophanes (I, 469.1–4; Mango and Scott, 644 n. 3) mentions the 'imperial workshop of embroiderers in gold thread' (*chrysoklabarioi*). The *chrysoklabarioi* took part in processions in the 10th c., along with the imperial tailors and the goldsmiths: Philotheos, 133.9–10. The word *chrysokladarika* (or *chrysoklabarika*: see Verpeaux, *Traité*, 142 n. 2) should probably be understood every time *syrmateinos* is mentioned, indicating embroidery made with gold wire. For another embroidery term see *klapotos*, 48.13. On embroidery, see 329–32.

<sup>16</sup> First attested in Ps.-Kod., *seia* (34.3, 44.2, 46.5, 48.13) derives from σείω, 'to move to and fro', 'to shake' (Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.) and is translated as 'pendants' (from

[p. 143] καὶ τὰ βασιλικά, πλὴν τοῦ κόμπου καὶ τῶν φοινικίων. Τὸ κόκκινον ῥοῦχον αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ βασιλικόν, μετὰ ῥιζῶν, ἄνευ τῶν στρατηλατικίων· τὸ ταμπάριον αὐτοῦ κόκκινον μετὰ μαργελλίων· αἱ κάλτζει κόκκιναι, τὰ δ' ὑπο[p. 144]δήματα αὐτοῦ

same [p. 143] as those of the emperor, apart from the knot and the palms.<sup>17</sup> His red garment<sup>18</sup> is just like the imperial one, with *rhizai*, but without the *stratelatikia*.<sup>19</sup> His cloak<sup>20</sup> is red with borders.<sup>21</sup> The stockings are red. His shoes [p. 144] are

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the crown) by Verpeaux, *Traité*, 143. It is a synonym for the more commonly known word *prependoulia*. For the latter, see Parani, *The reality of images*, 28 and index. In addition to the despot, the *sebastokrator* and caesar are said to have pendants on their *skiadia*, as also the *megas domestikos*.

<sup>17</sup> There is no representation of a despot's *skiadion* but the despot's crown (see ch. VIII) is represented with pendants on the lead seal of Constantine, son of Andronikos II. Pl. 4. The 'knot and palms' seems to be a reference to the ornaments that can be seen along the *prependoulia* and at their ends. 'Palms' are most likely trefoil-shaped ornaments: see below 38.9 Parani, *The reality of images*, 28, 29.

<sup>18</sup> 'Ρούχον, a generic word for 'garment' (see DuCange, *Glossarium*, 1309; below at 78.10: ῥούχαρεῖον, for 'wardrobe'). Pseudo-Kodinos uses the word only in connection with the despot, *sebastokrator*, caesar (44.2, 46.5), the emperor (126.3, 158.3) and also the uncrowned son of the emperor (142.6). Verpeaux (*Traité*, 143 n.2) translates *rouchon* as 'tunic' and indicates that he understands it to be an 'inner garment'. Cod. Cois. 79 f. 2r shows the red sleeves of a garment underneath Michael VII's *divetesion*. See Parani, *The reality of images*, colour plate 11 (facing p. 10) and sketch, plate 1. This could be the *rouchon*, an inner garment. However, below, Pseudo-Kodinos says that the despot's *kabbadion* (caftan) is red or violet. The *rouchon* is either a different item of attire from the caftan, or Pseudo-Kodinos has put together two different sources without eliminating the difference in terminology. See below, at 126.3 and 134.9 where he uses the word with its generic meaning. The colour 'red' (κόκκινον) of the despot's caftan, cloak and stockings shows his affinity to the emperor who had the exclusive right to red shoes and red ink. For 'red', see 354.

<sup>19</sup> *Rhizai* and *stratelatikia* have been identified as types of embroidery stitches. See Verpeaux, *Traité*, 143, n. 3, citing Chatzimichali, 'Τὰ χρυσοκλαβαρικά', 494–498. See Digenis Akritis (Jeffreys, G 4. 80.221–222; G 6. 184.556) where *rhizai* is interpreted as 'edging', 'hems'.

<sup>20</sup> Attested first in 14th c. texts, the *tamparion*, related etymologically to 'tabarro', 'tabard' (Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.) is, in Pseudo-Kodinos, an item of clothing worn only by the dignitaries, the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, but also the *panhypersebastos* and the *protovestiarios*: see 52.3; Parani, *The reality of images*, 64. It seems that Pseudo-Kodinos uses the word *tamparion* to refer to the *chlamys*, as does the 14th c. paraphraser of Niketas Choniates' *History* (Bonn ed., 171 app. at line 20) who replaces Choniates' *chlamys* with *tamparion*. Pachymeres (II, 417.11) uses *chlamys* for the garment that the emperor Michael VIII gave to his brother, the despot John. See the lead seal of the despot Constantine Palaiologos, son of Andronikos II, which shows him wearing a *tamparion/chlamys*: Pl. 4.

<sup>21</sup> *Margellion*, derived from the Latin '*margo*', 'border', is first attested in the 12th c. (Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.). See Balsamon's description of the 'luxurious gold-woven borders' popularly called *margelia grammata* and *antipana*: Rh-P II, 365. The seal of the despot Constantine Palaiologos shows borders on his cloak: see Pl. 4.

- διβολέα, χρώματος ὀξέος καὶ λευκοῦ, ἔχοντα ἀετοὺς μαργαριταρεῖνους ἐκ πλαγίων τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ταρσῶν, ἥτοι ἐπάνω τῶν τῶν ὑποδημάτων μουζακίων· τὰ σίδηρα τῶν περνιστηρίων αὐτοῦ οἷα καὶ τὰ βασιλικά, τὰ δὲ περνιστηρόλωρα διβολέα· ἡ σέλλα τοῦ ἀλόγου αὐτοῦ διβολέα ὡσαύτως,
- 5 μετὰ ἀετῶν μαργαριταρεῖνων ἔμπροσθεν τε καὶ ὀπισθεν καὶ εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τῶν ἰδρομαχίων, ἔχουσα καὶ μαργέλλιον ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν, ὡς [p. 145] καὶ ἡ βασιλική, οὐ μὴν καὶ μετὰ μαργάρων τὸ κοπριτούριον διβολέον· αἱ δὲ σκάλαι οἷαι καὶ αἱ βασιλικαί· ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς κεφαλάρεας τοῦ χαλιναρίου, διβολέας καὶ αὐτῆς οὔσης, ἀπηώρηται φοῶντα μετὰ φοινικίων, οἷα

two-coloured, violet and white,<sup>22</sup> with eagles<sup>23</sup> made of pearls on the sides and also on the instep, that is, on the upper leather of the shoes.<sup>24</sup> The iron of his spurs<sup>25</sup> is like that of the emperor; the spur-straps are two-coloured. The saddle of his horse is also two-coloured, with eagles made of pearls at the front, at the back, and on the four parts [corners] of the saddle cloth;<sup>26</sup> it has a border at the front and at the back, just [p. 145] like the emperor's. The caparison<sup>27</sup> is two-coloured but does not have pearls. The stirrups are also like the imperial ones. On the front of the headpiece of the bridle, which is also two-coloured, a tassel<sup>28</sup> with palms is suspended, as on the imperial horse, but not with knots. The saddle cover has

<sup>22</sup> The word *dibolea* ('two-coloured') is attested otherwise only in the short version of Pachymeres' *History*. Here the word is accompanied by a specification of the two colours, violet and white: see Failler, 'Les insignes et la signature du despote', 173–178, here 177. These are the despot's characteristic colours: 'violet and white insignia' (Pach. II, 417.16). Elsewhere in his description of the despot's attire and his horse's trappings Pseudo-Kodinos refers simply to 'two-coloured' without specifying the colours; he means violet and white: see below at 50.10. Failler (op. cit., 176 and n. 18) suggests that the two colours were juxtaposed rather than blended, with the violet taking up the larger field and the white scattered on it. For ὀξύς as 'violet', see Failler (op. cit., 177–178).

<sup>23</sup> Pach. II. 631.4–5, calls the eagle the 'imperial symbol' or 'emblem'. For red eagles, see below at 40.2,3, 44.7; violet eagles: 64.3–4. The emperor's boots are decorated with eagles of pearls and precious stones: 78.12–13. On the eagle motif, see 342–43.

<sup>24</sup> μουζάκια, attested from the tenth century in military treatises, are boots or sandals (Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.). Here, in combination with ὑποδήματα, reference is to the upper leather from which the shoes are made. See the discussion of the word by Shukurov, 'On some oriental borrowings in middle Greek', 155. For eagles on the emperor's boots see below, 79 n.135. For the despot's shoes adorned with pearls, see Pach. I, 631.4.

<sup>25</sup> Ps.-Kod. describes the trappings of the despot's horse in great detail. It is clear from this text, but also from historical narratives, that a horse's tack and other pieces are, together with the hat and shoes, the distinguishing characteristics or symbols of those in high positions. See Pach. II, 433. 9–11; 631.3–6 for the despot; below, 388.

<sup>26</sup> Ps.-Kod. mentions three different cloths in connection with the horse: the ἰδομάχιον or cloth under the saddle, the κοπριτούριον or caparison spread over the hindquarters and/or shoulders of the horse, and the ἐπ'αὐτοσκέπτιον, the cloth cover which is part of the saddle itself. See below at 236.9, for χαιώματα, another word for a caparison. Κοπριτούριον, which derives from the Latin *coopertorium*, is a hapax in Ps.-Kod. For κοπρητήριον, attested in a 13th c. text, see Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v. For richly caparisoned horses, see the Gozzoli painting (1459) of the Magi's procession in the chapel of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence. See Pl. 6. The gold and vermillion covering on the horse's hindquarters (Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, 106, and 92 and n. 80) is modelled on contemporary horse trappings. See Martin, *Textiles in daily life in the Middle Ages*, 48 and fig. 34, for the fragment of 15th-c. Italian velvet which resembles this horse cover.

<sup>27</sup> See n. 26 above.

<sup>28</sup> The author of the 13th c. romance, *Livistros and Rodamne*, describes the red silk tassels of the forelock and mane of the horse: Agapitos, p. 345.2305.

καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ κόμπωσι· τὸ δὲ τῆς σέλλας ἐπανωσκέπιον ἄσπρος κάμπος μετὰ ἀετῶν κοκκίνων μικρῶν· ὡσαύτως καὶ ἡ τέντα αὐτοῦ ἄσπρη, ἀετόπουλα γέμουσα κόκκινα.

- 5 Πεξεύει δὲ ὁ δεσπότης ἐν ᾧ ἂν τόπῳ προστάξοι τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς. Ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔτι νέος μὲν ὢν ὁ δεσπότης φορεῖ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐνι οὕτως ἀσκεπής· ὅταν δὲ καβαλλικεύῃ, φορεῖ οἶον προεῖπομεν σκιάδιον· εἰς ἐφήβου δὲ χρόνον καταντήσας φορεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τὸ δηλωθὲν σκιάδιον, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐορτάς σκαράνικον χρυσοχοϊκόν, λιθάρια καὶ

a white field<sup>29</sup> with small red eagles. His tent<sup>30</sup> is likewise white and full of small red eagles.

The despot dismounts at whatever place the emperor might order him [to dismount].<sup>31</sup> A despot who is still young wears nothing on his head in the palace but is bareheaded.<sup>32</sup> When he is on horseback he wears a *skiadion*. After he reaches adolescence,<sup>33</sup> he wears the *skiadion* that we have mentioned in the palace also.<sup>34</sup> On feast days he wears a gold *skaranikon*,<sup>35</sup> decorated with precious stones and

<sup>29</sup> Here, κάμπος is used to refer to the background of the cloth on which the eagles are embroidered and is synonymous with *aer* used above at 141.2.

<sup>30</sup> *Tenta* can be understood as ‘tent’: see below at 204.5 (see, also, *korte* and *skene* for ‘tent’ below at 100.5; Haldon, *Three treatises*, 165). For a tent with elaborate decoration, see Vat. gr. 1851, f. 6r (Spatharakis, *The portrait*, fig. 170). However, in this context, the word could equally as well refer to a parasol or canopy. Chinese authors of the 7th and 10th centuries refer to the ‘small carriages with white canopies’ of the Byzantines: Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, 44, 55. Robert of Clari (§89) describes the gold chariot of the returning victorious emperor which has a ‘high seat with throne and four columns bearing a canopy’. Furthermore, Ibn Battuta’s account of his entry into Constantinople in 1332, in the company of a Palaiologan princess, indicates that parasols and canopies were in use by members of the imperial court. The princess was greeted by her brother who ‘carried over his head a parasol ornamented with jewels’. The emperor also was under a canopy carried by horsemen and men on foot. Ibn Battuta was given a ‘horse, a robe of honor and a parasol’ by the emperor (ed. Gibb, II, 502, 503, 506). In Fatimid Cairo the caliph’s parasol matched the fabric of his costume: Sanders, *Fatimid Cairo*, 48, 89, 90, 94.

<sup>31</sup> For places of dismounting and their significance, see notes at 40.4, 46.9–10 and 389–90.

<sup>32</sup> For those who are bareheaded in the palace, see ch. IV n. 368.

<sup>33</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos contrasts *neos* (young) and *ephebos* (adolescent), stating that adolescents wear headcoverings. Gregoras (I, 567.16–22) corroborates Ps.-Kod.’s statement but uses different expressions to contrast the young, bareheaded men (ἐν ἡλικίᾳ) with those who are older and wear headcoverings. Terms used to describe stages in life vary greatly and there is no consensus on the ages indicated by the terms. According to verses attributed to Photios, the ‘adolescent’ years were 10–18. See Tomadakes, ‘Φωτίου, ἡλικία τῶν ἀνθρώπων’, 9–16; Prinzing, ‘Observations on the legal status of children and the stages of childhood in Byzantium’, 15–34, here at 21 (table). Pach. (III, 219.3–5 and note 2) refers to Michael IX, who was 16 in 1294 when he was crowned, as an ‘adolescent’ (*ephebos*). See also below note 368.

<sup>34</sup> For the wearing of the *skiadion* as a mark of age, see below, 324.

<sup>35</sup> Χρυσοχοϊκόν, literally, the ‘goldsmith’s’ *skaranikon*. The word indicates that the despot’s *skaranikon* was made of gold. Theodore I Palaiologos, despot of Mistra (1383–1407) is shown in a fresco wearing such a headpiece: Ebersolt, *Arts somptuaires*, 125, fig. 58. Ebersolt erroneously identified the hat with a *skiadion*. The *skaranikon*, a cylindrical hat with a domed or flat top, is the headpiece worn by the despot, *sebastokrator*, caesar and other court title holders on feast days. The word first appears in the 12th c., in Ptochoprodromos: Hesseling-Pernot, poem I, 248. See 332–36.



[p. 146] μαργαριτάρια ἔχον οὕτω λεγόμενα περίχυτα· τὸ δὲ καββάδιον αὐτοῦ ὁξὺ ἢ κόκκινον, μαργαριταρέϊνον, οἷον ἂν ἐκ τούτων ὀρέγοιτο καὶ ἀποδέχοιτο.

[p. 147] Τὸ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος σκαράνικον καὶ τὸ τοῦ καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐορτῶν ζητεῖται· τὰ σκιάδια τῶν γαμβρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, δεσποτῶν ὄντων,  
 5 χρυσοκόκκινα, συρματέϊνα, ἔχοντα σταυροὺς μαργαριταρέϊνους καὶ γύρους.

[p. 146] pearls, the so-called *perichyta*.<sup>36</sup> His caftan,<sup>37</sup> decorated with pearls, is violet or red,<sup>38</sup> whichever of these he desires and approves.

[p. 147] The *skaranikon* of the *sebastokrator* and that of the caesar for feast days is sought.<sup>39</sup> The *skiadia* of the relations-in-law of the emperor who are despots are gold-red, embroidered with gold wire,<sup>40</sup> with crosses and circles made of pearls.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Literally, ‘poured’ or ‘scattered’, refers to the (apparently) random dispersal of the pearls and gems on the surface of the hat.

<sup>37</sup> The *kabbadion* (from the Persian qaba: Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v. *kabadion*) has been securely identified with the ‘caftan’ and is attested in Byzantine sources from the 10th c. on, in both military and ceremonial contexts; *ethnikoi* wear them at court (Philotheos, ed. Oikonomides, 179.1; 209.24). Parani, *The reality of images*, 60–61 and n. 38; Dawson, ‘*Kerasmata, kabadion, klibanion*’, 40–42. In the late 9th/10th century *Oneirokritikon* of Achmet, the *kabbadion* is equated with the *skaramangion* (Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.) mentioned as the costume of the court title holders in the *Book of Ceremonies*. See the *Oneirokritikon*, ed. Oberhelman, §156.3 (p. 159). This identification has been accepted. See Grotowski, *Arms and armour*, 166–170, esp. 167 n. 160; more cautiously, Parani, *The reality of images*, 61 n.38; 57 n. 27. For the caftan, see Pl. 13, 18, 22.

<sup>38</sup> See 37 n. 18, 39 n. 22 above.

<sup>39</sup> The remark appears to be interjected here, out of place, since the author has been describing the despots’ attire and also returns to a description of the *skiadia* of the despots. Below, at 44.1, 46.4 he goes on to describe the attire of the *sebastokrator* and caesar. That would seem to be the place for the mention of the *skaranikon*. This passage is also one of several in the text where the author expresses a lack of knowledge (ζητεῖται: ‘it is sought’) about the state of affairs. Below, too, at ch. IX, n. 728 the author professes ignorance of the headdress of the *sebastokrator* and caesar. He means their *stephanoi* or ‘crowns’. The small number of *sebastokratores* and caesars at court in the 14th c. must account for the lack of knowledge about their headgear. On this, see ch. IX.

<sup>40</sup> Here, as everywhere in the text where a colour is specified, gold with red or other colours, it is difficult to know whether the accompanying word, *syrmateinon*, ‘embroidered with gold wire’, refers to the gold in the colour combination or is a separate, additional description of embroidery applied to the surface of the hat. For a discussion, see 331–32.

<sup>41</sup> The attire and the horse trappings of the despot sons, brothers and perhaps also other despot relations of the emperor, such as uncles, were presented above. From this passage it can be inferred that the *skiadia* of the relations-in-law (*gambroi*: see n. 1 above) differed from those of the other despots but that nothing else in their attire or that of their horses’ trappings did. This is not necessarily the case, yet Pseudo-Kodinos does not give any details about the attire of this category of despot, apart from their *skiadia*. These were gold-red and had a more limited decoration with pearls, the pearl crosses-in-circles forming a design. The latter decoration was perhaps in the lower part of the hat, in its ‘hollow’ (τὴν κάτω καὶ κοίλῃ ἐπιφάνειαν). Gregoras (I, 170.16–21) indicates that the grandsons of the emperor Andronikos II wore hats that were covered in gold-red silk in the upper surface ‘toward the point’, and were decorated in the ‘lower and hollow surface of the hat’. Crosses-in-circles decorated also the large candle carried by the *lampadarios*: below at 120.6–8. The motif, found on a coin of John Komnenos Doukas of Thessalonike (Pl. 5), on

Τὸ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος σκιάδιον χρυσοκόκκινον, συρματεῖνον· ὁ ἀῆρ καὶ τὰ σεῖα οἷα καὶ τὰ τοῦ δεσπότη. Τὸ κόκκινον ροῦχον αὐτοῦ οἶον μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ δεσπότη, ἄνευ δὲ ριζῶν· τὸ ταμπάριον αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ζητεῖται, πλὴν αἱ κάλτζαι ἡεράνεαι. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Καντακουζηνὸς  
 5 τοὺς γυναικαδέλφους αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην καὶ Μανουήλ τοὺς Ἀσανίους τιμήσας σεβαστοκράτο[r. 148]ρας δέδωκε φορεῖν αὐτοὺς ταμπάρια καὶ κάλτζας οἷα καὶ οἱ δεσπότες. Τὰ ὑποδήματα αὐτοῦ ἡεράνεα, ἔχοντα ἀετοὺς συρματεῖνους εἰς ἀέρα κόκκινον, ἐφ' ὧν εἴρηται τόπων τῶν τοῦ δεσπότη.

Ὅμοίως ἢ τε σέλλα καὶ τὸ κοπριτούριον ἡεράνεα· αἱ σκάλαι οἷαι καὶ  
 10 αἱ τοῦ δεσπότη· τὸ τῆς σέλλας ἐπανωσκέπιον ἡεράνεον καὶ αὐτό, μετὰ ἀετῶν κοκκίνων τεσσάρων· ἡ τέντα αὐτοῦ ἄσπρη, ἔχουσα χαρτάρια κατὰ ῥαφήν ἡεράνεα. Πεζεύει δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῇ τοῦ παλατίου αὐλῇ εἰς τὸ

The *skiadion* of the *sebastokrator* is gold-red, embroidered with gold wire. The brim and the pendants are like those of the despot. His red garment is also like the despot's, but without *rhizai*. His cloak of former times is sought,<sup>42</sup> but his stockings are [known to be] blue. The emperor Kantakouzenos who honoured his wife's brothers, John and Manuel Asan, as *sebastokratores* [p. 148] gave them to wear cloaks and stockings like those of the despots.<sup>43</sup> His shoes are blue with eagles embroidered with gold wire<sup>44</sup> on a red field and in the same place [on the shoe] as was said of the despot's shoes.

The saddle and caparison are similarly blue. The stirrups are like those of the despot. The saddle cover is blue as well, with four red eagles. His tent is white with lattices<sup>45</sup> sewn in blue. He also dismounts in the courtyard of the palace, at the

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embroidered silks and on the arms of Baldwin II of Constantinople (Bendall, 'The arms of the Latin emperors of Constantinople', 327–329), is attested in the 12th c., although there are no surviving examples before the 13th. See 243–44.

<sup>42</sup> The 'cloak' (*tamparion*) is the *chlamys*. See above at n. 20. For the attire of the *sebastokrator*, see the representation of the *sebastokrator* Constantine Palaiologos in the Lincoln Typikon. He wears a red caftan and a *chlamys* with gold medallions. See Spatharakis, *The portrait*, 192–3. Pl. 7. The Typikon dates to the first 30 years of the 14th c.: see Hutter, 'Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikons', 79–114, here 111.

<sup>43</sup> Gregoras (II, 797.2–6) makes reference to the promotion of the empress Eirene's brothers as *sebastokratores* and the bestowal on them of the 'insignia appropriate to this dignity', the hats and shoes. He does not specify the appearance of these articles of clothing. Kantakouzenos III, 33.9–10 refers only to the promotion (in 1347).

<sup>44</sup> Akropolites (§82:173.113–14) indicates that the *sebastokrator* John, brother of the emperor Michael VIII, had 'gold-woven eagles' (χρυσουφεῖς ἀετούς) attached to his blue shoes. He does not mention a red background. See Verpeaux, *Traité*, 142 n. 3.

<sup>45</sup> 'Chartarion', literally, 'a small piece of papyrus' (Liddell and Scott, s.v.) or 'a small piece of paper' (Failler, 'Le roseau, le papyrus et le papier', 207–216), translated by Verpeaux as 'quartiers d'étoffe', is here construed as 'lattice' based on the pattern of intersecting lines made when two leaves of papyrus are stuck together with their fibres joined at right angles. The lattice pattern was well known and represented in Palaiologan Constantinople. It is found on coins (Grierson, *Catalogue*, V/1, 91–92) of John III Batatzes (Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/2, 508, pl. 34, 56.1–3) and on those of the Palaiologoi (Bendall and Donald, *The later Palaiologan coinage*, 222–223). It can also be seen on the *chlamys* of a saint depicted in mosaic at the monastery of Chora: Nelson, 'Heavenly allies at the Chora', 34–5. Pl. 8. The pattern is associated with the Palaiologan monogram on stone carvings in Constantinople, Mistra and Thessalonike (Mango-Hawkins, 'Additional finds at Fenari Isa Camii, Istanbul', 181; *The City of Mystras*, no. 28, 180–182; Ousterhout, 'Byzantium between East and West and the origins of heraldry', 153–170, here 161–162, figs. 4, 5, 8), leading Grierson to suggest that it was a 'symbol of the state', although he was uncertain of its significance. Pl. 9. The device on the canopy of the *sebastokrator* was, I suggest, one of lattices sewn in blue thread against a white background (κατὰ ραφήν ἡερανέα: 148.13–14). There is no reference to embroidery here, although 'sewn' must refer to stitches that produce the *chartaria* on the white cloth. Terms that refer to embroidery may be reserved

τετράστυλον· λέγω δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τὸ τοῦ τόπου γνῶρισμα· τοῦ βασιλέως δ' ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ εὕρισκομένου, πεζεύει κατ' ἀναλογίαν κάκεισε τοῦ τόπου τοῦ τετραστύλου.

- Τὸ τοῦ καίσαρος σκιάδιον συρματέϊνον, χρυσοκόκκινον, οἶον [p. 149]  
 5 τὸ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος· ὁ ἄηρ καὶ τὰ σεῖα οἷα τὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ροῦχον ὡσαύτως οἶον τὸ ἐκείνου· τὸ δὲ ταμπάριον καὶ τοῦτου ζητεῖται. Αἱ κάλτζαι καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα ἡεράνεα· ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ σέλλα τὰ τε τοῦ κοπριτουρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπανωσκεπίου, καὶ ἡ τέντα αὐτοῦ οἷα καὶ ἡ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος, μετὰ χαρταρίων ἡερανέων, ἄνευ ἀετῶν. Πεζεύει δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐντὸς τῆς τοῦ  
 10 παλατίου αὐλῆς πλησίον οὗ ὁ σεβαστοκράτωρ πεζεύει.

- Τὸν μέντοι δεσπότην ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως καλοῦσιν οὕτως ἀπλῶς *Δέσποτά μου*, καὶ *Ἡ βασιλεία σου*· τὸν δὲ σεβασ[p. 150]τοκράτορα, *Δέσποτά μου σεβαστόκρατορ*, καὶ *Ἡ βασιλεία σου*· τὸν καίσαρα δὲ καὶ τοῦτον, *Δέσποτά μου καίσαρ*, καὶ *Ἡ βασιλεία σου*, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν σεβαστοκράτορα. Εἰδέναι  
 15 δὲ δεῖ ὅτι εἰ δεῖσει ἀνενέγκαι τινὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῷ βασιλεῖ τι, ὥστε καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ δεσπότης μνησθῆναι, *Ὁ αὐθεντόπουλός μου*, λέγει,

*tetrastylon*.<sup>46</sup> I mention this because it is a well-known place.<sup>47</sup> When the emperor is in another place, the *sebastokrator* dismounts there, too, by analogy with the location of the *tetrastylon*.<sup>48</sup>

The *skiadion* of the caesar is embroidered with gold wire and is gold-red [p. 149] like that of the *sebastokrator*. The brim and the pendants are like his also. His garment is like his.<sup>49</sup> His cloak is unknown. The stockings and the shoes are blue. Likewise, his saddle, his caparison and the saddle cover as well as his tent are like those of the *sebastokrator*, with blue lattices without eagles. He also dismounts inside the courtyard of the palace near [the place] where the *sebastokrator* dismounts.

In front of the emperor the despot is addressed<sup>50</sup> simply like this: ‘my despot’ and ‘your Majesty’. The *sebastokrator* is [p. 150] addressed as ‘my lord *sebastokrator*’ and ‘your Majesty’, and also the caesar as ‘my lord caesar’ and ‘your Majesty’, just like the *sebastokrator*. One should know that if one of the holders of a court title needs to bring something to the attention<sup>51</sup> of the emperor so as to make mention of the name of the despot, he says, ‘my *authentopoulos*,<sup>52</sup>

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for gold and silver-gilt work, since most embroidery was made with metal threads. See 329–31. For the caesar’s canopy, see 46.8–9. For the motif, see 343.

<sup>46</sup> The *tetrastylon*, a four-columned structure, as its name indicates, cannot be identified. See Magdalino, ‘Pseudo-Kodinos’ Constantinople’, 3. The etiquette of mounting and dismounting at the appropriate place in the palace courtyard is also given some emphasis by the narrative sources of the fourteenth century. See 389–90.

<sup>47</sup> For first-person interjections, see also at 82.4 and the Introduction, 19.

<sup>48</sup> See 389–90.

<sup>49</sup> It can be inferred that the caesar’s ‘garment’ (*rouchon*) is red, if it is ‘like that of the *sebastokrator*’. However, Muntaner (§212: 41–42), writing about the promotion of Roger de Flor by Andronikos II, describes the ‘robes’ of the caesar as ‘blue with a narrow gold border’. Either the colour of the robes of the caesar (and the *sebastokrator*) had changed in the years between Muntaner and Pseudo-Kodinos or, more likely, the *rouchon* and the robes are two different articles of clothing.

<sup>50</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos introduces a passage on forms of address for the despot (son), the *sebastokrator* and the caesar, at the end of his description of the attire of these three dignitaries. Cf. *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 686–92. The section on forms of address has a structural function as well: it divides the description of the attire of those who hold dignities, *axiomata*, from that of the rest of the court title holders, first among whom is the *meas domestikos*. See 344–45.

<sup>51</sup> The verb ἀναφέρω is used in petitions addressed to the emperor. See Macrides, ‘The ritual of petition’, 356–370, esp. 365.

<sup>52</sup> The word *authentēs*, translated here as ‘lord’, is found in this diminutive form with the *poulos* ending only in 14th c. texts (e.g. *Actes de Xénophon*, no. 19, p. 158.7: anno 1322/23) and later sources, with the possible exception of Vat. gr. 1851, the so-called ‘*epithalamion*’ for Agnes of France, where the author refers to the emperor’s son, the *porphyrogennetos*, as ‘my *authentopoulos*’. For the text, see Spatharakis, *The portrait*, 223.17–18. For discussion of this manuscript as 12th c., see 364–65. For a 14th c. dating, see Hennessy, ‘A child bride and her representation in the Vatican *Epithalamion*, cod. Gr.

- ὁ υἱός σου ὁ δεσπότης· εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἄρχοντες ὁμιλοῦντες μνημονεύουσι  
 τούτου, Ὁ αὐθεντόπουλός μας, λέγουσιν, ὁ δεσπότης· ἂν δὲ ἄρχων πάλιν μετὰ  
 ἀνθρώπου τοῦ δεσπότου ὁμιλῇ, εἰ μὲν βούλοιτο, λέγει, Ὁ αὐθεντόπουλός μου  
 ὁ δεσπότης· εἰ δὲ καὶ Ὁ αὐθέντης μας εἴποι ὁ δεσπότης διὰ πλείονα τιμὴν, οὐ  
 5 κωλύεται· ἂν δὲ πάλιν ἄνθρωπος τοῦ δεσπότου δεῖσῃ ἀνενεγκεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ,  
 ὥστε καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ αὐθέντου αὐτοῦ μνησθῆναι, οὐχ Ὁ αὐθεντόπουλός  
 μου λέγει ἢ Ὁ αὐθέντης μου ὁ υἱός σου, [p. 151] ἀλλ' Ὁ κύριός μου ὁ υἱός σου  
 ὁ δεσπότης· καίτοι γε ταυτοδύναμόν ἐστιν Ὁ κύριός μου εἰπεῖν καὶ Ὁ αὐθέντης  
 μου, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεκράτησεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ δεσπότηι λέγει τις, εἰ δεῖσει, Κύριέ  
 10 μου, καίτοι γε ταυτοδυνάμου ὄντος, ὡς εἵπομεν, ἀλλὰ Δέσποτά μου· ἄρχοντι  
 δὲ λέγει Κύριέ μου.

Τὸ σκιάδιον τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου χρυσοκόκκινον, κλαπωτόν,  
 μετὰ ἀέρος χρυσοκόκκινου, κλαπωτοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ· τὰ σεῖα χρυσοκόκκινα,  
 οἷα καὶ ὁ ἀήρ. Τὸ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ μετὰ κόμπων ἱνοκοπητῶν·

your son, the despot'. But if they speak to other holders of court titles, they make mention of him as 'our *authentopoulos*, the despot'. If, in turn, a holder of a court title speaks to a retainer of the despot, he says, if he wishes, 'my *authentopoulos*, the despot' but there is no reason why he cannot say 'our lord, the despot' for the sake of greater honour. If, again, a retainer of the despot should need to bring something to the emperor's attention so as to make mention of his lord, he does not say, 'my *authentopoulos*' or 'my lord, your son' [p. 151], but 'my master, your son the despot'; even though, as we said, it has the same force to say 'my master' and 'my lord', this usage has prevailed. Nor does one say to the despot, if one needs to [bring something to his attention], 'my master', even though it has the same force, as we said, but [one says] 'my despot'. However, to a holder of a court title one says 'my master'.

The *skiadion* of the *megas domestikos* is gold-red and embroidered with silver gilt thread,<sup>53</sup> with a brim that is gold-red and also embroidered with silver gilt thread. The pendants are gold-red like the brim.<sup>54</sup> His staff<sup>55</sup> has embossed<sup>56</sup> knobs.

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1851', 127–162. Pach. (I, 41.15), writing in the early 14th c., uses the participial form of Theodore II (1254–1258): αὐθεντοπουλευομένῳ.

<sup>53</sup> Like *syrmateinos*, the adjective *klapotos* describes embroidery. The word first appears in the 12th c. Ptochoprodromic poems where the making of *klapota* is called a craft/art (ed. Hesselring-Pernot, poem 4, ll. 23–28, 38–39 (pp. 74–75); Eideneier, poem 3, ll. 89–94, 106–107). Here the word is construed as embroidery made with a less precious metal than gold. Such threads are found in surviving Byzantine embroideries, along with gold wire. The metal is beaten and twisted around a silk core or applied to the surface of the fabric. See Johnstone, *Church embroidery*, 68–69, 71. *Skiadia* described as *klapota* are associated with the third and lowest category of court title holders, from the *protovestiarites* and below. They would therefore appear to be less precious and less prestigious than those described as *syrmateina*, embroidered with 'gold wire': see 331. However, also five court title holders higher in the hierarchy wear *skiadia* described as *klapota*: *megas domestikos*, *megas doux*, *protostrator*, *megas logothetes*, *megas stratopedarches*. See Table V. In their case, it is the colour of their *skiadia*, gold-red, that shows them to be in the highest category of court title holders, even if their *skiadia* are *klapota*. For the significance of the *megas domestikos*' attire, see 344–45.

<sup>54</sup> The brim and pendants indicate high rank since, apart from the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar only the *megas domestikos*, *panhypersebastos* and *protovestiaros* have *skiadia* with these features.

<sup>55</sup> From the *megas domestikos* onwards the holders of court titles have staffs (*dikanikia*) that are described in detail. According to Pachymeres (IV, 545.21–24), Andronikos II innovated in having silver-gold staffs for the 'highest members of the senate'. This statement finds support in Pseudo-Kodinos' description of the staffs of the court title holders up to and including the *megas stratopedarches*. For staffs, see 336–39.

<sup>56</sup> *Inokopeton*, translated here as 'embossed', refers to a technique, either repoussé or intaglio, or a combination, applied to metal, gold or silver. See Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.; Schreiner, 'Eine Beschreibung der Pammakaristos', 237–248. Manuel Philes (ed. Miller, II, 157) describes a silver plate (*panagiaron*) with a gold medallion in the centre showing the Theotokos delineated by this technique: κύκλον χρυσοῦν ἐν ᾧ ἦν ἱνοκοπητὸν ἢ ὑπεραγία



ὁ μὲν ἐπάνω κόνδυλος χρυσοῦς, λεῖος· ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν χρυσοῦς μὲν καὶ αὐτός, ἐντετυλιγμένος δὲ διὰ σχοινοπλοκίου ἀργυροῦ· ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν τρίτος χρυσοῦς λεῖος κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος κατὰ τὸν δεῦτερον ἐντετυλιγμένος σχοινοπλοκίῳ ἀργυρῷ καὶ καθεξῆς ὁμοίως τοῖς  
 5 [p. 152] ῥηθείσι. Τὸ σκαράνικον αὐτοῦ χρυσοκόκκινον, συρματεῖνον, ἔχον ἔμπροσθέν τε καὶ ὀπισθεν εἰκονικῶς τὸν βασιλέα ἰνοκοπητὸν ἰστάμενον ἐστεμμένον, ἐκ δεξιῶν μέντοι ἄγγελον ἓνα καὶ ἕτερον ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, περικυκλουμένους διὰ μαργάρων, ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνα· ἔχει δὲ τὸ σκαράνικον γύρωθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου σειρὰν μαργαριταρεῖν. Τὸ  
 10 καββάδιον αὐτοῦ διβολέον, μετὰ μαργελίων συρματεῖνων.

Αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα, τό τε σκιάδιον δηλαδὴ καὶ τὰ φορέματα, ἐφόρουν καὶ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ πρώτου Ἀνδρονίκου ἀνεψιοί, ὃ τε πανυπερσέβαστος, ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος, καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι, ἅτινα ἐδόθησαν καὶ τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ Ἰωάννῃ παρὰ τῶν δύο βασιλέων, ὅτε μέγας δομέστικος ἐγεγόνει.

The top segment is gold and unadorned.<sup>57</sup> The next segment is also gold but wrapped around with a silver cord.<sup>58</sup> The third one after it is gold and smooth like the first one. The fourth is wrapped around with a silver cord, like the second one and so on, in a manner similar to those mentioned. [p. 152] His *skaranikon* is gold-red, embroidered with gold wire, having at the front and at the back an embossed image of the crowned and standing emperor and [an image of] an angel on the right and another on the left, encircled by pearls, as is the image of the emperor.<sup>59</sup> The *skaranikon* has a row of pearls at the forehead. His caftan is two-coloured,<sup>60</sup> with borders embroidered with gold wire.

The nephews of the first emperor Andronikos – the *panhypersebastos*, the *protovestiaros*<sup>61</sup> and the rest – were wearing these, that is the *skiadion* and the [rest of the] attire; these were given also to John Kantakouzenos by the two emperors, when he became *megas domestikos*.<sup>62</sup>

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θεοτόκος. The word is perhaps synonymous with ἔγκοπτος (52.12), also used to describe the knobs of a staff.

<sup>57</sup> That is, it is not embossed or incised. See above at 33 n. 10.

<sup>58</sup> The word σχοινοπλόκιον refers to a cord or to a twisted or plaited reed or rush. In this context, the silver wrapped around the core of the staff is fashioned to look like a cord. Ps.-Kod. uses ἐντετυλιγμένος here (50.4) to describe the twisting or wrapping of the silver cord but he uses κεκλωσμένος (52.13) later. They appear to be synonymous. See Verpeaux, *Traité*, 154 n. 2. See 336–39, for the decoration of staffs.

<sup>59</sup> The image of the emperor described in this passage could have been made by a combination of engraving (intaglio) and embossing (repoussé) on a metal plaque attached to the, otherwise, cloth *skaranikon*. See n. 56 above. Portraits of court title holders who wear this kind of *skaranikon* survive in manuscripts and in metalwork itself. The metal plaque, trefoil in shape, is distinguishable from the cloth of the rest of the hat. See, e.g., the *megas doux* Alexios Apokaukos, the *protostrator* Theodore Synadenos and the *megas logothetes* Constantine Akropolites: Pl. 13, 22; Parani, *The reality of images*, fig. 76. For the uniqueness of the *megas domestikos*' *skaranikon*, see the Introduction, 345.

<sup>60</sup> Here, in contrast to passages above, the two colours are not specified but violet and white are meant. See at 38.1.

<sup>61</sup> John and Andronikos Palaiologos are meant. See above at 26.13–28.5, and n. 62 below.

<sup>62</sup> Kantakouzenos' promotion from *megas papias* to *megas domestikos* is not mentioned by any author. The date is uncertain. See PLP 5, no. 10973, for a proposed date of 1325; Weiss, *Joannes Kantakuzenos*, 10 n. 50:1322–1325. This passage shows that Kantakouzenos was given the attire of the nephews of the emperor Andronikos II when he was raised in the hierarchy. Since the *panhypersebastos* is said to have been given the yellow attire of the eparch upon his promotion (see 26.14 above), the attire described here, which differs greatly from the eparch's and resembles that of the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, must have been given to the *panhypersebastos* at a later date. For the *panhypersebastos* John Palaiologos and the *protovestiaros* Andronikos Palaiologos, see above 28.1–4. On the reordering of the hierarchy for Kantakouzenos, see 275–89.

Τὰ ὑποδήματα τοῦ πανυπερσεβάστου κίτρινα, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἡ σέλλα, ἔχουσα ἔμπροσθέν τε καὶ ὀπισθεν μαργέλλιον κλαπωτόν· καὶ [p. 153] τὸ ταμπάριον αὐτοῦ κίτρινον μετὰ μαργελλίων.

- 5 Τὸ δικανίκιον τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου χρυσοπράσινον, χρυσοχοϊκὸν ὑπὸ ὑελίου· τὰ ὑποδήματα αὐτοῦ πράσινα, ἔτι τε καὶ ἡ σέλλα, ἔχουσα καὶ αὐτὴ μαργέλλιον, ὥς καὶ ἡ τοῦ πανυπερσεβάστου, καὶ τὸ ταμπάριον αὐτοῦ πράσινον μετὰ μαργελλίων.

- 10 Τὸ σκιάδιον τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς χρυσοκόκκινον, κλαπωτόν, ἄνευ ἀέρος· τὸ σκαράνικον αὐτοῦ χρυσοκόκκινον, συρματέϊνον, ἔχον καὶ αὐτὸ ἔμπροσθεν μὲν εἰκονικῶς τὸν βασιλέα ἱστάμενον ἰνοκοπητόν, ὀπισθεν δὲ καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου· τὸ καββάδιον αὐτοῦ βλάτιον, οἶον [p. 154] ἂν βούλοιτο ἀπὸ τῶν συνήθων· τὸ δὲ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ ἔχει μὲν κόμπους χρυσοῦς ἐγκοπτούς, καὶ κονδύλους ὡσαύτως χρυσοῦς, κεκλωσμένους δὲ διὰ σχοινοπλοκίου ἀργυροῦ ὥς τοὺς τοῦ δικανικίου τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου.

The shoes of the *panhypersebastos* are yellow. His saddle is likewise yellow; it has a border, embroidered with silver gilt thread<sup>63</sup> at the front and at the back. [p. 153] His cloak is yellow with borders.<sup>64</sup>

The staff of the *protovestiaros* is gold-green, made of gold, under glass.<sup>65</sup> His shoes are green,<sup>66</sup> as also is his saddle which has a border like that of the *panhypersebastos*. His cloak is green with borders.

The *skiadion* of the *megas doux* is gold-red, embroidered with silver gilt thread, without a brim.<sup>67</sup> His *skaranikon* is gold-red, embroidered with gold wire, and also with an embossed image of the standing emperor at the front and an image of the emperor seated on the throne at the back. His caftan is made of silk, from whichever of the fashionable silks [p. 154] he may wish [to wear].<sup>68</sup> His staff has gold embossed knobs and segments likewise of gold wound around with a silver cord<sup>69</sup> like those of the staff of the *megas domestikos*.

<sup>63</sup> For *klapoton*, see above, n. 53 and study 329–31.

<sup>64</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos relates above (26) that when Andronikos II (1282–1328) made his nephew John *panhypersebastos*, he gave him the yellow clothing of the eparch. Pachymeres (IV, 565.3–15) and Gregoras (I, 271.9–18) confirm this statement, mentioning that the clothes, shoes and horse trappings were κίττος, a red-yellow or tawny-orange colour. Until then, attire and trappings of this colour had been reserved for the eparch. Thenceforth the eparch was deprived of these symbols of his office (Pach. IV 565.10–15) For ‘yellow’ see also ch. XI. No *skiadion* is described for the *panhypersebastos* or the *protovestiaros*. However, Matthew Blastares, in his hierarchical list, reports that these court title holders have red *skiadia* woven with gold: Verpeaux, *Traité*, 320.12–16.

<sup>65</sup> Above, *chrysochoikon* is used of the *skaranikon* of the despot, indicating that it is made of gold. Here, it seems that part of the staff of the *protovestiaros* is gold. Verpeaux, *Traité*, 153 and n. 1, translates the expression ὑπὸ ὑελίου as ‘coloured glass’. Hetherington (‘Byzantine and Russian enamels’, 135–137), finding (λιθάρια) ὑιελία in the context of precious objects, surmises that the term refers to enamels. Woodfin (‘Materials make the man’), interprets the phrase here, together with ὑπὸ ὑελίου λεγομένου διαγελάστου found below at 54.14–15, 56.19, as a description of the technique of ‘verre eglomisé’, reverse painting on glass to imitate enamel. See Gordon, ‘A Siennese verre eglomisé and its setting’, 148–153, esp. 148–149. For an example, see Evans, *Byzantium*, cat. no. 305, 502–503: two rondels in ‘verre eglomisé’ are set in the wood frame of the icon. See below, 56.19, where the same technique is called ‘diagelastos’. In this case, then, the green would have been painted on the reverse side of the glass. Although Pseudo-Kodinos is meticulous in describing the staff of each court title holder, he is not clear how the green and gold appear on the staff.

<sup>66</sup> Choniates (507.48) describes the shoes of this court title holder as ‘frog’ green: τὰ βατράχεια τὸ χρώμα πέδιλα.

<sup>67</sup> The mention of the lack of brim in the case of the *skiadion* of the *megas doux* can be taken to imply that the *skiadion* of the other court title holders do have brims. See 328.

<sup>68</sup> Paris. gr. 2144 shows Alexios Apokaukos who was *megas doux* between 1341 and 1345, under Anne of Savoy and John V, with gold-red *skaranikon* and blue caftan with a design of white griffins in medallions. Pl. 13.

<sup>69</sup> See n. 58 above.

Τὸ τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος σκιάδιον, τό τε σκαράνικον καὶ τὸ καββάδιον αὐτοῦ ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ μεγάλου δουκός· τοῦ δὲ δικανικίου αὐτοῦ οἱ κόμποι, ὁ μὲν ἐπάνω χρυσοῦς, οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἀργυροῖ· οἱ κόνδυλοι δὲ χρυσοῖ.

- 5 καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον, οἷα τὰ τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος· οὐδὲν δὲ φέρει δικανίκιον.

Καὶ τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπεδάρχου, ἥως τὸ σκιάδιον, τὸ καββάδιον, καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον, οἷα τὰ τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου· τοῦ μέντοι δικανικίου αὐτοῦ οἱ κόνδυλοι πάντες ἀργυροῖ ἄνευ τοῦ πρώτου, οἱ δὲ κόμποι χρυσοῖ ἐγκοπτοί.

- 10 [p. 155] Τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου πριμμικηρίου σκιάδιον συρματέϊνον, τὸ καββάδιον οἷα τὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ· τὸ τοῦ σκαρανίκου αὐτοῦ βλάτιον βερικοκκόχροον, συρματέϊνον. Ὡςπερ οὖν τὸ φαιόν ἐστι μέσον λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος, οὕτω καὶ τοῦτο μέσον κοκκίνου καὶ λευκοῦ. Ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὸ τούτου σκαράνικον τὸν βασιλέα εἰκονικῶς, ἔμπροσθεν μὲν ἰστάμενον ὑπὸ ὑελίου λεγομένου
- 15 διαγελάστου, ὀπισθεν δὲ καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου· τὸ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ ξύλον κεχρυσωμένον, οἷον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως.

Καὶ τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου κονοσταύλου πάντα ὡς τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πριμμικηρίου, οὐδὲν δὲ κρατεῖ δικανίκιον.

The *skiadion*, the *skaranikon* and the caftan of the *protostrator* are similar to those of the *megas doux*. The upper knob of his staff<sup>70</sup> is gold; the rest [of the knobs] are silver. The segments are gold.

The attire of the *megas logothetes*, that is to say, the *skiadion*, the caftan and the *skaranikon* are like those of the *protostrator*.<sup>71</sup> He does not, however, carry a staff.

The attire of the *megas stratopedarches*, that is, the *skiadion*, the caftan and the *skaranikon*, is like that of the *protostrator* and the *megas logothetes*. However, the segments of his staff are all silver, apart from the first one, while the knobs are gold and engraved.<sup>72</sup>

[p. 155] The *skiadion* of the *megas primmikerios* is embroidered with gold wire; his caftan is like that of those court title holders who precede him. The silk of his *skaranikon* is apricot-coloured<sup>73</sup> and embroidered with gold wire. Just as the colour grey is between black and white, in the same way this [colour] is between red and white.<sup>74</sup> His *skaranikon* also has an image of the emperor under glass, which is called ‘*diagelastos*’;<sup>75</sup> at the front he is standing and at the back he is seated on a throne. His staff is made of wood which is gilded, just like the emperor’s.<sup>76</sup>

The attire of the *megas konostaulos* is the same as that of the *megas primmikerios*. However, he holds no staff.

<sup>70</sup> For reference to the staff of the *protostrator* see Greg. (I, 263.17–18).

<sup>71</sup> That is to say, his *skiadion* is gold-red. Confirmation of the colour can be found in the comment added to the anonymous versified hierarchy list (see 279 and n. 11) and in Manuel Philes (ed. Miller, II, no. 41, 411.115–119). Both sources refer specifically to the hat of Theodore Metochites as *megas logothetes*.

<sup>72</sup> This court title holder is the last of the top group of title holders beginning with the *megas domestikos* and therefore the last to have a staff of gold and silver and a gold-red *skiadion*. See n. 55 above.

<sup>73</sup> Unlike all the others, the apricot *skaranika* are not described as gold-apricot. It is impossible to know whether this is an oversight or a meaningful omission.

<sup>74</sup> This statement corresponds to Souda’s definition of ‘grey’ (ed. Adler IV, 709). See 353–54.

<sup>75</sup> For *diagelastos*, a *hapax* in Ps.-Kod., as ‘transparent’ see DuCange, *Glossarium*, 290; Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v. See also above, at n. 65: ‘under glass’. The image is engraved and then coloured on the reverse of the glass, in imitation of enamel. Woodfin, ‘The materials make the man’, interprets *diagelastos* as ‘mock’ (enamel). See 334.

<sup>76</sup> Pach. II, 413.21–23, relates that when Andronikos II was crowned, Michael VIII allowed him to carry a gilded wooden staff: χρυσῇ ὑπόξυλος. See below also, at 84.9–10 where Pseudo-Kodinos indicates that the emperor gives his staff to the *megas primmikerios* who is allowed to keep it.

Τὰ τοῦ πρωτοσεβάστου φορέματα οἷα τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου κονοσταύλου, τὸ δὲ σκιάδιον αὐτοῦ χρυσοπράσινον, πλὴν τὸ σύρμα τοῦτο<sup>6</sup> βλάτιον· τὸ σκαράνικον δὲ οἷον τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου πριμμικηρίου, καὶ ἄνευ δικανικίου.

Τὰ τοῦ πιγκέρνη πάντα οἷα τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πριμμικηρίου, ἄνευ δὲ  
5 δικανικίου.

[p. 156] Καὶ τὰ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ πιγκέρνη, καὶ ἄνευ δικανικίου.

Τὰ τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου τῆς σφενδόνης φορέματα ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ κουροπαλάτου· τὸ δικανικίον αὐτοῦ ξύλον, ὃ ἐπάνω κόνδυλος κεχρυσωμένος,  
10 ὃ δευτερος χρυσάσπρος κεκλωσμένος, ὃ μετ' αὐτὸν πάλιν κεχρυσωμένος, ὃ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον αὖ κεκλωσμένος, καὶ καθεξῆς ὁμοίως.

Καὶ τὰ τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου τοῦ κοιτῶνος πάντα οἷα τὰ τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου τῆς σφενδόνης, πλὴν ὃ μὲν πρῶτος κόνδυλος τοῦ δικανικίου αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦς, ὡς καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἕως κάτω χρυσάσπρον  
15 κεκλωσμένον.

Τὸ τοῦ λογοθέτου τοῦ γενικοῦ σκιάδιον ἄσπρον βλάτιον μετὰ μαργελλίων· τὸ καββάδιον ἐκ τῶν συνήθως πολιτευομένων βλατίων· τὸ δὲ σκαράνικον αὐτοῦ χρυσάσπρον βλάτιον, συρματέϊνον, ἔχον [p. 157] ἔμπροσθέν τε καὶ ὀπισθεν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνα διαγέλαστον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τοῦ  
20 παρακοιμωμένου, καὶ ἄνευ δικανικίου.

Τὸ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίτου σκιάδιον κλαπωτόν· τὸ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον αὐτοῦ οἷα τὰ τοῦ λογοθέτου τοῦ γενικοῦ· τοῦ δὲ δικανικίου αὐτοῦ ὁ πρῶτος μὲν κόνδυλος χρυσοῦς, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς συβαλταρέα χρυσοκόκκινον.

Τὰ τοῦ δομεστίκου τῆς τραπέζης φορέματα ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ  
25 πρωτοβεστιαρίτου, ἄνευ δὲ δικανικίου.

<sup>6</sup> The reading τοῦτο suggested by an earlier editor, Gretser, seems required here. The manuscripts give οὐ τὸ (ABC), corrected by Verpeaux to οὗτω.

The attire of the *protosebastos* is like that of the *megas konostaulos*. His *skiadion* is gold-green;<sup>77</sup> besides the wire,<sup>78</sup> it is [made of] silk. His *skaranikon* is like that of the *megas primmikerios*. He is without a staff.

The attire of the *pinkernes* is like that of the *megas primmikerios* but he is without a staff.

[p. 156] The attire of the *kouropalates* is similar to that of the *pinkernes* and he is without a staff.

The attire of the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* is similar to that of the *kouropalates*. His staff is wooden. The top segment is gilded, the second one is gold-white, wound around [the shaft],<sup>79</sup> the next one is again gilded, the one after is again wound around, and so on in similar fashion.

All the attire of the *parakoimomenos tou koitonos* is like that of the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones*, except that the first segment of his staff is gold,<sup>80</sup> as also are those of the other [holders of court titles]. But from this point onward to the bottom, the segments are gold-white, wound around [the shaft].

The *skiadion* of the *logothetes tou genikou* is made of white silk with borders.<sup>81</sup> The caftan is made from the silks that are usually favoured. His *skaranikon* is of gold-white silk, embroidered with gold wire and has [p. 157] at the front and at the back the image of the emperor under glass, just like that of the *parakoimomenos*. He is without a staff.

The *skiadion* of the *protovestiarites* is embroidered with silver gilt thread. His caftan and *skaranikon* are like those of the *logothetes tou genikou*. The first segment of his staff is gold and the remaining ones, alternating,<sup>82</sup> are gold-red.

The attire of the *domestikos tes trapezes* is like that of the *protovestiarites* but he is without a staff.

<sup>77</sup> Choniates (*History*, 230.78–79) relates that the colour of the *protosebastos*’ ink was ‘frog green’: τῷ βατραχείῳ ... βάμματι. The *protosebastos* is the first of three court title holders for whom the colour and the fabric of their *skiadia* is specified: see Table V and n. 81 below.

<sup>78</sup> This phrase seems to be a variation on *syrmateinos*.

<sup>79</sup> As Verpeaux, *Traité*, 156 n. 1, comments, κεκλωσμένος, ‘wound around’, appears to be synonymous with ἐντετυλιγμένος (50.2, etc.). In this passage, however, Pseudo-Kodinos does not specify that a braid or rope is wound around the staff. Rather it appears that the colours are painted onto the staff in a spiral or in horizontal stripes.

<sup>80</sup> That is, it differs from that of the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* in having a gold and not gilded first segment. All the court title holders below the *parakoimomenos tou koitonos* have the same gold first segment, until the *megas droungarios tes vigles*.

<sup>81</sup> The colour and fabric of the *skiadia* is specified only in the case of the *logothetes tou genikou*, the *protosebastos* (56.1–3, 16–20) and the *protasekretis* (60.3–7). See Table V.

<sup>82</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 157 n. 2, adopts Du Cange’s interpretation of the word, and envisages repeating bands of gold and red stripes to the bottom of the staff.



Τὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης οἷα τὰ αὐτῶν, τοῦ τε πρωτοβεστιαρίτου καὶ τοῦ δομεστίκου τῆς τραπέζης· τοῦ δὲ δικανικίου αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος κόνδυλος χρυσοῦς, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος μαῦρος, εἴτα χρυσοῦς καὶ ἄλιν μαῦρος, καὶ καθεξῆς ὁμοίως.

- 5 Τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου παπίου φορέματα ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ δομεστίκου [p. 158] τῆς τραπέζης καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης· τὸ δὲ δικανικίον αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου τῆς σφενδόνης ἔχει κόνδυλον χρυσοῦν καὶ κόνδυλον χρυσάσπρον, οὕτω τοῦτο κόνδυλον χρυσοῦν καὶ κόνδυλον χρυσοκόκκινον.

Καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἐπάρχου οἷα τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου παπίου, ἄνευ δὲ δικανικίου.

- 10 Τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίγλης φορέματα, ἥως τό τε σκιάδιον καὶ τὸ καββάδιον, ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ ἐπάρχου· τὸ δὲ τοῦ σκαρανίκου αὐτοῦ βλάτιον χρυσοκίτρινον, χρυσοκλαδαρικόν, συρματεῖνον, ἔχον ἔμπροσθεν μὲν τὸν βασιλέα εἰκονικῶς καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου χρυσοῦν ἀναβατόν, ὀπισθεν δὲ ἔφιππον· τὸ δικανικίον αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸν ἐπάνω κόνδυλον κεχρυσωμένον ὄντα,

- 15 ὥς καὶ τοὺς τῶν πάντων, χρυσοκόκκινον κεκλωσμένον ἕως κάτω.

Σημείωσαι ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου μέχρι καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγάλου δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίγλης πάντες ἄρχοντες, ὅτε μὲν βούλονται, φοροῦσι καββάδια, ὅτε δέ, [p. 159] ἐπιλούρικα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ κάτω, οὐχ οὕτως.

- 20 Τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἐταιρειάρχου φορέματα οἷα τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου δρουγγαρίου· τὸ δικανικίον αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγάλου δρουγγαρίου χρυσοκόκκινον, οὕτω τοῦτο χρυσοθήρανον κεκλωσμένον.

Τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου χαρτουλαρίου οἷα τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἐταιρειάρχου, ἄνευ δὲ δικανικίου.

The attire of the *epi tes trapezes* is like that of the *protovestiarites* and the *domestikos tes trapezes*. The first segment of his staff is gold, the second is black, then a gold one and again a black one, and thenceforth in a similar fashion.

The attire of the *megas papias* is similar to that of the *domestikos* [p. 158] *tes trapezes* and the *epi tes trapezes*. His staff, like that of the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones*, has a gold segment<sup>83</sup> and a gold-white one, in this way a gold segment and a gold-red one.

The attire of the eparch is like that of the *megas papias*, without a staff.

The attire of the *megas droungarios tes vigles*, that is, the *skiadion* and the caftan, is similar to that of the eparch. His *skaranikon* is made of gold-yellow silk and is embroidered with gold wire. It has at the front an image of the emperor seated on an elevated golden throne and at the back the emperor on horseback.<sup>84</sup> After the top segment which is gilded, as are the [top] segments of all [the holders of court titles],<sup>85</sup> his staff is gold-red wound around [the shaft] to the end [of the staff].

Note that from the *megas domestikos* to the *megas droungarios tes vigles*, all holders of court titles wear caftans or [p. 159] *epilourika*,<sup>86</sup> as they wish. From him [*megas droungarios tes vigles*] and below, this does not hold.<sup>87</sup>

The attire of the *megas hetaireiarches* is similar to that of the *megas droungarios*. Just as the staff of the *megas droungarios* is gold-red, so is his staff gold-blue, wound round.

The attire of the *megas chartoularios* is like that of the *megas hetaireiarches*, but without a staff.

<sup>83</sup> The staff of the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* is said to have a gilded top segment (56.9), while that of the *megas papias* is described as gold. The similarity must therefore lie in the alternating gold and gold-white/gold-red segments.

<sup>84</sup> From this court title holder on, the images on *skaranika* are of the enthroned emperor on the front and the horseback emperor on the back. For these images, see 351–52, 383.

<sup>85</sup> That is, all those below him.

<sup>86</sup> In the middle Byzantine period, a garment of silk or cotton worn over armour: Chon., *History*, 189.57–61 (*epithorakion*); Haldon, *Three treatises*, 277, 288; Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 60–61; Parani, *The reality of images*, 118–120 and ‘Cultural identity and dress’, 106–107 and n. 39. The appearance of *epilourika* can be reconstructed from textual descriptions only. Those worn at the palace would have been made of silk and adorned with embroidery. For the *epanoklibanon*, see below at 98. The *tzakones* wear *epanoklibana* described below (at 98.6–8) as decorated with facing rampant lions. Grotowski, *Arms and armour*, 177–179, sees in the *epilourikon* and the *epanoklibanon* an identical garment. Kolias, *op. cit.*, 60–61, and Parani, *op. cit.*, 118–120, consider them to be different garments but do not know how they differed.

<sup>87</sup> Below (60.6–7, 10), Pseudo-Kodinos indicates that those who wear an *epilourikon* also wear a turban but not a *skaranikon*. See Table V. Those in the hierarchy below the *megas droungarios tes vigles* do not have a choice of caftan-*skaranikon* or *epilourikon*-turban. They are assigned one or the other combination. See n. 90 and n. 356.

Τὸ τοῦ λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου σκιάδιον οἶον τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου χαρτουλαρίου· φακεωλίδα δὲ φορεῖ οὗτος καὶ ἐπιλούρικον, οὐ μὴν σκαράνικον.

Τὸ τοῦ πρωτασηκρήτις σκιάδιον βλάτιον, διβολέον, χρώματος ὀξέος καὶ λευκοῦ, ἔχον μαργέλλια συρματέϊνα πλατέα, οὐ μὴν σταυροειδῶς, ἀλλὰ  
 5 κυκλόθεν, περί τε τὸ ἄκρον [p. 160] τοῦ σκιαδίου καὶ τὸν γῦρον τῆς τρούλης, ἣτις ἔχει ἐπάνω τύπον τριφύλλου, διὰ μαργελλίου, οἶον εἶπομεν· φορεῖ δὲ φακεωλίδα καὶ ἐπιλούρικον, οἷα τὰ τοῦ λογοθέτου, καὶ οὐδ' οὗτος σκαράνικον.

Τὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ σκιάδιον κλαπωτόν, τὸ δὲ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον αὐτοῦ οἷα τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου χαρτουλαρίου.

10 Τὰ τοῦ μυστικοῦ, φακεωλὶς καὶ ἐπιλούρικον, οὐ μὴν καὶ σκαράνικον.

Τὰ τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν φορέματα ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ· τὸ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ ἀργυροῦν μέν, ἀχρῦσωτον δέ, ἔχον ἐπάνω κόμπον καὶ μετὰ τὸν κόνδυλον ἕτερον κόμπον, καὶ πλέον οὐδέν.

Τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου δρουγγαρίου τοῦ στόλου φορέματα πάντα ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ  
 15 δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν, καὶ ἄνευ δικανικίου.

The *skiadion* of the *logothetes tou dromou* is like that of the *megas chartoularios*. He wears a turban<sup>88</sup> and an *epilourikon*, but not a *skaranikon*.

The *skiadion* of the *protasekretis* is made of two-coloured silk, of violet and white colour. It has broad borders embroidered with gold wire, not cross shaped but circular, around the summit [p. 160] of the *skiadion* and the circumference of its dome<sup>89</sup> which has the shape of a trefoil by means of the mentioned border. He wears a turban<sup>90</sup> and an *epilourikon* similar to those of the *logothetes*. He, also, does not have a *skaranikon*.

The *skiadion* of the *epi tou stratou* is embroidered with silver gilt thread. His caftan and *skaranikon* are like those of the *megas chartoularios*.

The attire of the *mystikos* is a turban and an *epilourikon*, but not a *skaranikon*.

The attire of the *domestikos ton scholon* is similar to that of the *epi tou stratou*. His staff is silver, not gilded, with a knob on top and, after the segment, another knob and nothing else.

The whole attire of the *megas droungarios tou stolou* is similar to that of the *domestikos ton scholon*, but [he has] no staff.

<sup>88</sup> The turban, which indicated Ionian origin in the ancient Greek world, was worn outside the court long before it is attested as headwear for court officials. See Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague, 'From ambiguity to ambivalence', 211–256; Mango, 'Discontinuity with the classical past in Byzantium', 51–52. Constantine, the son of Basil I, wore a white woven *phakeolis* at the triumphal entry of his father. The *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (§82:108–109) which records exchanges of gifts between Islamic rulers and their counterparts, states that in 1046 the emperor Constantine IX sent to al-Mustansir a great quantity of gifts which included 'high turbans of fine fabric embroidered with gold'. William of Apulia (late 11th c.) refers to a man 'dressed in Greek fashion' who wore what appears to be a turban: '*Exulis ignotam vestem capitique ligato/ insolitos mitrae mirantur adesse rotatus*' (ed. Mathieu, 98.13–100.16). In *Digenis Akritis*, the emir changes into 'Roman dress' which includes the turban: ed. Jeffreys, G 3, 58.257–260. Men and women are represented in middle Byzantine portraits wearing turbans but there are no similar images of members of the late Byzantine court. See Parani, *The reality of images*, 67–68, pl. 77c-d. For the emperor as a turban wearer, see Ps.-Kod. 136.7–138.1.

<sup>89</sup> The *protasekretis* is one of three court title holders for whom the colour and the fabric of their *skiadia* is specified. See Table V. Apart from this passage mentioning a 'dome', there are no other descriptions of the shape of a *skiadion*. The trefoil shape formed by the border can perhaps be envisaged as starting at the base ('circumference') of the *skiadion* and reaching up into the dome, somewhat like the trefoils formed by metal plaques on the *skaranika* of the highest court title holders. On these, see note 59 above; 333.

<sup>90</sup> Like the *logothetes tou dromou*, the *protasekretis* also wears both *skiadion* and turban. The combination turban-*epilourikon* is found also in the 12th c. *Digenis Akritis* (ed. Jeffreys, G 3, 58.258–260). For the foreign origin of the turban and the *epilourikon*, see 148.20–21.

Τὰ τοῦ πριμμικηρίου τῆς αὐλῆς, ἥως τό τε σκιάδιον καὶ τὸ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον, ὡς καὶ τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου δρουγγαρίου, τὸ δὲ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ χρυσοθέρανον [p. 161] συβαλταρέα, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίτου χρυσοκόκκινον.

- 5 Τὸ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου σκιάδιον, τὸ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ πριμμικηρίου τῆς αὐλῆς, οὐδὲν δὲ κρατεῖ δικανίκιον.

Τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἄρχοντος οἷα τὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου, καὶ οὐδὲ οὗτος κρατεῖ δικανίκιον.

- 10 Καὶ τὰ τοῦ τατᾶ τῆς αὐλῆς ὡς τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἄρχοντος· τὸ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ ξύλον λεῖον.

Τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου τζαουσίου σκιάδιον, τὸ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον, καὶ ταῦτα ὡς τὰ τοῦ τατᾶ τῆς αὐλῆς, φέρει δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁριστεροῦ μέρους τῆς ζώνης αὐτοῦ σειρομάστιγν, ὃν κοινῶς καλοῦσι σαλίβαν.

- 15 Τὰ τοῦ πραίτορος τοῦ δήμου πάντα φορέματα ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ μεγάλου τζαουσίου· τὸ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ ξύλον λεῖον.

Τὰ τοῦ λογοθέτου τῶν οἰκειακῶν, φακεωλὶς καὶ ἐπιλούρικον, οὐ μὴν δὲ σκαράνικον.

[p. 162] Τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου λογαριαστοῦ οἷα τὰ τοῦ λογοθέτου τῶν οἰκειακῶν.

- 20 Τὸ τοῦ πρωτοκυνηγοῦ σκιάδιον, τὸ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον ὡς τὰ τοῦ πραίτορος τοῦ δήμου.

Καὶ τὰ τοῦ σκουτερίου τοιαῦτα.

Τὰ τοῦ ἀμνηραλίου ὡσαύτως.

Τὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων, φακεωλὶς καὶ ἐπιλούρικον, οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ σκαράνικον.

- 25 Τὸ τοῦ κοιαίστορος σκιάδιον, τὸ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ μεγάλου τζαουσίου.

Καὶ τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀδνουμιαστοῦ οἷα τὰ τοῦ κοιαίστορος· τὸ δὲ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ ἀργυροῦν, ἀχρῦσωντον, ἔχον ἐπάνω κόμπον ἓνα καὶ μόνον, ἔχοντα ἐπικαθημένην περιστεράν.

- 30 Τὰ τοῦ λογοθέτου τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ φορέματα φακεωλὶς καὶ ἐπιλούρικον, οὐ μὴν καὶ σκαράνικον.

The attire of the *primmikerios tes aules*, that is to say, the *skiadion*, the caftan and the *skaranikon*, is the same as that of the *megas droungarios*. His staff is gold-blue [p. 161], alternating,<sup>91</sup> just as that of the *protovestiarites* is gold-red.<sup>92</sup>

The *skiadion*, caftan and *skaranikon* of the *protospatharios* are similar to those of the *primmikerios tes aules*. He holds no staff.

The attire of the *megas archon* is like that of the *protospatharios*. He also does not hold a staff.

The attire of the *tatas tes aules* is like that of the *megas archon*. His staff is made of unadorned wood.<sup>93</sup>

The *skiadion*, caftan and *skaranikon* of the *megas tzaousios* are like those of the *tatas tes aules*. He wears on the left side of his belt a mace which is commonly called a *saliva*.<sup>94</sup>

All the attire of the *praitor tou demou* is similar to that of the *megas tzaousios*. His staff is made of unadorned wood.

The attire of the *logothetes ton oikeiakon* is a turban and an *epilourikon* but not a *skaranikon*.

[p. 162] The attire of the *megas logariastes* is like that of the *logothetes ton oikeiakon*.

The *skiadion*, the caftan and the *skaranikon* of the *protokynegos* are like those of the *praitor tou demou*.

The attire of the *skouterios* is the same.

The attire of the *ameralios* is the same.

The attire of the *epi ton deeseon* is a turban and an *epilourikon*, but not a *skaranikon*.

The *skiadion*, the caftan and the *skaranikon* of the *koiastor* are similar to those of the *megas tzaousios*.

The attire of the *megas adnoumiastes* is like that of the *koiastor*. His staff is silver, not gilded,<sup>95</sup> and has only one knob, on top, with a dove sitting on it.

The attire of the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* is a turban and *epilourikon*, but not a *skaranikon*.

<sup>91</sup> See n. 82 above.

<sup>92</sup> See 58.2–4. These two officials are also among those who introduce the court title holders into the *triklinos* for the receptions. See 118.4–7.

<sup>93</sup> See n. 10 above.

<sup>94</sup> The *Taktika* of Leo VI (ed. Dennis, 106.24) refers to the *saliva* as a *martzobarboulon*, identified as a club or mace, a weapon that could hang from a belt. For another interpretation of the *seiromastes*, as a lance or spear, see the references and discussion in Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 176–178, esp. 178 n. 35. This *megas tzaousios*, together with the *protoierakarios* (see at n. 96), and the *protallagator* (64.19–21), wear accessories that relate to their service at court.

<sup>95</sup> See n. 80 above.

Τὸ τοῦ πρωτοῖερακαρίου σκιάδιον, τὸ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον, ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ μεγάλου ἀδνουμιαστοῦ· φέρει δὲ ἐπὶ ζώνης χειρόρτιον ἀριστερόν, ἔχον περὶ τὴν τῆς εἰσόδου ἄκραν ἐρραμένον μαργέλλιον ὑφαντόν, ἔχον ἀετοὺς ὀξέους.

- 5 [p. 163] Τὰ τοῦ λογοθέτου τῶν ἀγγελῶν, φακεωλὶς καὶ ἐπιλούρικον, ὡς τὰ τοῦ λογοθέτου τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, οὐ μὴν καὶ σκαράνικον.

Τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου διερμηνευτοῦ σκιάδιον καὶ τὸ καββάδιον ὡς τὰ τοῦ πρωτοῖερακαρίου· τὸ δὲ σκαράνικον αὐτοῦ ἐνδεδυμένον κόκκινον χάσδεον, ἔχον ἐπὶ κορυφῆς μικρὰν φοῦνταν κοκκίνην· τοῦ δὲ δικανικίου αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν

- 10 ἐν πλάγιον κόκκινον, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀργυροῦν διὰ πεταλίου ζωγραφικοῦ.

Τὸ τοῦ ἀκολούθου σκιάδιον, τὸ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ μεγάλου διερμηνευτοῦ, ἄνευ δὲ δικανικίου.

Τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου διοικητοῦ φορέματα οἷα τὰ τοῦ ἀκολούθου, φέρει δὲ δικανίκιον ξύλον λεῖον ἄνευ κόμπου.

- 15 Καὶ τὰ τοῦ κριτοῦ τοῦ φωσσάτου ὡς τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου διοικητοῦ, οὐδὲν δὲ κρατεῖ δικανίκιον.

Τὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ ἀλλαγίου πάντα οἷα τὰ τοῦ κριτοῦ τοῦ φωσσάτου· κρατεῖ δὲ δικανίκιον ξύλον λεῖον.

Τὸ τοῦ πρωταλλαγάτορος σκιάδιον, τὸ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ σκαράνικον ὅμοια

- 20 τοῖς τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ ἀλλαγίου, φέρει δὲ ἀντὶ δικανικίου ἦν ἰδιωτικῶς καλοῦσι

The *skiadion* of the *protoierakarios*, his caftan and *skaranikon* are like those of the *megas adnoumiastes*. He wears on his belt a left glove,<sup>96</sup> which has sewn around the edge of its opening a woven border with violet eagles.

[p. 163] The attire of the *logothetes ton agelon* is a turban and an *epilourikon*, like those of the *logothetes tou stratiotikou*, but not a *skaranikon*.<sup>97</sup>

The *skiadion* and the caftan of the *megas diermeneutes* are like those of the *protoierakarios*. His *skaranikon* is covered in red velvet<sup>98</sup> and has on its peak a small red tassel.<sup>99</sup> One side of his staff is red, the other is silver, of painted leaf.

The *skiadion*, the *skaranikon* and the caftan of the *akolouthos* are the same as those of the *megas diermeneutes*, but without a staff.

The attire of the *megas dioiketes* is like that of the *akolouthos*. He carries a smooth wooden staff, without a knob.

The attire of the *krites tou phossatou* is the same as that of the *megas dioiketes*. He holds no staff, however.

The attire of the *archon tou allagiou* is in every respect like that of the *krites tou phossatou*. He holds an unadorned wooden staff.

The *skiadion*, caftan and *skaranikon* of the *protallagator* are similar to those of the *archon tou allagiou*. Instead of a staff he carries what is commonly called a

<sup>96</sup> This is the only mention of gloves in the text. It is a necessary item of clothing for the *protoierakarios*, who protects his left hand from the claws of the falcon with a glove. See Kalamara, *Le système vestimentaire*, I, 51–2. An early Christian mosaic from Argos depicts a falconer with glove: Åkerström-Hougen, *The villa of the falconer in Argos*, 43–45; fig. 4.2, 5.1, 6.1. Pachymeres (III.155.1–2) describes red gloves decorated with pearls as imperial insignia but it seems that gloves were not among the court title holders' accessories.

<sup>97</sup> Below, at 156.4–5, Pseudo-Kodinos comments that this title holder constitutes a boundary between those who wear 'gold' *skaranika* and those who wear red ones.

<sup>98</sup> The word is attested in the 10th c. (*De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 607.7) and is usually understood as referring to silk. See DuCange, *Glossarium*, 1739–1740; Parani, Pitarakis, Spieser, 'Un exemple d'inventaire d'objets liturgiques', 157. However, the *Oneirokritikon* of the late ninth-tenth century indicates that the fabric is a woven textile made of the fur of an animal. The Arabic 'khazz' confirms this meaning. The fabric therefore had a nap. See Mavroudi, *A Byzantine book on dream interpretation*, 65–66 n. 14; 471; Oberhelman, *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, 197, 268 n. 670. See also the will of the nun Maria (1098) for 'cotton *chasdion*' (*Actes d'Iviron* II, no. 47, 181.44, 46) a flannel, a textile with nap. The *skouphia* of Sphrantzes was lined with *chasdeon*: ed. Maisano, 56.21. The staffs of the pope's officials who escort the Byzantine delegation at the council of Ferrara-Florence are dressed in red *chasdeon*: Syropoulos, 236. In these passages, as also in Ps.-Kod., the word may indicate velvet or velours.

<sup>99</sup> Red hats with tassels are depicted in Coislin 79, f. 2r showing Michael VII Doukas and officials. See Parani, *The reality of images*, pl. 11. If the hats in the manuscript image can be identified with those described by Pseudo-Kodinos, the manuscript is visual evidence for the wearing of these hats at court in the 11th c.



ματζούκαν, [p. 164] ἀργυρᾶν κεχρυσωμένην, ἥς ὁ στυλιδὸς ἐνδεδυμένος βλατίῳ κοκκίνῳ, ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἄκρον κάτω κεχρυσωμένον βουτίον καὶ κατὰ τὴν μέσην δέμα ὡσαύτως κεχρυσωμένον.

Τὰ τοῦ ὀρφανοτρόφου τοιαῦτα, ἄνευ δὲ δικανικίου.

- 5 Καὶ τὰ τοῦ πρωτονοταρίου πάντα ὁμοίως.

Τὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναμνήσεων οἷα τὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, πρωτονοταρίου τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, τοῦ δὲ δικανικίου αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν ἐπάνω κόνδυλος κεχρυσωμένος, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν συβαλταρέα ἀσπροκόκκινον, ἄνευ χρυσαφίου τινός.

- 10 Τὰ τοῦ δομεστικού τῶν τειχέων ὡς τὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναμνήσεων, τὸ δὲ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ ξύλον λεῖον.

Τὸ τοῦ προκαθημένου τοῦ κοιτῶνος σκιάδιον, τὸ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ κόκκινον σκαράνικον ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ δομεστικού τῶν τειχέων, τὸ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ ξύλον λεῖον.

- [p. 165] Τὰ τοῦ προκαθημένου τοῦ βεστιαρίου πάντα, καὶ τὸ δικανίκιον, 15 οἷα τὰ τοῦ προκαθημένου τοῦ κοιτῶνος.

Καὶ τὰ τοῦ βεστιαρίου τοιαῦτα, ἄνευ δὲ δικανικίου.

Τὰ τοῦ ἐταιρειάρχου πάντα ὁμοίως τούτοις· τὸ δὲ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ἐταιρειάρχου, χρυσοηέρανον κεκλωσμένον, οὕτω τοῦτο κιτρινοηέρανον κεκλωσμένον.

- 20 Τὰ τοῦ λογαριαστοῦ τῆς αὐλῆς τοιαῦτα, τὸ δὲ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ ξύλον λεῖον.

Τὰ τοῦ στρατοπεδάρχου τῶν μονοκαβάλλων ὁμοίως.

Τὰ τοῦ στρατοπεδάρχου τῶν τζαγγρατόρων ὅμοια τοῖς τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

- 25 Τὰ τοῦ στρατοπεδάρχου τῶν μουρτάτων οἷα τὰ τοῦ στρατοπεδάρχου τῶν τζαγγρατόρων.

Καὶ τὰ τοῦ στρατοπεδάρχου τῶν τζακώνων ὅμοια κατὰ πάντα τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

Τὰ τοῦ προκαθημένου τῶν μεγάλων παλατίων πάντα οἷα τὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ ξύλον λεῖον.

- 30 [p. 166] Καὶ τὰ τοῦ προκαθημένου τῶν τῶν Βλαχερνῶν παλατίων ἀπαραλλάκτως τοιαῦτα·

Τὰ τοῦ δομεστικού τῶν θεμάτων πάντα ὡσαύτως.

Τὰ τοῦ δομεστικού τῶν ἀνατολικῶν θεμάτων τοιαῦτα.

- 35 Καὶ τὰ τοῦ δομεστικού τῶν δυσικῶν θεμάτων πάντα, ἔτι τε καὶ τὸ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ, ὅμοια τοῖς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

Τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου μυρταΐτου, ἥτοι τὸ μὲν σκιάδιον, τὸ καββάδιον, καὶ τὸ κόκκινον σκαράνικον αὐτοῦ, ὡς τὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ ἀργυροῦν, χρυσοχοϊκόν, γαμματίζον ἄνωθεν.

- 40 Καὶ τὰ τοῦ πρωτοκόμητος φορέματα ὁμοίως τοιαῦτα, οὐδὲν δὲ κρατεῖ δικανίκιον.

Ὁ δὲ δρουγγάριος κρατεῖ δικανίκιον μόνον ξύλον λεῖον.

Ὁ σέβαστός οὐδέν.

mace [p. 164] of gilded silver, whose shaft is dressed in red silk, and which has at its bottom end a golden pommel<sup>100</sup> and towards the middle a binding, also gilded.

The attire of the *orphanotrophos* is the same but without a staff.

The attire of the *protonotarios* is entirely similar.

The attire of the *epi ton anamneseon* is like that of those before him, the *protonotarios* and the others. The top segment of his staff is gilded; the rest is white and red, in alternation, without any gilding.

The attire of the *domestikos ton teicheon* is like that of the *epi ton anamneseon*. His staff is made of unadorned wood.

[p. 165] All the attire of the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou* as well as his staff is like that of the *prokathemenos tou koitonos*.

The attire of the *vestiariou* is the same but without a staff.

All the attire of the *hetaireiarches* is similar to these [the last]. Just as the staff of the *megas hetaireiarches* is gold-blue wound around [the shaft of the staff], so too his staff is yellow-blue wound around.

The attire of the *logariastes tes aules* is the same. His staff is made of unadorned wood.

The attire of the *stratopedarches* of the *monokaballoi* is similar.

The attire of the *stratopedarches* of the *tzangratores* is similar to that of the one before him.

The attire of the *stratopedarches* of the *mourtatoi* is like that of the *stratopedarches* of the *tzangratores*.

The attire of the *stratopedarches* of the *tzakones* is similar in every respect to that of those before him.

The attire of the *prokathemenos* of the Great Palace is entirely like that of those before him. His staff is likewise made of unadorned wood.

[p. 166] The attire of the *prokathemenos* of the Blachernai palace is the same without any difference.

The attire of the *domestikos* of the themes is entirely similar.

The attire of the *domestikos* of the Eastern themes is the same.

The attire of the *domestikos* of the Western themes, as well as the staff, is similar to that of those before him.

The attire of the *megas myrtaites*, that is, his *skiadion*, caftan and red *skaranikon*, is like that of those before him. His staff is silver with the letter ‘gamma’ on top made of gold.<sup>101</sup>

The attire of the *protokomes* is similar. He holds no staff however.

The *droungarios* holds a staff made simply of unadorned wood.

The *sebastos* has no [staff].

<sup>100</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos uses a different word here for the knob, *boution*, otherwise expressed with the word *kombos*. *Boution* indicates a barrel-shape: Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.

<sup>101</sup> *Chrysochoikon* above, at 40.8 (*skaranikon* of the despot) and 52.4–5 (staff of the *protovestiaros*) refers to goldsmith’s work.

Ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ μυρταΐτης.

Οἱ προκαθήμενοι τῶν ἐντίμων πόλεων κρατοῦσι δικανίκια ξύλα ἄσπρα.

Ὁ δὲ παπίας κρατεῖ δικανίκιον μόνον ξύλον χωρὶς κόμπου.

The *myrtaites*<sup>102</sup> similarly.

The *prokathemenoi* of the eminent cities hold white wooden staffs.

The *papias* holds a staff which is made of wood only, without a knob.

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<sup>102</sup> The title of *myrtaites*, which is found in no other 14th c. list apart from Pseudo-Kodinos, is not mentioned again in ch. III, while the *megas myrtaites* is. A *myrtaites* appears also in the 15th c. satirical dialogue, *Mazaris' journey to Hades*, 10.14, 26.3: the *myrtaites* Andronikos.

[p. 167] Γ' Περὶ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἐκάστου τῶν ὀφφικίων.

Ὁ δεσπότης μὲν, ὁ σεβαστοκράτωρ καὶ ὁ καίσαρ οὐδεμίαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχουσιν, ἐὰν μὴ ταχθῶσιν εἰς ἡγεμονίαν.

5 Αἱ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου ὑπηρεσίαι καὶ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου κείσθωσαν τό γε νῦν ἔχον· λεχθήσονται γὰρ ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι τόπῳ.

Ὁ πανυπερσέβαστος οὐδεμίαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχει.

10 Ὁ μέγας δούξ, ὥσπερ ὁ μέγας δομέστικος εὐρίσκεται εἰς τὸ φωσσάτον ἅπαν κεφαλὴ, οὕτω κατὰ θάλασσαν οὗτος· καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔτερα κάτεργα εὐρισκόμενοι ἄρχοντες ὡς κεφαλαὶ ἱστῶσι τὸ σύνηθες βασιλικὸν φλάμουλον, ἥτοι σταυρὸν μετὰ πυρεκβόλων, οὗτος δὲ ὁ μέγας δούξ

## [p. 167] III. Concerning the service of each of the offices

The despot,<sup>103</sup> the *sebastokrator*<sup>104</sup> and the caesar<sup>105</sup> do not have any service, unless they are appointed to a command.

The services of the *megas domestikos*<sup>106</sup> and the *protovestiaros*<sup>107</sup> should be set aside for the time being; they will be described at the appropriate place.<sup>108</sup>

The *panhypersebastos* does not have any service.<sup>109</sup>

Just as the *megas domestikos* is the head of the whole army, the *megas doux*<sup>110</sup> is head at sea. The holders of court titles who are heads in the other ships raise the customary imperial banner, that is, a cross with flint-strikers.<sup>111</sup> The *megas doux*,

<sup>103</sup> Introduced by Manuel I (1143–80) to designate his son-in-law as successor to the throne, after 1204 this highest court title was bestowed more widely. See 430–31; Ostrogorsky, ‘Urum-despotes’; Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 27–48; Guillard, ‘Le despote’; ODB 1, 614.

<sup>104</sup> Introduced by Alexios I (1081–1118) for his brother Isaac. See 432; ODB 3, 1862.

<sup>105</sup> For this title, with a history stretching back to imperial Rome and attested during Constantine I’s reign, see Guillard, ‘Le César’.

<sup>106</sup> A title of the commander-in-chief of the army from the 11th c. See Oikonomides, ‘L’évolution’, 142. The *megas domestikos* is the only title holder to whom a whole section is devoted, outlining his service in the army. See ch. VI.

<sup>107</sup> The title of *protovestiaros* (‘head of the imperial *vestiarion*’) is first attested in the 8th and 9th c., representing a continuation of the late Roman *comes sacrae vestis*. The importance of the *protovestiaros* increased in the 11th c., when he was no longer a eunuch. See Oikonomides, *Listes*, 305; Guillard, ‘Le protovestiaire’. In the 13th c. he was given military commands; if he also had a ceremonial function it is not mentioned. See Akrop. §40: 66.18–20. In Ps.-Kod. he has a ceremonial role, especially evident during *prokypsis*: see at 132.18–134.4 and n. 347.

<sup>108</sup> These two title holders are mentioned together because of their ceremonial duties. See below at 158–164 and 132–140, respectively.

<sup>109</sup> Introduced as a high honorific dignity by Alexios I for his in-laws: Stiernon, ‘Notes de titulature’, 223; ODB 3, 1570. In the Palaiologan period the title could also be granted to the emperor’s blood relations, e.g. Andronikos II’s nephew John Palaiologos (PLP 21479).

<sup>110</sup> This title designating the head of the navy was introduced by Alexios I. See Guillard, ‘Le drongaire de la flotte, le grand drongaire de la flotte’, *Recherches*, I, 542–543; Oikonomides, ‘L’évolution’, 147. In the 13th c. the title was rarely given to the head of the navy. See Kyriakidis, ‘The *megas domestikos* in the late Byzantine army’, 254 and n. 54.

<sup>111</sup> For the *phlamoulon*, from Lat. *flammula*, ‘little flame’, see Grotowski, *Arms and armour*, 340 and n. 117; below, 126.9. Pseudo-Kodinos is the only Byzantine author to give an interpretation of the device on the banner and he does so in accordance with western heraldic terminology, when he refers to the four Bs, one in each quarter of the cross, as ‘flint-strikers’. See Oikonomides, ‘The Byzantine overlord of Genoese possessions in Romania’, 235–238, esp. 235; Grierson, *Catalogue*, V/1, 87–89. For the B-shape of flint-strikers known from the archaeological record, see Parani, *The reality of images*, pl. 213 (Corinth, 7th c.); Guillou, *Les outils dans les Balkans*, I, 183; II, 655–656. For the device on stone, see Ousterhout, ‘Byzantium between East and West and the origins of heraldry’, 159, 160–161, 168–169, fig. 7; van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 112–113. Two

τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στήλην ἴστησιν ἔφιππον· ἔχει δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν τε μέγαν δρουγγάριον τοῦ στόλου, τὸν ἀμηράλιον, τὸν πρωτοκόμητα, τοὺς δρουγγαρίους καὶ τοὺς κόμητας.

- [p. 168] Ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ, τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου ἀπόντος, φέρει τὴν τοῦ  
 5 βασιλέως σπάθην· ὅτε οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς μέλλει τοῦ ἵππου ἐπιβήσεσθαι, τοῦ κόμητος τῶν

however, raises a horseback image of the emperor.<sup>112</sup> He has as his subordinates the *megas droungarios* of the fleet,<sup>113</sup> the *ameralios*,<sup>114</sup> the *protokomes*,<sup>115</sup> the *droungarioi*<sup>116</sup> and the *kometai*.<sup>117</sup>

[p. 168] The *protostrator*<sup>118</sup> carries the emperor's sword when the *megas domestikos* is absent. When the emperor is to mount the horse, the *komes* of the

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Bs appear on silver coins of John III and gold and silver coins of Theodore II (Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/2, 498, 518, 523–524) but these seem to be dating devices. The four Bs appear for the first time on the coins of the Palaiologoi (Pl. 11), and on silver and billon coinage of the Gattilusi of Lesbos as well as small copper coins from Rhodes, late 13th/early 14th c.: Grierson, *Catalogue*, V/1, 84, 87–89. The device never appears on clothing. See 340–41.

<sup>112</sup> Muntaner (21.7–10) reports that when the emperor (Andronikos II) made Roger de Flor *megas doux* he sent to him, along with his staff of office and hat, the banner. The banner with an image of the horseback emperor is one of those brought out for the *prokypsis*: below, 130.1. A banner of the horseback emperor is known from an epigram of Psellos for Constantine Monomachos: Westerink, no. 27, p. 295. Cloth adorned with the representation of the horseback emperor was sent to the Abbasid caliph Al-Radi in 940 by Romanos I: *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, §73, 101. On the motif of the horseback emperor, see 334. A lead seal of Theodora, wife of the *megas doux* Isaac, shows a ship with a pennant flying from the mast: Zacos-Veglery, *Byzantine lead seals*, I/3, no. 2751, pp. 1566–1568. For the dating of the seal to the 1320s, see Seibt and Zarnitz, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk*, 45–46.

<sup>113</sup> This naval title was introduced by Alexios I. See Guillard, 'Le drongaire de la flotte', in *Recherches*, I, 540–541.

<sup>114</sup> For the title of *ameralios* ('admiral'), attested from 1305, see Failler, 'L'inscription', 229–239, and below 305. Muntaner (403) confirms that the *megas doux* had 'authority over the admiral' in the early 14th c.

<sup>115</sup> According to Guillard, 'Préteure du peuple, skoutérios, protokomés', 86–87, the *protokomes* was the title of a naval officer introduced in the Palaiologan period. He derives the title from the middle Byzantine *kometes* of the fleet. It is ranked 75th in Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy and its function is described below, 114.6–7.

<sup>116</sup> A military rank first attested in the early 7th c. See ODB I, 663. As a naval officer, the *droungarios* is ranked 77th in Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy.

<sup>117</sup> The *komes*, unlike the *protokomes*, is not part of Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy, although the title appears in another Palaiologan court list, the appendix to Constantine Harmenopoulos' *Hexabiblos* (see Table I). In late antiquity the title designated a military rank. *Kometai* of the fleet are attested in middle Byzantium (see note 115 above) and served as naval officers in the Palaiologan period.

<sup>118</sup> From here, to 82.8, the author relates the functions of the *protostrator*, adding several notes that relate to the imperial horses and riding of the horses. See n. 143 below. A household title for the emperor's squire attested since the 7th and 8th c., the *protostrator* was the head of the mounted attendants of the emperor. Haldon, *Warfare, state and society*, 119. By the 11th c. he was second in command of the imperial armies, after the *megas domestikos*. See Guillard, 'Le protostrator', *Recherches*, I, 478–497. The 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII also stipulates that the *protostrator* carries the emperor's sword when the



- βασιλικῶν ἵππων κομίσαντος ἵππον καὶ κρατοῦντος αὐτόν, μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιβῆναι ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλινοῦ λαβὼν σύρει τὸν ἵππον μέχρι καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου ἢ πέμπτου τῆς τοῦ παλατίου αὐλῆς μέρους· ἔπειτα διαδεξάμενος τοῦτον ὁ μέγας χαρτουλᾶριος φέρει διὰ τοῦ χαλινοῦ ἕως τῆς πύλης· ὡσαύτως
- 5 ποιεῖ καὶ ὅποτε μέλλει πεζεύσειν ὁ βασιλεὺς, φέρων δηλονότι ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης τὸν ἵππον μέχρι καὶ τοῦ προρρηθέντος τόπου, ἀφ' οὗ διαδέχεται πάλιν αὐτὸν ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ, φέρων ἕως καὶ τοῦ πεζεύματος. Εἰ δ' ἴσως τύχοι τὸν πρωτοστράτορα ἀποδημεῖν, ποιεῖ τοῦτο ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους ὁ μέγας χαρτουλᾶριος· ἂν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀποδημεῖ, φέρει τὸν ἵππον ἀπὸ τῶν
- 10 καθευρεθέντων ἀρχόντων ὁ ἐντιμότερος.

Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἔθος ἐστὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐτοίμους εἶναι ἵππους ἐπτά, οἳ καὶ καλοῦνται στρώσια, ἐκδεχομένους τὸν βασιλέα καβαλλικεῦσαι οἷον ἂν ἐκ τούτων βούλ[ρ. 169]οιτο· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἵπποι ἀκολουθοῦσιν, οἳ καὶ καλοῦνται συρτά. Ὁ μέντοι δηλωθεὶς κόμης ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔχει, οἷον ἂν ἐκ τῶν

imperial horses<sup>119</sup> brings the horse and holds it; after the emperor has mounted the horse, the *protostrator* draws the horse as far as the fourth or fifth section of the palace courtyard, holding it by the bridle.<sup>120</sup> Then, succeeding him, the *megas chartoularios*<sup>121</sup> brings the horse by the bridle as far as the gate. He acts in this way also whenever the emperor is going to dismount, that is, he brings the horse from the gate as far as the forementioned place at which the *protostrator* succeeds him again, bringing [the horse] as far as the *pezeuma*.<sup>122</sup> If it should happen that the *protostrator* is away, the *megas chartoularios* does this from start to finish. If he also is away, the most eminent of the court title holders present brings the horse.

One should know that it is a custom for seven horses to be ready every day; they are called 'saddled', and they stand and wait for the emperor to mount whichever of them he might choose. [p. 169] The rest of the horses, called 'in-train',<sup>123</sup> follow. However, the said *komes*<sup>124</sup> has licence to mount whichever of the

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*megas domestikos* is absent. However, this document refers to 'one of the *protostratores*', implying that there was more than one at any time. See Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 38.6–10. For the ceremonial sword, see Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 173–175. See 349–50.

<sup>119</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos gives an account (74.14–76.14) of the duties of this *komes* of the imperial horses within his description of the function of the *protostrator*. See Pach. I, 47.10–12 for Chadenos, a *komes* of the imperial horses.

<sup>120</sup> The role of the *protostrator*, as described by Pseudo-Kodinos, is confirmed by Choniates (*History*, 457.20–458.22). After the coronation of Alexios III (1195), the *protostrator* brought the horse to the emperor, drawing it by its bridle. For the procedure described here, see 391.

<sup>121</sup> Attested already during the 9th and 10th c. as *megas chartoularios tou genikou*, the official was subordinated to the *logothetes tou genikou*. See Philotheos, ed. Oikonomides, 113.28; Guillard, 'Chartulaire et grand chartulaire', 419. However, the late Byzantine *megas chartoularios*, with his role as a squire in the palace courtyard, derives from the 12th c. office of the *chartoularios tou staulou* (known also as the *chartoularios ton hippostathmon*). See Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 145, n. 131, with references to the sources; Oikonomides, 'La tour du grand chartulaire Lapardas', 33–34.

<sup>122</sup> The place for dismounting; literally, the place where one's feet touch the ground. See also below at 198.5 (ch.V). There appear to be several places for mounting and dismounting within the courtyard of the palace, depending on the status of the person. See also the *tetrastylon*, 46.1. Although it is nowhere stated where the emperor mounts his horse, it can be inferred from 72.5–74.7 that the *pezeuma* was also the imperial mounting place. Gregoras (III, 506.15–20) indicates, indirectly, that it was somewhere beyond the middle of the courtyard. On mounting and dismounting procedures, see 389–91.

<sup>123</sup> Horses 'in train' or 'spare' mounts: Haldon, *Three treatises*, 195. There would be six horses in train on each occasion the emperor rode out.

<sup>124</sup> The *komes* of the imperial horses: 72.5–74.1. From here to 76.14 the privileges of the *komes* with regard to the imperial horses are outlined. He has 'license' to mount any of the horses 'in train' but only in the emperor's presence. These horses constitute the *kaballarikion* or cavalcade. See n. 125.

- βασιλικῶν ἵππων βούλοιτο, καβαλλικεύειν εἰς τὸ καβαλλαρίκιον τοῦ  
 βασιλέως, ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ καὶ ἐθίζειν, πεζεῦειν δ' αὖ εἰς τὸ  
 καβαλλαρίκιον, ἐντὸς μέντοι, ὡς εἴρηται, τῆς αὐλῆς μόνον, ἐκβῆναι δὲ ταύτης  
 5 ἰππότης ἢ εἰσελθεῖν οὐθ' οὗτος οὔτε τις ἕτερος· εἰ δὲ δεήσει ἄρχοντάς τινας  
 καβαλλικεῦσαι ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, πεζῇ μὲν εἰσέρχονται, εἴτα καβαλλικεύουσι· πάλιν  
 δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐκβολὴν αὐτῶν πεζεύοντες ἐξέρχονται πεζῇ· ἔχει τε ἄδειαν ὁ κόμης  
 βασιλέως παρόντος βασιλικὸν καβαλλικεύειν συρτόν, οἷον ἂν βούλοιτο,  
 ἀπόντος δ' οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ σαγίσματος τῶν τοῦ ἵππου καπουλίων ἐπικειμένου  
 μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἡμισείας σκέποντος σέλλας, οὕτω καβαλλικεῦει, ἀπερχόμενος  
 10 ἀλλαχοῦ μὲν οὐδαμοῦ, ἕως δὲ καὶ μόνου τοῦ στρατορικίου.  
 Ἔθος δ'<sup>7</sup> ἐτι καὶ τοῦτο κατ' ἔτος ἐστίν, τὸ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ μεγάλου Πάσχα  
 καιρὸν γίνεσθαι σέλλας βασιλικὰς καὶ χαλινοὺς καὶ ἐπα[ρ. 170]νωσκέπια  
 πάντα καινὰ, καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ λαμβάνειν πάντα τὸν κόμητα, ἥτοι τὰς τε σέλλας  
 μετὰ τῶν κομπωσίων καὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς οὕτω μετὰ τῶν φουντῶν.  
 15 Ἡ δὲ τῶν λεγομένων συρτῶν βασιλικῶν ἵππων ἀκολούθησις, ὁπηνίκα  
 καβαλλικεῦει ὁ βασιλεὺς, λέγεται γενέσθαι ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε· τὸν βασιλέα  
 Θεόφιλον, φασι, γενέσθαι φιλοδίκαιον· ἰππότην οὖν φερόμενόν ποτε,

<sup>7</sup> The reading of B is preferred here against the one found in A and C, δὲ ὅτι, accepted by Verpeaux. C has only δὲ, and omits ὅτι.

imperial horses he wishes to mount in the *kaballarikion*<sup>125</sup> of the emperor, as well as to lead and bring it into the courtyard and to draw it up and also to dismount in the *kaballarikion* of the emperor. But [this happens] only inside the courtyard, as mentioned; neither he nor anyone else [can] exit or enter it on horseback. If certain holders of court titles wish to mount in the courtyard, they enter on foot and then they mount. Conversely, with regard to their departure, they dismount and go out on foot.<sup>126</sup> The *komes* has licence to mount, in the presence of the emperor, an imperial horse [that is] ‘in-train’, whichever he might wish, but when the emperor is absent, he cannot. He mounts [horses] which have a saddle cloth laid over the croup of the horse covering up to half the saddle,<sup>127</sup> and he goes no further than the stables.<sup>128</sup>

It is also a custom and this an annual one, that during the period of holy Easter the imperial saddles, bridles and covers<sup>129</sup> [p. 170] are all renewed, and the *komes* takes all the old ones, that is, the saddles with the knots<sup>130</sup> and the bridles with the tassels.

The retinue of the so-called ‘in-train’ imperial horses, whenever the emperor rides out, is said to have come about for the following reason. They say that the emperor Theophilos was a lover of justice.<sup>131</sup> Once when he was riding on horseback,

<sup>125</sup> The *kaballarikion* is attested only in Pseudo-Kodinos and in Michael VIII’s 1272 *prostagma* for Andronikos II: ‘When you mount in the *kabal(l)arikion* of my Majesty’: Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzeit’, 39.45. Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v., defines the word as a riding school for horses. It is more likely that it refers to the cavalcade of the emperor.

<sup>126</sup> According to Gregoras (III, 506.7–10) no one was allowed to enter or leave the courtyard of the palace riding a horse, apart from the emperor, his children and the brothers of the emperor. That this was also the case in earlier centuries is confirmed by Psellos (II, 128.3–7) and Chon. (51.84–85). See 389.

<sup>127</sup> For the ‘saddle cloth’ or *sagisma*, see Haldon, *Three treatises*, 128.551; 197. See also above, 38, for other terms that denote horse covers. For the differentiation made with regard to the covering of the saddle, see 391.

<sup>128</sup> The *stratorikion*: see *Actes de Kutlumis*, no. 8 (1313), 52.17; Haldon, *Three treatises*, 170, 253; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 299. The stables were beyond the courtyard of the palace at some unspecified distance. See Greg. (I, 303.21–304.4) and 374, on the palace.

<sup>129</sup> The tack of the horse. The *epanoskepia* are the cloth covers which are part of the saddle: see above, 44.10. The next statement (the *komes* takes all the old ones, that is, the saddles ... and the bridles’) shows that only the tack is meant and not additional covers. See 352, on imperial gifts to court officials.

<sup>130</sup> See above at 40.1 for ‘knots’. They are decorative elements on the saddles, possibly knotted fringes.

<sup>131</sup> The author’s explanation of the origins of the ‘in-train’ (*syrtas*) horses forms part of his description of the *protostrator*’s duties. This is one of several passages in which a custom or procedure is ascribed to a named emperor, in this case Theophilos (829–842). Ps.-Kod. twice refers to the source of his information: ‘they say’. The incident he relates is reported by a number of authors, although not exactly as he presents the story. An eparch is not mentioned in any of the surviving narrative accounts. See Macrides, ‘“The reason is

- ὕπαντῆσαί, φασι, γυναῖκα κράζουσαν ἑαυτῆς εἶναι τὸν ἵππον ὃ ἐποχεῖται ὁ βασιλεὺς· τοῦ τοιοῦτου τοίνυν ἐξετασθέντος εὐρεθῆναι ἀληθεύουσιν τὴν γυναῖκα, εἶναι μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἵππον αὐτῆς, τὸν δὲ ἔπαρχον ἀφελόμενον δῶρον, ὥς ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτον ὄντα, προσαγαγεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ· τοῦτου τοίνυν δήλου
- 5 γεγονότος, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα εὐθύς, ὥς εἶχε, καταβῆναι τοῦ ἵππου καὶ δοῦναι τοῦτον τῇ κεκτημένῃ· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἦσαν τότε ἵπποι βασιλικοὶ συρόμενοι, [p. 171] ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν χρειᾷ ἵππου καὶ ἐκαβαλλίκευσεν ἵππον τὸν τυχόντα, ἐτάχθη ἢ τῶν συρτῶν ἀκολούθησις, ὥς ἄν, εἴ τι συμβεβηκὸς τύχοι, εἶησαν ἔτοιμοι ἵπποι βασιλικοὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀφιππάσασθαι τὸν βασιλέα.
- 10 Ἡ μέντοι σπάθη τοῦ βασιλέως ἀεὶ εἰς τὸ ρουχαρεῖον εὐρίσκεται, τὰ δὲ ὑποδήματα εἰς τὸ βεστιάριον. Ἔστι καὶ ἕτερον εἶδος ὑποδημάτων, ἃ καλοῦνται τζαγκία, ἔχοντα ἐκ πλαγίων κατὰ τὰς κνήμας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ταρσῶν ἀετοὺς διὰ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων, ἅτινα

they say, he met a woman who was crying out that the horse on which the emperor was riding was hers. After this was investigated it was found that the woman was telling the truth; the horse was hers, but the eparch had taken it away and presented it to the emperor as a gift, as if it were his own. When this became evident, the emperor straightway dismounted the horse, just as he was, and gave it to its owner.<sup>132</sup> Since there were no 'in-train' imperial horses at that time, [p.171] the emperor was in need of a horse and mounted a horse he chanced upon. The suite of 'in-train' horses was instituted so that, if an accident should occur, there would be imperial horses ready for the emperor to ride away on.

The sword of the emperor is always found in the wardrobe,<sup>133</sup> his footwear in the *vestiarion*.<sup>134</sup> There is also another type of footwear called *tzangia* which have eagles of stones and pearls on the sides at the calves and on the instep.<sup>135</sup> These

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not known." , 325–6. See also the images in the Madrid Skylitzes for one of the versions of the incident: Tsamakda, *The illustrated chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes*, pl. 103, fol. 45 v. For Theophilos' reputation as a just emperor, see Macrides, 'The ritual of petition', 359 and n. 19.

<sup>132</sup> The story is preserved in Theophanes Continuatus (92.18–94.18) and Skylitzes (54.32–55.69) with a woman petitioner, and in the continuator of George the Monk (803.17–804.18) and Leo the Grammarian (222.23–223.22) with a male petitioner.

<sup>133</sup> See below also at 134.7, where the *roucharion* is mentioned again as the place where the emperor's garments are kept. It is to be distinguished from the *vestiarion*.

<sup>134</sup> The author refers to the *vestiarion* several times in the text. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, it is also known as the 'changing room' (see 80.4) but is to be distinguished from the 'wardrobe' (*roucharion*: 134) which contains the emperor's sword, clothing and *stemma*. In the *vestiarion* are stored the emperor's footwear (78.11, 80.3–4), the emperor's staff (a page of the *vestiarion* brings it: 84.7–8), the imperial banners (146.7), silver and gold banquet plates (162.89), gold coins (186.21–22, 238.10–11). For the head of the *vestiarion*, see 238.10.

<sup>135</sup> This statement, from 78.11–80.4, is an aside to the discussion of the procedure for the emperor's riding out. Mention of the emperor's footwear in the *vestiarion* occasioned the reference to his *tzangia* or boots, adorned with pearl eagles and worn for *prokypseis* and the *peripatos*. Pearl-studded red boots called *tzangia* are first mentioned in Byzantine sources in the 6th c. in connection with the coronation of a Laz ruler. See Malalas, ed. Thurn, 340.73–75. In the 10th c. they are described as part of the emperor's coronation wear. See Symeon Magister, ed. Wahlgren, 253.384; ODB 3, 2135; Canepa, *The two eyes of the earth*, 202–204; Parani, *The reality of images*, 30–31; Grotowski, *Arms and armour*, 191–193. See also *Digenis Akritis*, ed. Jeffreys, G 3, 50.121 and note. In Ps.-Kod. they are specifically mentioned only in connection with *peripatos* and *prokypsis*. See also below, 80.2 and 200.17, for the *tzangas*, the boot maker. Although texts describe eagle-decoration on emperors' footwear, no Byzantine emperor is represented wearing such shoes or boots. See, however, the illustration of Ivan Alexander in London, Br. Library Add. 39627, f. 3 and also the marble lid of a royal tomb at Turnovo, said to be that of Ivan Alexander (1331–1371), which shows the pattern of an eagle on the top, or instep of his shoe or boot: Velmans, *Art et société sous les Paléologues*, fig. 58; Parani, *The reality of images*, 31; Maguire, 'The heavenly court', 253–254 and fig. 11. Eagles made of pearls also adorn the

καὶ φορεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἷς τε τοὺς περιπάτους καὶ τὰς προκύψεις· καὶ ὁ ταῦτα [p. 172] ποιῶν οὐ τζαγκάριος, ὥς οἱ ἕτεροι, ἀλλὰ τζαγκὰς ὀνομάζεται. Ὅπηνίκα γοῦν δεῖσει τὸν βασιλέα καβαλλικεῦσαι, φέρει τὰ ὑποδήματα παιδόπουλον τοῦ βεστιαρίου ἐντὸς οὕτω κοινῶς ὀνομαζομένου ἀλλαξιμαρίου.

- 5 Ἐτοιμασθέντος οὖν καὶ καβαλλικεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, οἱ ἀνακαρισταὶ κρούουσι τὰ ἀνάκαρα, σαλπίζουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ ὁμοίως, καὶ οἱ βυκινάτορες δι' ὀργάνων ἀργυρῶν· αἱ μέντοι κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπηρεσίαν σαλπίζουσαι σάλπιγγες οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας εἰσὶ σάλπιγγας, ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι σχῆμα· δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ τῶν τοιούτων ὀργάνων φωνή, τὸ ἐάνπερ τι αἰτῇ τις τοῦ λαοῦ ἡ

the emperor wears for the *peripatoi* and the *prokypseis*.<sup>136</sup> The person who [p. 172] makes them is not called a shoemaker like the rest, but a bootmaker.<sup>137</sup> Whenever the emperor wants to ride, a page<sup>138</sup> brings the footwear from within the *vestiarion*, commonly called a changing room.<sup>139</sup>

When the emperor is ready and has mounted, the drummers strike the kettledrums, the trumpeters likewise blow the trumpets, and the horn players sound with their silver instruments. The trumpets that sound in this service are not the same as the other trumpets, but have a different shape. The sound of these instruments<sup>140</sup> makes plain that if one of the people has some request or is being

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shoes of the despot and the *sebastokrator*: see 36.3–38.2, 44.7–8. The caesar's shoes are described as blue, with no reference to a decoration (46.7).

<sup>136</sup> The author refers to both ceremonies in the plural, even though there is only one *peripatos* a year, on Palm Sunday, while there are two *prokypseis*, on Christmas Eve and on Epiphany: see 132–146, 166.13–14, 172.20–22) below. Pseudo-Kodinos is speaking in general of the occasions on which the emperor wears this footwear.

<sup>137</sup> The bootmaker is mentioned again below at 200.15–202.6 as the person who carries the *dibellion* on feast days that the emperor celebrates in monasteries.

<sup>138</sup> Pages (*paidopoula*), attached to the *vestiarion* (84.8) and the *koiton* (88.5–6), are described performing various duties in the palace. They fetch the emperor's staff and his shoes from the *vestiarion* (84, 120), they take dishes from the hands of the title holders at meals and give them to their retainers (156, 158, 160), they clear the *peripatos* of branches on Palm Sunday, 172) and spread laurels on the *triklinos* floor on Holy Saturday (180), they hold a candle in front of the emperor's apartments during the Holy Thursday vigil (178). A bareheaded page is specified only in one case (178.8); other pages may have been older. Pachymeres (I, 41.9–15, 55.17–18) comments that the *paidopoula* of Theodore II who were his childhood companions, were not from aristocratic families. Adolescent or adult *paidopoula* are mentioned in other sources, performing duties outside the palace: Lavra III, no. 132, p. 49; Hunger, et al., *Regesten* I, 176. The empress also had pages in her own service: Bénou, *Le codex B du monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrôme (Serrès)*, I, 212.11–12 (document of 1319). On the date see Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères*, 261 and Table, Appendix 3. On *paidopoula*, see Angold, *Byzantine government*, 176–177; Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 207.

<sup>139</sup> The *allaximaron* is derived from ἀλλάσσω, to change, and is related to *allaximon*, ceremonial clothing: see Vogt, I (commentary), 24, and below n. 469. Détoraki, 'La terminologie du vêtement dans le *De Ceremoniis*', 157–168. However, according to Pseudo-Kodinos the emperor does not keep his ceremonial garments here but in the *roucharion* or wardrobe. See notes 134, 347.

<sup>140</sup> Musical instruments (*organa*) are mentioned several times by Pseudo-Kodinos, mainly percussion and wind instruments: trumpets, horns, kettledrums, clarinets. See 439–41. Although Verpeaux translates *anakara* (80.6) as 'cymbals', the word is related to *naqqara* (Arabic) and refers to the kettledrum. See Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.; Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, 200. Ibn Bibi (ed. Gibb, 503, 504) likewise mentions kettledrums among the instruments played upon the arrival of the emperor's sister in Constantinople in 1332, as does Bertrandon de la Brocquière one hundred years later (ed. Schefer, 166–167: 'nacquires'). Pseudo-Kodinos makes reference to two kinds of trumpets and specifies that



ἀδικῆται, ἀκούσας τούτων δραμῶν ἀνενέγκη. [p. 173] Γίνεται μέντοι τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἰ κατὰ τὴν πρωΐαν τύχοι καβαλλικεύων ὁ βασιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ τὸ γεῦμα καβαλλικεύσειν μέλλοντος οὐδαμῶς γίνεται τοῦτο· ἡ δὲ αἰτία ἀγνοεῖται, στοχαστικῶς γε μὴν λέγω ὡς ἐπέπερ οἱ τοῦ πλήθους ἄνθρωποι πρωΐας μὲν

5 νήφουσι, μετὰ δὲ τὸ γεῦμα μεθύουσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ προπετέστεροι γίνονται, εἰκότως πρωΐας μὲν σαλπίζουσι δι' ὃν εἵπομεν τρόπον, μετὰ δὲ τὸ γεῦμα οὐδαμῶς, ἵνα μὴ τις μεθύων ἀτάκτως καὶ προπετῶς προσέλθῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ.

Ἔτι ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ ἔνι καὶ δεφένσωρ τῶν κουρσευόντων· τούτων γὰρ

10 μῆτε τάξιν ἐχόντων μῆτε φλάμουλον ἴδιον, ἀλλ' ἀτάκτως οὕτως ἀπολυομένων, ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ ὀπίσω τούτων εὕρισκόμενος δεφενδεύει τούτους, ἐὰν ἄρα πόλεμον εὕρωσιν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ πρωτοστράτωρ καλεῖται, διὰ τὸ προηγεῖσθαι παντὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κουρσευομένων ζώων πάντα τὰ ποικίλα, ἃ ὀνομάζονται φυτίλια, ἔθος ἐστὶ λαμβάνειν τὸν

15 πρωτοστράτορα.

unjustly treated, he can run and bring this to the attention [of the emperor] when he hears these.<sup>141</sup> [p. 173] This happens if the emperor rides out in the morning. If he intends to ride out after the meal, this certainly does not take place. The reason is not known. Nevertheless, conjecturing, I would say<sup>142</sup> that the common people are sober in the morning, but after the meal they are, for the most part, inebriated and become impetuous. It is likely that they sound the trumpets in the morning in the manner mentioned but not after the meal, so that no one who is inebriated can approach recklessly and hastily.

Furthermore, the *protostrator* is the defender of the raiders. Because they have no formation or banner of their own, but are sent out without order, the *protostrator* is behind them, protecting<sup>143</sup> them, should they encounter fighting in battle.<sup>144</sup> For he is called *protostrator* on account of the fact that he leads the entire army.<sup>145</sup> It is customary for the *protostrator* to take every kind of looted livestock, called *phytilia*.

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the ones used at the emperor's riding out have a 'different shape'. Maliaras (*op. cit.*, 256) suggests that Pseudo-Kodinos refers here to the straight-line cylindrical trumpet which is the ancestor of the modern trumpet. For representations of the trumpet and kettledrum see the ivory pyxis which Oikonomides ('John VII Palaeologus and the ivory pyxis at Dumbarton Oaks', 329–337) dates convincingly to the early 15th c.; Maliaras, *op. cit.*, 229. Pl. 15. See also 439–441.

<sup>141</sup> This passage makes clear that the description of the emperor's riding out and the context of the entire discussion of the 'in-train' horses is petition of the emperor. The reference to the instruments that announce the emperor's riding out is also found in the 1272 *pro stigma* of Michael VIII for Andronikos II. There too the context is petitioning the emperor: 'The sounding of these [instruments] in the riding out (*kabalikeuma*) of the emperors was instituted for no other reason than that it might announce the emperor's procession to those who have been unjustly treated, so that those who need help from that source might approach the Imperial Majesty'. See Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 39.35–39; 39.45; Macrides, 'The ritual of petition', 356–370, esp. 360–364. See 399–400 below.

<sup>142</sup> See above, at n. 47, for the other first-person intervention of the author.

<sup>143</sup> The *protostrator* is said to be *defensor* and 'to protect' (*defendeuein*). The term *defendeusis* is found in legal texts and military treatises, denoting protection, vindication, defence: Theophilos Antecessor, *Institutionum graeca paraphrasis*, I, 240; Dennis and Gamillscheg, *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, 112.36, 434.11. For the function of the *protostrator* in the middle Byzantine period, see n. 118 above.

<sup>144</sup> Troops performing tasks like the 'raiders' are attested in non-Byzantine sources, confirming what Pseudo-Kodinos states here. In earlier periods *koursoures* had the function of marching in advance of the army to pursue the retreating enemy or engage it in skirmishes. See Kyriakidis, *Warfare in late Byzantium*, 149–50.

<sup>145</sup> Gregoras (I, 415.9–10) mentions a *protostrator* who led the army at the time of the war between Andronikos II and Andronikos III but *protostratores* are found performing other functions also. Pachymeres (II, 401.17–20) mentions a *protostrator* who was in charge of the navy. See also Greg. (I, 432.2–5) for a *protostrator* who was administrator of affairs in Constantinople.

[p. 174] Ὁ μέγας λογοθέτης διατάττει τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποστελλόμενα προστάγματά τε καὶ χρυσόβουλλα πρὸς τε ῥῆγας, σουλτάνους καὶ τοπάρχας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἴδιον τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου ὑπηρετήμα, τὸ δὲ τοῦ μεσαστικίου ἐνεργεῖν, ᾧ ἂν ἐπιτάξοι ὁ βασιλεὺς.

5 Ὁ μέγας στρατοπεδάρχης ἐστὶν ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιτηδείων, ἥτοι τροφίμων, ποτῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν χρειωδῶν.

Ὁ μέγας πριμμικήριος ἐντὸς τοῦ παλατίου εἰς τὴν παράστασιν, παιδοπούλου τοῦ βεστιαρίου κομίζοντος τὸ βασιλικὸν δικανίκιον μέχρι καὶ τοῦ τρικλίνου διμοίρου, οὗτος τοῦτο λαμβάνων τῷ βασιλεῖ φέρων  
10 δίδωσιν· ὅταν δ' αὖ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λάβῃ, ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔχει πολλάκις κατέχειν αὐτὸς τιμῆς ἕνεκα, τὸ δὲ οἰκεῖον δικανίκιον δίδωσι πρὸς τὸ ῥηθὲν τοῦ βεστιαρίου παιδόπουλον, ὃς καὶ ἐξάγει τοῦτο ἐν τῷ

[p. 174] The *megas logothetes* draws up the *protagmata* and chrysobulls sent by the emperor to kings, sultans and local rulers.<sup>146</sup> This is the service proper to the *megas logothetes*, whereas the execution of the [role] of go-between,<sup>147</sup> belongs to him who the emperor might enjoin.

The *megas stratopedarches*<sup>148</sup> is in charge of the provisions of the army, that is, the food, the drinks, and all necessities.

Within the palace at the reception, the *megas primmikerios*<sup>149</sup> takes the imperial staff from a page of the *vestiarion*<sup>150</sup> who brings it to a place in the *triklinos* which is two-thirds [inside the room]; he takes it and conveys it to the emperor, giving it to him. When, in turn, the *megas primmikerios* receives the staff from the emperor, he himself often has licence to keep it, as a mark of honour.<sup>151</sup> He gives his own staff<sup>152</sup> to the above-mentioned page of the *vestiarion*, who takes it away in the

<sup>146</sup> The title of *megas logothetes* is first attested in the late 12th c. when it replaced the *logothetes ton sekreton*, a high civil official who supervised the imperial bureaucracy. The office of the *logothetes ton sekreton* was introduced by Alexios I Komnenos. See Guillard, 'Logothètes', 83–4; Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 132–33. The work of the *megas logothetes*, as described by Pseudo-Kodinos, corresponds to that known from the 13th c. but without the judicial responsibilities. See Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History*, 23–4.

<sup>147</sup> By *mesastikion*, translated as '[the role of] the go-between', Pseudo-Kodinos means the work of the *mesazon*, which was never a title in the hierarchy but rather a function exercised by the person appointed by the emperor. This person could hold another title (such as *megas logothetes*) or none at all. See Akrop. §49:90.20–91.2. On the *mesazon*, see Verpeaux, 'Contribution', 270–96.

<sup>148</sup> The heading of Theodore II Laskaris' treatise, *Explanation of the world* (Κοσμικὴ Διήλωση), states that this emperor created the title of *megas stratopedarches* for George Mouzalon, who is the first known holder of the title: ed. Festa, 97.9–12; Akrop. §60:124.7.97.9–12. George Mouzalon appears to have had a fiscal military function not unlike the one described by Pseudo-Kodinos, for he was blamed, according to Pachymeres (I, 79.18–24), for depriving Latin mercenaries of their pay. The *stratopedarches* was a military rank in the 10th c. and served as a general of thematic armies in the empire of Nicaea. See Guillard, 'Le stratopédarche', *Recherches* I, 502–505; Oikonomides, 'Contributions', 162–163; Angold, *Byzantine government*, 252. In the 10th c., however, the *stratopedarchai* of the East and the West had been high-ranking generals associated with the *domestikoi* of the East and the West. See Oikonomides, *Listes*, 334–335; Haldon, *Warfare, state and society*, 118–119.

<sup>149</sup> Introduced by Alexios I this court title derives from the Latin title *primicerius*, which could refer to a number of imperial and ecclesiastical functionaries in the late Roman empire. See Guillard, 'Le primicier', *Recherches*, I, 312.

<sup>150</sup> See above, 79 n. 134.

<sup>151</sup> See 352, for other imperial insignia given to court officials.

<sup>152</sup> The staff of the *megas primmikerios* is said to be like the emperor's, gilded wood: 54.15–16. On the *dikanikion*, see 336–39.

αὐτῷ σχήματι, κατὰ καὶ τὸ βασιλικόν. [p. 175] Ἐνὶ δὲ καὶ τεταγμένον δίδοσθαι πρὸς τὸν μέγαν πριμμικήριον κατὰ Κυριακὴν, χάριν δικανικίου, ὑπέρπυρον ἔν' ἂν δ' ἴσως οὗτος ἀποδημῇ, δίδωσι τὸ δικανίκιον ὁ ἐντιμότερος τῶν καθευρεθέντων ἀρχόντων. Εὐρίσκεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ φωσσάτον κεφαλὴ 5 τῆς βασιλικῆς συντάξεως, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἰδικὸν αὐτοῦ φλάμουλον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ συντάξει.

Ὁ μέγας κονοσταῦλος εὐρίσκεται κεφαλὴ τῶν ῥογατόρων Φράγγων.

Ὁ πρωτοσέβαστος οὐδεμίαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχει.

Ἡ τοῦ πιγκέρνη ὑπηρεσία, ὅτε καὶ ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου λεχθήσεται.

10 Ὁ κουροπαλάτης εἶχε μὲν εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν ὑπηρεσίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀνεπίγνωστος, νῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν.

Ὁ παρακοιμώμενος τῆς σφενδόνης τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σφενδόνην λαμβάνων σφραγίζει διὰ κηροῦ ἔνθα δεῖ· ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη σφραγίς, ἡ διὰ κηροῦ δηλαδή, οὐδαμοῦ γίνεται ἀλλαχοῦ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν

same manner as he does the imperial one.<sup>153</sup> [p. 175] It is established that the *megas primmikerios* is given one *hyperpyron* every Sunday for [the service of] the staff. If by chance he is absent, the most eminent of the holders of court titles present gives the staff. In the army he is the head of the imperial cortège.<sup>154</sup> He has his own banner in this cortège.

The *megas konostaulos* is in charge of the Franks who are mercenaries.<sup>155</sup>

The *protosebastos* does not have a service.<sup>156</sup>

The service of the *pinkernes* will be described when the service of the *megas domestikos* is described.<sup>157</sup>

The *kouropalates*<sup>158</sup> had in former times a service that is not known but now he has none.

The *parakoimomenos tes sphendones*<sup>159</sup> takes the emperor's seal and seals with wax wherever necessary. This type of seal, that is, with wax, is not applied anywhere else by the emperor apart from [documents for] the empress,<sup>160</sup>

<sup>153</sup> The service of the *megas primmikerios* with regard to the staff of the emperor is known only from Pseudo-Kodinos. See below at 90.5–6 and 120.8–10.

<sup>154</sup> The military function of this court title holder is known in the 13th c. from Akrop. (§57:114.3–7; §60, §82). However, there is no suggestion that he was head of the imperial cortège. See also Guillard, 'Le primicier', *Recherches*, I, 312–32.

<sup>155</sup> The first known holder of this title was the future emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, while he was still in the service of the Nicaean emperors. See Akrop. §64:134.10–11. The word *konostaulos* is of Latin origin. Pachymeres (I, 37.5–7; 79.18–19), in discussing Michael, says that the title 'of old' had attached to it the privilege of commanding the Latin soldiers who were subjects of the emperor. Michael may therefore not have been the first holder of the title. See Kyriakidis, *Warfare in late Byzantium*, 117–118; also Guillard, 'Le grand connétable', *Recherches*, I, 477; ODB 2, 1147.

<sup>156</sup> High honorific dignity introduced by Alexios I Komnenos. Stiernon, 'Notes de titulature', 224, n. 17, points to emperor's nephews as holders of the dignity in the 12th c. By the Palaiologan period the title was distributed to a wider social circle. See also Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 127; ODB 3, 1747–48.

<sup>157</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the ceremonial service of each in ch. IV.

<sup>158</sup> This court title, originally referring to the caretaker of the Great Palace, is known from the 4th c. It became a high-ranking honorific dignity from the 6th c. onward. The emperor Justin II (565–78) was a *kouropalates* before being elevated to the throne. See Guillard, 'Curopalate', 187–249; ODB 2, 1157.

<sup>159</sup> The first known *parakoimomenos tes megales sphendones*, John Doukas, is attested in April 1261, shortly before the reconquest of Constantinople. See PLP 5691; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1892. The *sphendone* is a signet ring used for making wax seals. See Vikan and Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium*, 13–20. Oikonomides, 'Chancellerie', 188–89, has suggested that Michael VIII introduced under Latin influence the use of a large seal (*megale sphendone*) as opposed to a smaller signet ring.

<sup>160</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos uses *despoina* here and elsewhere of both the mother of the emperor and the emperor's wife: 172.23, 266.12. At 234.10 he refers to the newly crowned empress as *basilis*. The wives of despots are *basilissai* (218.13, 266.20).

τὴν μάναν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δέσποιναν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ· πρὸς δὲ δεσπότης, [p. 176] πατριάρχας καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ἐντιμοτέρων, διὰ μολυβδίνης βούλλης· φέρει δὲ οὗτος καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν σπάθην, ἀποδημοῦντος τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος.

- 5 Ὁ παρακοιμώμενος τοῦ κοιτῶνος εὐρίσκεται κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι παιδοπούλων καὶ τῶν κοιτωναρίων, ἔχων ὑπ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν προκαθήμενον τοῦ κοιτῶνος, μένει δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ παλατίου· τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου δὲ τῆς σφενδόνης ἀποδημοῦντος, οὗτος φέρει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σπάθην.

Ἡ τοῦ γενικοῦ λογοθέτου ὑπηρεσία οὐ γινώσκεται.

- 10 Ὁ πρωτοβεστιαρίτης ἐστὶν ὑπῆρέτης τῆς παραστάσεως· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ ἐξελθεῖν, οὗτος εὐρίσκεται ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ μετὰ τε τοῦ μεγάλου ἐταιρειάρχου καὶ τοῦ τῆς αὐλῆς πριμμικηρίου· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν

his mother, and the empress, his wife, and his son, the emperor.<sup>161</sup> For despots, [p. 176] patriarchs, and the other court title holders of highest rank [this is done] by a lead seal.<sup>162</sup> He [the *parakoimomenos*] also carries the imperial sword when the *protostrator* is absent.<sup>163</sup>

The *parakomomenos tou koitonos*<sup>164</sup> is the head of the pages of the chamber and of the chamberlains, and has the *prokathemenos tou koitonos* as his subordinate. He resides in the palace. He carries the imperial sword when the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* is absent.<sup>165</sup>

The service of the *logothetes tou genikou* is unknown.<sup>166</sup>

The *protovestiarites*<sup>167</sup> serves at the reception.<sup>168</sup> Before the emperor comes out of his chamber, he [the *protovestiarites*] is in the *triklinos* along with the *megas hetaireiarches*<sup>169</sup> and the *primmikerios tes aules*.<sup>170</sup> After the emperor comes

<sup>161</sup> Kantakouzenos (II, 286–287) relates an incident concerning a wax sealing from the emperor's ring that served as proof to the empress of the messenger's trustworthiness.

<sup>162</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos mentions only wax and lead seals but silver and gold seals also survive from the Palaiologan period. For a discussion and examples, see Evans, *Byzantium*, 32–37. For lead seals, made with a *boulloterion*, see Oikonomides, *Byzantine lead seals*, 3–27.

<sup>163</sup> This stipulation is also to be found in the 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII for Andronikos II: 'one of the *parakoimomenoi*', meaning either *tou koitonos* or *tes sphendones*. See Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 38.3–10.

<sup>164</sup> The first attested *parakoimomenos tou koitonos*, Basil Basilikos (a wealthy individual from Rhodes who had served the Seljuk sultan in the past), was given this title in the period 1259–1261 by Michael VIII. See Pach. I, 181–183; PLP 2458. Guiland, 'Le parakimomène', *Recherches*, I, 208, remarks without further discussion that the office of *parakoimomenos* was divided in the Palaiologan period, to become the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* and the *parakoimomenos tou koitonos*.

<sup>165</sup> The 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII also assigns sword-bearing to 'one of the *parakoimomenoi*', if the *megas domestikos* or the *protostratores* are absent. See Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 38.6–8.

<sup>166</sup> A head of an important fiscal bureau attested since the 8th c. See Guiland, 'Les logothètes', 11–24; ODB 2, 829–830. The official continued to perform functions related to fiscal justice in the 1370s. See *Actes de Kutlumus*, no. 34: 130–132; also below 308.

<sup>167</sup> The title is first attested in the 12th c., when it appears to have been borne by the head of the *vestiaritai*, a unit of imperial guards attached to the *vestiarion* that emerged in the 11th c. See Guiland, 'Protovestiarite', 3–10; Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 129–130. In Pseudo-Kodinos' court the *protovestiarites* serves as the master of ceremonies, ushering into the *triklinos* the court title holders. See 91, 118, 150.

<sup>168</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos describes here the 'daily reception' mentioned also briefly in ch. IV. See 395–98.

<sup>169</sup> See below, n. 188.

<sup>170</sup> The title, probably introduced by Alexios I, referred initially to the head of the imperial trumpeters. Kinnamos (185.1–4) refers to a *primmikerios tes aules* who was 'head



καὶ σταθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξέρχεται ὁ πρωτοβεστιαρίτης καὶ καλεῖ τοὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐντιμότερους εἰς τὴν παράστασιν, ἔπειτα ὁ μέγας ἐταιρειάρχης καὶ καλεῖ καὶ οὗτός τις τῶν προτέρων πλείους, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐξέρχεται ὁ πριμμικήριος τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ καλεῖ [p. 177] καὶ οὗτος ὡσαύτως τοὺς λοιποὺς  
 5 τῶν ἀρχόντων· εἴτα φέρουσι τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δικανίκιον, οὗ καὶ δοθέντος τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πριμμικηρίου, ὡς εἴρηται, εὐθὺς οἱ ἐταιρειάρχαι καλοῦσι τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους, τοὺς τὰ κόκκινα δηλονότι φοροῦντας σκαράνικα, καὶ πάντας τοὺς κάτω.

Καὶ γίνεται μὲν τοῦτο οὕτω πάντοτε, κατὰ τε τὴν τοῦ ὀρθρου ὥραν, τῆς  
 10 λειτουργίας καὶ τοῦ ἐσπερινοῦ· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, εἰ μὲν ἔχει θέλημα ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἢ ἵνα δημηγορήσῃ ἢ εὐεργετήσῃ ὀφφίκιον πρὸς τινα, ἔτι ἢ παράστασις ἴσταται· εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίτου τὸ ἑαυτοῦ δικανίκιον κρούσαντος ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἡρέμα, οἱ ἐταιρειάρχαι οἱ δικανίκια ξύλα φέροντες λέγουσι τοῖς μετὰ τὸ

out and takes his position,<sup>171</sup> the *protovestiarites* goes out [of the *triklinos*] and summons the pre-eminent holders of court titles to the reception. Then the *megas hetaireiarches* summons more of the latter. After him the *primmikerios tes aules* goes out [p. 177] and also, in similar manner, summons the rest of the holders of court titles. Then the staff<sup>172</sup> of the emperor is brought in. Once it is given to the emperor by the *megas primmikerios*, as was mentioned, the *hetaireiarchai*<sup>173</sup> immediately call the remaining [court title holders], namely those wearing the red *skaranika*<sup>174</sup> and also all those below them.

This ceremony takes place always in this way at the time of the matins, the liturgy and the vespers.<sup>175</sup> After the dismissal [of the office], if the emperor wishes either to make an address or to bestow an office on someone, the reception continues. If not, the *protovestiarites* taps his staff on the ground gently and then the *hetaireiarchai* carrying wooden staffs<sup>176</sup> address those who came after the

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of the imperial trumpeters'. By the Palaiologan period this function was no longer attached to the title. See Guillaud, 'Le primicier', *Recherches*, I, 303–304.

<sup>171</sup> The 'position' is one of standing at his throne on the platform that holds the throne: see below at 120.2–3. Gregoras (I, 566.21–567.16) explains that emperors stand during the hymns. See 380–82.

<sup>172</sup> The word *dikanikion* is used here whereas later, at the emperor's coronation, the emperor is said to hold a *narthex* (see below at 228.3–4). It would appear that the two staffs are different in shape, although nothing is known about the *narthex*. The *dikanikion* held by the emperor during receptions was gilded wood (see n.76). Pachymeres (II, 413.21–415.3) relates that Michael VIII allowed Andronikos II, as co-emperor, also to hold a staff (*bakteria*), of gilded wood, during the chanting of the hymns but he later revoked this right. See 429. See below, 122, for another account of the carrying of the emperor's staff into the reception.

<sup>173</sup> The *hetaireiarches* is attested from the mid-9th c.; its holder was originally a palace security guard. See Karlin-Hayter, 'L'hétériarque', 101–108. In the Palaiologan palace he served as an usher at receptions. Pach. (II, 417.4–5, 627.1) gives as a synonym of the *hetaireiarches* the *epi tes eisagoges* because, as seen in this passage, the *hetaireiarches* introduces other holders of court titles into the presence of the emperor at the receptions. For the *hetaireiarchai*, see also below, 118.

<sup>174</sup> Those wearing red *skaranika* are the group of court title holders after the *logothetes ton agelon*: see 156.4–6 (ch. IV). They are the lowest group in the hierarchy. It is striking that Pseudo-Kodinos uses *skaranika*, and not *skiadia*, to define the lowest group in the hierarchy, even though he is referring to the daily reception where holders of court titles wore *skiadia*, unless it was a feast day. The mention of *skaranika* may be an indication that the protocol Pseudo-Kodinos used pertains to a feast day. Here, as below, 122, the order of introduction into the *triklinos* for the reception is from highest to lowest.

<sup>175</sup> Receptions take place two times a day, at matins and vespers (see below at 122.6–7) as in the *De cer.*: ed. Reiske, 518–522. See also 395. The 'liturgy' is not the occasion for another reception but rather is celebrated after matins.

<sup>176</sup> The staffs of 'plain wood' are carried by the holders of court titles lowest in the hierarchy, from the *tatas tes aules* and lower: 62.9–10.

δικανίκιον εἰσελθοῦσι τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐξέρχονται· εἰ δ' ἔτι τῆς παραστάσεως  
 ἰσταμένης δεήσει ἀνενεχθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, εἴτε δι' ἀποκρισιάριον εἴτε δι'  
 ἄλλον, τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἔχει τοῦτο ἐπ' ἀδείας ποιῆσαι,  
 5 μὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἴσως ἐπιτάξαντος, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ πρωτοβεστιαρίτης· εἰ δ'  
 οὗτος ἀποδημεῖ, ὁ μέγας ἐταιρειάρχης· [p. 178] εἰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος, ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς  
 πριμμικήριος.

Ἡ τοῦ δομεστίκου τῆς τραπέζης ὑπηρεσία καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης  
 λεχθήσεται ὅτε καὶ ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου.

Ὁ μέγας παπίας εἶχε μὲν πάλαι ὑπηρεσίαν ἀνεπίγνωστον, νῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν.

10 Ὁ ἑπαρχος ὡσαύτως, νῦν δὲ οὐδὲ οὗτος.

delivery of the imperial staff, and they depart.<sup>177</sup> If, while the reception is still taking place, the need arises to bring something important to the attention of the emperor, either through an ambassador<sup>178</sup> or someone else, none of the court title holders, apart from the *protovestiarites*, has licence to do this unless ordered by the emperor. If he is absent, the *megas hetaireiarches*<sup>179</sup> [can do this]. [p.178] If he also is absent, the *primmikerios tes aules* does this.

The service of the *domestikos tes trapezes*<sup>180</sup> and of the *epi tes trapezes*<sup>181</sup> will be described when that of the *megas domestikos* is.<sup>182</sup>

The *megas papias*<sup>183</sup> too had in former times a service that is not known. Now he does not have any.

The eparch,<sup>184</sup> likewise. Now he also does not have one.

<sup>177</sup> The court title holders depart in reverse order of their arrival, from lowest first to highest last. See 396.

<sup>178</sup> This is the only place in the text where ambassadors are mentioned. Pseudo-Kodinos does not provide a protocol for receptions or dismissals of ambassadors.

<sup>179</sup> On the *megas hetaireiarches*, see below at n. 188.

<sup>180</sup> This court official is mentioned in the acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council of 680/1. See Riedinger, *Concilium*, 28.3, 36.16, etc. Philotheos' *Kletorologion* calls the eunuch whose function it was to wait at the imperial table *domestikos tes hypourgias* rather than *domestikos tes trapezes*. See Oikonomides, *Listes*, 61.11, 153.28, 233.9–10; 306. *Domestikoi tes hypourgias* are also attested on 11th c. seals. Cf. PBW, Konstantinos 20193, Theodoros 20219. The earlier name for the office appears to have been revived during the Palaiologan period.

<sup>181</sup> An official in charge of imperial banquets attested since the 7th c. See Guillard, 'Le maître d'hôtel de l'empereur', *Recherches*, I, 237–241; ODB, I, 722–723.

<sup>182</sup> See ch. IV.

<sup>183</sup> Philotheos' *Kletorologion* calls the *papias* of the Great Palace (*mega palation*), a eunuch responsible for security in the palace, also a *megas papias*. See Oikonomides, *Listes*, 225.34. Cf. Karlin-Hayter, 'L'hétérarque', 139–140. For another 10th c. mention of the *megas papias*, see Delehay, *Synaxarium*, cols. 856.25–26 (the *megas papias* was responsible for bringing the relics of the True Cross back to the Great Palace). The seals of three holders of the title, dated to 1000–1050, have survived (PBW, Georgios 2025, Michael 20431, Nikephoros 20134). The title is therefore not a 13th c. innovation, as Guillard, 'Le concierge du palais', *Recherches*, I, 254, has argued, but represents a late Byzantine revival of a middle Byzantine title.

<sup>184</sup> The eparch, a successor to the urban prefect of Rome, was the 'mayor' of Constantinople, with policing and judicial functions, since the time of Constantine I. See Guillard, 'Études: l'éparque', 17, 145; ODB I, 705.

Ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίγλης ὑπηρεσία εἰρήσεται καὶ αὐτή, ὅτε καὶ ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου ἢ εἰς τὸ φωσσάτον.

Τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ἐταιρειάρχου ὑπηρετήμα ἐλέχθη μὲν πρότερον ὅτε περὶ τῆς παραστάσεως ἐλέγομεν· δέχεται δὲ οὗτος καὶ τοὺς προσερχομένους  
 5 πανταχόθεν φυγάδας, διὸ καὶ ἐταιρειάρχης καλεῖται, ὥς τοὺς ἐταίρους ἦτοι τοὺς φίλους δεχόμενος.

Ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου εἶχε μὲν πάλαι καὶ οὗτος ὑπηρεσίαν ἡμῖν ἀνεπίγνωστον, νῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν.

Τὸ τοῦ πρωτασηκρητῆς ὑπηρετήμα δῆλον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος·  
 10 πρῶτος γὰρ τῶν κριτῶν λέγεται· ἔστι δ' ὅτε συγκρίνουσι μετ' αὐτοῦ βασιλικῶ ὀρισμῶ καὶ ἕτεροι ἐντιμότεροι τούτου.

[p. 179] Τὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπηρετήμα λεχθήσεται καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτε καὶ τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου τὸ εἰς τὸ φωσσάτον.

Ἡ τοῦ μυστικοῦ ὑπηρεσία νοεῖται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος.

The service of the *megas droungarios tes vigles*<sup>185</sup> will be described when the service of the *megas domestikos* in the army is described.<sup>186</sup>

The service of the *megas hetaireiarches* was mentioned earlier,<sup>187</sup> when we spoke about the reception. He receives the refugees who arrive from all over. It is for this reason he is called a *hetaireiarches*, as he receives *hetairoi*, that is, companions.<sup>188</sup>

The *logothetes tou dromou*<sup>189</sup> also had a service of old which is unknown to us, but now he does not have any.

The service of the *protasekretis*<sup>190</sup> is obvious from his very name. For he is called 'first of the judges'. There are times when others who are of higher rank than he sit in judgment together with him, by imperial order.

[p. 179] The service of the *epi tou stratou*<sup>191</sup> will be described also when that of the *megas domestikos* in the army is described.

The service of the *mystikos*<sup>192</sup> is understood from its very name.

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<sup>185</sup> The middle Byzantine office of the *droungarios tes vigles* was initially responsible for the external security of the Great Palace and had military functions; in the 11th c. its bearer became a high-standing Constantinopolitan judge. His function in the 14th c., as described by Pseudo-Kodinos, is once again military. See Guillard, 'Le drongaire', *Recherches*, I, 573–574; Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 133–134.

<sup>186</sup> At ch. VI.

<sup>187</sup> See above 88, 90.

<sup>188</sup> The author has given an account of the palace duties of the *megas hetaireiarches*: see above at n. 187. He now relates the other function of this court title holder, adding his etymology for the title. Most of the *megaloï hetaireiarchai* in the Palaiologan period had military functions. See Karlin-Hayter, 'L'hétériarque', 101–143, esp. 133–137. Pseudo-Kodinos appears to be unaware of this and of the meaning of *hetaireia* as a unit of palace guards.

<sup>189</sup> Attested since the 8th c., the *logothetes tou dromou* was initially responsible for the *dromos*, the public post, and the general supervision of foreign affairs. In the 12th c. his functions pertained to the imperial chancery. See Guillard, 'Logothètes', 31–38; Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 131.

<sup>190</sup> The *protasekretis*, attested since the 9th c., was originally the head of the imperial chancery. See Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 131. In the 12th c. he was the head of a court. At the beginning of his reign Michael VIII made the holder of this office the head of the imperial tribunal (*sekretion*). See Pach. I, 131.14–17 with 130 n. 1. See Guillard, 'Décanos et le référendaire', *Recherches*, II, 92–93; Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 131; Kyritses, 'Remarks', 305–306.

<sup>191</sup> The military official is first attested in the Palaiologan period. See Guillard, 'Commandants', *Recherches*, I, 527–528. See also ch. VI.

<sup>192</sup> The *mystikos*, attested since the 9th c. (at the time perhaps a private imperial secretary), served as a high judge in the 11th c. and was a minister of ecclesiastical patronage and responsible for the palace and the public treasury in the 12th c. See Magdalino, 'The not-so-secret functions of the *mystikos*', 229–240; ODB 2, 1431–1432.

Ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν πάλαι μὲν εἶχεν ὑπηρεσίαν σχεδόν, ἣν ὁ μέγας δομέστικος ἄρτι, νῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν.

Ὁ μέγας δρουγγάριος τοῦ στόλου τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἔχει πρὸς τὸν μέγαν δοῦκαν, ὃν ὁ τῆς βίγλης μέγας δρουγγάριος πρὸς τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον.

- 5 Ὁ πριμμικήριος τῆς αὐλῆς ἔχει μὲν ἐν τῇ παραστάσει ὑπηρεσίαν οἷαν προεῖπομεν, εὐτακτεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ πάντας· ὥσπερ γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἕκαστος τὸν ἀποτεταγμένον καὶ ἴδιον ἔχει τόπον εἰς τὴν παράστασιν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τάξεων ἕκαστη τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῆς κέκτηται τόπον.

- 10 Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βάραγγοι εὐρίσκονται [p. 180] ὑπηρετοῦντες εἷς τε τὰς θύρας τοῦ κελλίου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ εἰς τὸ τρίκλινον· ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ δὲ τοῦ παλατίου, στρατιῶται ὀνομαζόμενοι οὕτω παραμοναί, ἔχοντες ἄλογα, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ

The *domestikos ton scholon*<sup>193</sup> had in the past a service almost like that of the *meas domestikos* at present, but now he has none.

The *meas droungarios tou stolou*<sup>194</sup> has the same relation to the *meas doux* which the *meas droungarios tes vigles* has to the *meas domestikos*.

The *primmikerios tes aules* has the service at the reception which we have already mentioned.<sup>195</sup> He also keeps in order all those who are in the courtyard.<sup>196</sup> Just as each holder of a court title has his own appointed and particular place in the reception, so too each unit<sup>197</sup> has its own place in the courtyard.<sup>198</sup>

The Varangians<sup>199</sup> [p. 180] serve at the doors of the emperor's chamber and at the *triklinos*<sup>200</sup> but soldiers called *paramonai*,<sup>201</sup> who have horses and are under

<sup>193</sup> The *domestikos ton scholon*, first attested during the 8th c., was the commander of the *tagma* of the *scholae* which were elite imperial units stationed in and near Constantinople. He served as commander-in-chief of the army. See Guillard, 'Le domestique des scholes'; ODB 1, 647–648; Haldon, *Warfare, state and society*, 68, 118–119. The office was split into two *domestikoi ton scholon* of the East and the West in the middle of the 10th c. See Ahrweiler, 'Recherches', 26; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 329; Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 141–142. Pseudo-Kodinos is correct in noting that the *domestikos ton scholon* was an ancestor of the office of the *meas domestikos* which appeared in the 11th c.

<sup>194</sup> See above at n. 113.

<sup>195</sup> See above at n. 170.

<sup>196</sup> That is, he keeps order among all those units mentioned below at 96.9–100.10. See n. 197.

<sup>197</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos refers to six groups or units of palace guards: the Varangians, the *paramonai*, the *tzakones*, the *mourtatoi*, the *kortinarioi*, the Vardariots. The first and the last feature most prominently in this text and are known also from the 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII as the guards who accompany the emperor when he is on horseback. See Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 39.29–31. See also n. 199 below.

<sup>198</sup> At 100.2–4 Pseudo-Kodinos explains that the units stand in rank in the courtyard while matins and vespers are being chanted in the palace.

<sup>199</sup> The first of many mentions of the Varangians who emerge from Pseudo-Kodinos as the most visible of all the divisions of palace guards. They serve indoors, at the chamber of the emperor and at the *triklinos* (96.10); they accompany the emperor to certain churches in the city and in other processions (104.13–106.1, 196.10–198.5, 230.1–2); they are present at the *prokypseis*, standing at the columns of the platform (132.12); they help to dismantle the decoration of the *peripatos* (172.16); they guard the palace, waiting at *Ta Hypsela* for the emperor's return (196.10–198.5). Pachymeres (I, 145.15–17), Gregoras I, 566.14–15, and Kantakouzenos I, 560.12 call the Varangians 'axe-bearing bodyguards'. Villehardouin (§185) refers to the 'English and the Danes' with their axes who lined the way from the gate of the courtyard to the palace. According to Kantakouzenos (I, 389.14–16), they held the keys to the city when the emperor was absent. See Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 271, 272, 273. For their axes, see Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 162–172, esp. 165.

<sup>200</sup> See below, n. 273.

<sup>201</sup> The earliest reference to the *paramonai* is in the 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII which refers to them together with the Varangians and Vardariots. All three groups are to accompany the emperor in his riding out: Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 39.29–31. In the



- ἀλλαγάτωρ. Καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἕτεροι, παραμοναὶ μὲν καὶ οὗτοι, πλὴν ἄνευ ἀλόγων, ἔχοντες ἀλλαγάτωρα καὶ οὗτοι, φέροντες ἐν χερσὶ πάντες τὰς σπάθας αὐτῶν. Εἷτα εὐρίσκονται οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι σωματοφύλακες τζάκωνες, φέροντες καὶ οὗτοι ἀπελατίκια. Καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἕτεροι, πεζοὶ μὲν καὶ οὗτοι, 5 ὀνομαζόμενοι δὲ μουρτάτοι, τόξα ἕκαστος φέροντες. Αἱ μέντοι παραμοναὶ μετὰ σκιαδίων, οἱ τζάκωνες δὲ μετὰ καπασίων φοροῦντες καὶ ἐπανωκλίβανα ἡεράνεα, λέοντας περὶ τὸ στῆθος ἔχοντα ἵσταμένους ἄσπρους βλέποντας ἀντικρὺ κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὡσαύτως καὶ ὀπισθεν. Εἰσὶ καὶ κορτινάριοι, ἔχοντες καὶ οὗτοι ἔνοχον, ὃς κόμης καλεῖται, οἵτινες δὴ κἂν ἐλάττων τάξις εὐρίσκονται,

the *allagator*,<sup>202</sup> serve in the courtyard of the palace. After them there are others also called *paramonai*, but without horses, although they too have an *allagator*; they all carry swords in their hands. Then there are bodyguards called *tzakones*,<sup>203</sup> they carry clubs. After them there are others, also on foot, called *mourtatoi*,<sup>204</sup> each carrying a bow. The *paramonai* wear *skiadia*, while the *tzakones* wear *kapasia*<sup>205</sup> and blue *epanoklibana*<sup>206</sup> which have white lions on the chest and also on the back, facing each other upright.<sup>207</sup> There are also *kortinarioi* who have as their representative<sup>208</sup> one who is called a *komes*.<sup>209</sup> Even though they are of lower rank,

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14th c. paraphrase of Choniates' *History*, the *paramonai* are also always mentioned with Varangians and sometimes also with Vardariots: ed. Bekker, app. crit. at 224.4, 239.13, 447.18, 756.14. Below, at 172.13–16, the Varangians together with the *paramonai* take part in the stripping of the *peripatos* on Palm Sunday. Unlike the Varangians and the Vardariots, the *paramonai* were native troops: Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 276.

<sup>202</sup> The *allagator*, the head of *allagia* or units. For the *archon* of the *allagia* and the *protallagator*, see below 108.8, 10.

<sup>203</sup> The *tzakones* are inhabitants of Lakonia in the Peloponnese, first mentioned in the 10th c. After 1261 Michael VIII brought Lakones or *tzakones* famous for their military skills to Constantinople to defend the city and serve in the navy. They became the nucleus of a palace guard, as seen here, and were garrisoned in the provinces as witnessed by the description of the duties of the *stratopedarches* of the *tzakones* below. Chomatenos (ed. Prinzing, 347.106) refers to the *tzakones* of the castle of Thessalonike in a case of 1236. See Pach. I, 253, 277; II, 401–403, 401 n. 6; Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 45–47, 279, 283–284, 306–307, 312–313; Symeonides, *Tzakones*.

<sup>204</sup> The *mourtatoi* (deriving from the Arab-Turkish word *murted*, *murtat*, meaning 'apostate') were a people of mixed Turkish-Greek origin. They seem to have formed a separate corps like the Tourkopouloi in middle Byzantium and to have been both palace guards and foot archers. See Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 276–278. For their leader, see below at 112.13.

<sup>205</sup> The *kapasion* is a hat whose appearance is not known. The word is found in vernacular texts of the 14th c. and later: see the 14th c. paraphrase of Choniates' *History*, where the word is substituted for *pilos*: ed. Bekker, 171, app. at 20. See Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.

<sup>206</sup> A garment worn over (*epano*) armour (*klibanon*). No representations of this garment exist nor is it known how it differs from the *epilourikon*. See above, at 58.18.

<sup>207</sup> The rampant lion is found in other, monumental, contexts: both inside and outside the church of the Pammakaristos, Constantinople, accompanying inscriptions on the sea wall of the city, and in the church of the Parigoritissa, Arta. See Belting, Mango, Mouriki, *St Mary Pammakaristos*, 21–2, who identify it as a 'family crest'. On 'heraldic symbols' see Grotowski, *Arms and armour*, 246–248. See 340–41.

<sup>208</sup> The word *ἐνοχος* is found in administrative contexts with the meaning of a representative or agent. See, e.g., *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 11 (a. 1322), 68.38.

<sup>209</sup> The *komes* (*tes kortes*) was responsible, together with the *kortinarioi*, for setting up and taking down the tents: Haldon, *Three treatises*, 130.570–573; 171–172; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 341. See below at n. 212.

- ἀλλ' οὖν κάτω ἴσταν[p. 181]ται τῆς προκύψεως· οἱ δὲ Βαρδαριῶται εἰς τὴν τῆς αὐλῆς θύραν. Πάντες οὖν οὗτοι οἱ εἰρημένοι, καθ' ἣν ὥραν ὁ τε ὀρθρινὸς ὕμνος ψάλλεται, ὁ τῆς λειτουργίας καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἐσπερινοῦ, κατὰ τάξιν ἴστανται, εὐτακτοῦντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ πριμμικηρίου τῆς αὐλῆς, καθὰ εἴρηται. Ὑπηρετοῦσι
- 5 δὲ οἱ κορτινάριοι εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν, ἥτις καὶ κόρτη ὀνομάζεται· ὁ μέντοι κόμης αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οὗτοι πανία φοροῦσι κόκκινα ἐκ τῶν τῆς κόρτης παλαιῶν πανίων, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς σκουφίας μόνον κοκκίνας ἐντὸς μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς, οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ καπάσια, ἔτι τε καὶ κάλτζας τοιαύτας, μετὰ παπουτζίων μαύρων· ἐκτὸς δὲ φοροῦσι τὰς τοιαύτας σκουφίας μετὰ
- 10 καπασίων.

- Τοιαῦτα ἐνδύματα κόκκινα ἐνδύονται μὲν καὶ οἱ Βαρδαριῶται, διὰ πανίου, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς κόρτης ἀλλ' ἐξ οἰκείων, ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς δὲ περσικὸν φόρεμα, ἀγγουρωτὸν ὀνομαζόμενον, ἔχον ἀντὶ μαργελλίων πανίον κίτρινον. Κρέμονται δὲ ἐπὶ ζώνης ἐκάστου τούτων λῶροι, οὓς καλοῦσι μαγκλάβια,
- 15 μαστίζειν τοὺς [p. 182] ἀξιόους μαστίζεσθαι, φέροντες αἰεὶ καὶ δικανίκια· ὅτε δὲ καβαλλικεύσει ὁ βασιλεὺς, προηγοῦνται, καὶ φέροντες αὐτὰ ὄρθια εὐτακτοῦσι

they stand below [p. 181] the *prokypsis*.<sup>210</sup> The Vardariots stand at the gate of the courtyard. All these then who have been mentioned stand in rank at the time of the chanting of the matin hymn, and that of the liturgy and of vespers, while the *primmikerios tes aules* keeps them in order, as was said.<sup>211</sup> The *kortinarioi* serve at the imperial tent, also called a *korte*.<sup>212</sup> Their *komes* and they themselves wear red clothing made from the old cloth of the *korte*. They wear on their head, in the courtyard only, red *skouphiai*<sup>213</sup> but no *kapasia*.<sup>214</sup> In addition, they wear stockings<sup>215</sup> of the same [red fabric] with black shoes. Outside the courtyard they wear these *skouphiai* with *kapasia*.

The Vardariots also wear similar red clothing made of cloth that has not been taken from the *korte* but is their own and they wear on their heads a Persian hat called *angouroton*<sup>216</sup> which has a yellow cloth<sup>217</sup> instead of borders. Straps, called *manglavias*,<sup>218</sup> to whip [p. 182] those who deserve to be whipped, are suspended from the belt of each of them. They always carry staffs.<sup>219</sup> When the emperor rides horseback, they precede him, carrying these upright, and introduce order

<sup>210</sup> That is, they too are present in the ceremony of the *prokypsis* on Christmas Eve and at Epiphany: see the description of *prokypsis* at 126–132 where they are, however, not mentioned. Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 280, does not include the *kortinarioi* among the palace guards because they are unarmed. For their service at the palace tent, see 100.4–5. However, Pachymeres (II, 417.2–6) suggests that they were palace guards when he relates that the emperor Michael VIII's brother, the despot John, was given *kortinarioi* as well as Vardariots and others in his service.

<sup>211</sup> The author returns to the starting point of this long passage whose purpose it is to describe the function of the *primmikerios tes aules*. In this way Pseudo-Kodinos has given an account of the 'reception' which takes place in the courtyard while the reception is in progress in the *triklinos*.

<sup>212</sup> For the *korte*, a tent or pavilion, see Haldon, *Three treatises*, 171–2.

<sup>213</sup> A tight fitting cap or bonnet. It can be worn with *kapasia* on some occasions: see at n. 214. Sphrantzes was given a 'Thessalonican *skouphia*' lined with gold-red *chasdeon* (velvet/velours): ed. Maisano, 56.21. Ignatios of Smolensk describes the red clothing, hats and staffs of the 'standard bearers' who accompanied the emperor Manuel II in Hagia Sophia on the day of his coronation (1396): Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 106, 426. These 'standard bearers' are perhaps to be identified with the *kortinarioi*.

<sup>214</sup> A head covering. For the *kapasia* of the *tzakones*, see n. 205 above.

<sup>215</sup> That is, red stockings.

<sup>216</sup> The word is a hapax, literally, 'cucumber-like'. For the red clothing of the Vardariots see also Chon., *History*, 343.33–34.

<sup>217</sup> The meaning is unclear.

<sup>218</sup> Here the *manglavion* is called a whip but in other sources the word is understood to mean a 'club' or 'cudgel': see, e.g., *DAI*, 51.61–62; see Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 179 and n. 41; Nicholas and Baloglu, *Tale of quadrupeds*, 337–38.

<sup>219</sup> They may be the 'staff bearers' (ῥαβδούχοι) in the palace courtyard who served together with the 'axe-bearers', the Varangians: Greg. II, 896.16–20. They are mentioned together also by Choniates (*History*, 343.33–34). The 14th c. paraphrase of Choniates'

τὸν λαόν· ἔχουσι δὲ οὗτοι καὶ πριμμικήριον. Τούτους πάλαι Πέρσας κατὰ  
γένος ὄντας ὁ βασιλεὺς [ ... ]<sup>8</sup> μετοικίσας ἐκείθεν εἰς τὸν Βαρδάριον ἐκάθισε  
ποταμόν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Βαρδαριῶται καλοῦνται.<sup>9</sup>

5 Ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος λέγεται ὅτι ἦν κατὰ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν πρῶτος τῶν  
σπαθαρίων παραμονῶν· νῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχει.

Ὁ μέγας ἄρχων οὐδὲ ἐν ὑπηρέτημα κέκτηται, καὶ ὁ τατᾶς τῆς αὐλῆς  
ῥασαύτως.

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<sup>8</sup> A and B have a gap here.

<sup>9</sup> C adds here: οἶμαι ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ Τζιμισκῆς· περὶ τούτου γὰρ τοιόνδε τι φασὶν  
οἱ τὰς χρονικὰς γράμμαντες ἱστορίας.

among the people. They too have a *primmikerios*.<sup>220</sup> Originally they were Persians by birth, and the emperor [...] removed them from there [their homeland] and settled them along the river Vardar whence they are called Vardariots.<sup>222</sup>

It is said of the *protospatharios*<sup>223</sup> that he was, in former times, the first of the *paramonai* of the *spatharioi*. Now he has no service.

The *megas archon*<sup>224</sup> has no service at all. The *tatas tes aules*<sup>225</sup> likewise.

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*History* (ed. Bekker, apparatus at 354.20, 447.18) supplies 'Vardariots' when the author refers to 'staff bearers' (*rhabdouchoi*).

<sup>220</sup> The *primmikerios* of the Vardariots is first attested in the reign of Manuel I. He is mentioned in the *Ekthesis* of the synod of 1166: ed. Sakkos, 142.27–28. Choniates (*History*, 274.14) refers to the 'leader of the staff bearers'. See also Akrop. §63:131.26–132.3; Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 279–80.

<sup>221</sup> A space has been left for the name of the emperor. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 322, has supplied the name of the emperor Theophilos.

<sup>222</sup> See also below at 154.8–9 where the Vardariots are said to speak Persian. They were Hungarians who settled in the Vardar in the 10th c. See Oikonomides, 'Hongrois installés dans la vallée du Vardar en 934', 1–8. Byzantine writers called the Hungarians Turks. Thus, Pseudo-Kodinos, archaïsing, calls the Vardariots and their language 'Persian'. See Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 271–83.

<sup>223</sup> That is, in former times the *protospatharios* was at the head of the *spatharioi*, a unit of guards (*paramonai*) last attested in the late 11th c. Pseudo-Kodinos uses '*paramonai*' to explain what the *spatharioi* were, although the *paramonai* are not known before the 13th c. See Oikonomides, *Listes*, 297–8; Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 276. The imperial dignity of *protospatharios* is reliably attested in the 8th c., with a history possibly stretching back to the 6th c. The title appears to have been abolished by the changes in court ranking introduced by Alexios I and was subsequently revived in the Palaiologan period. See Guillard, 'Le protospathaire'; ODB 3, 1748. See 303 n. 114.

<sup>224</sup> Akropolites (123.17–18 with 122.3) states that Theodore II innovated when adding the epithet *megas* to the *archon tou allagiu*. The innovation apparently led to the creation of the title of *megas archon* which is well attested in the Palaiologan period and remained distinct from the *archon tou allagiu*. On the *megas archon*, see Guillard, 'Commandants', *Recherches*, I, 525–7.

<sup>225</sup> On the basis of a seal published by Laurent, *Les bulles*, 142–3 (no. 400), Guillard, 'Mémorialiste', 149–51 (followed by Kazhdan, ODB, 3, 2013–2014), thought that the title of *tatas tes aules* was introduced in the 12th c. However, no *tatas* is mentioned on the seal. See Varzos, *Ἡ Γενεαλογία*, II, 382, n. 4 (with references to other publications of the seal). The earliest recorded *tatas* is therefore Theodore Kalambakes, attested in 1256, who acted as a military commander. See Akrop. §66: 139.10–11. Michael VIII ordained that his newly crowned son Andronikos II should have as part of his retinue, a *pinkernes*, an *epi tes trapezes* and a *tatas tes aules*: Pach. II, 413.15–21. It is not clear what function the *tatas tes aules* had. See Guillard, *Titres*, study XXIV, 24, 149–150. It appears from Pachymeres II, 645.13 that the *tatas tes aules*, Andronikos Eonopolites, a eunuch, had a military function. The word *tatas* may be of Turkish origin. See Zachariadou, 'Les janissaires de l'empereur byzantin'; see also below 304.

Οἱ μεγάλοι τζαούσιοι εὐρίσκονται εὐτακτοῦντες τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σύνταξιν, ὑπὸ τὸν μέγαν πριμμικήριον ὄντες.

Ὁ πραιτώρ τοῦ δήμου οὐδ' οὗτος ἔχει ὑπηρεσίαν τινά.

Ὁ τῶν οἰκειακῶν λογοθέτης ὡσαύτως.

- 5 Καὶ ὁ μέγας λογαριαστής οὐδ' οὗτος ἔχει τὸ ὑπηρετήμα νῦν.

Ὁ πρωτοκυνηγὸς ἔχει μὲν τὴν [p. 183] ὑπηρεσίαν ταύτην, ὅτι τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἵππον ἀναβαίνοντος, οὐδεὶς ἕτερος τὴν σκάλαν κατέχει εἰ μὴ μόνος οὗτος, εἰ παρὼν εὐρίσκεται· ἄρχει δὲ καὶ τῶν κυνηγῶν τῶν λεγομένων σκυλλομάγγων· εἰ δέ ποτε κυνηγετοῦντος τοῦ βασιλέως αἵμαχθῆναι συμβῇ τι

- 10 τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ, λαμβάνει τοῦτο κατ' εὐεργεσίαν ὁ πρωτοκυνηγός.

Ὁ σκουτέριος βαστάζει τὸ διβέλλιον καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως σκουτάριον, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰς προκύψεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπου ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔξω ἀπέρχεται· εὐρίσκονται δὲ μετὰ τοῦ διβελλίου

The *megaloï tzaousioi*<sup>226</sup> keep the cortège of the emperor in order. They are under the *megas primmikerios*.

Nor does the *praitor tou demou*<sup>227</sup> have any service.

The *logothetes ton oikeiakon*<sup>228</sup> likewise.

Neither does the *megas logariastes*<sup>229</sup> have a service now.

The *protokynegos*<sup>230</sup> has [p. 183] this service, namely, when the emperor mounts his horse, no one else holds his stirrup but he alone, if he is present. He is in charge of the hunters called *skyllomangoi*. If ever, when the emperor is hunting, it should happen that one of his *himatia*<sup>231</sup> becomes bloody, the *protokynegos* receives it as a gift.

The *skouterios*<sup>232</sup> carries the *dibellion*<sup>233</sup> and the shield of the emperor, not only at the *prokypseis*, but also wherever the emperor goes outside. With the *dibellion*

<sup>226</sup> The *tzaousios*, first attested in the 'empire of Nicaea' (Akrop. §60: 123.11–15), is an adaptation of a Seljuk military institution. See 304 n. 119. The *megas tzaousios* is to be distinguished from the locally stationed *tzaousioi* who were garrison commanders. See Sathas, MB VI, 647.17–26 (a late Byzantine formula for the appointment of a *tzaousios*); Guillard, 'Dignitaires', *Recherches*, I, 596–600; Bartusis, 'Megala allagia', 196–203.

<sup>227</sup> The *praitor tou demou* is attested from the 6th c. when it had a policing function. See Guillard, 'Préteur du peuple', 81–84. In the 14th c. the post was given to interpreters from Latin. Kantakouzenos (III, 53.13–16) mentions a Sigeros, *praitor tou demou*, sent to Rome on embassy. The office is to be distinguished from the *praitor* known as the head of civil administration in the provinces from the 10th through the 13th c.

<sup>228</sup> The *logothetes ton oikeiakon* is the continuator of the 12th c. office of *epi ton oikeiakon* responsible for managing the revenues derived from fiscal lands. See Guillard, 'Logothètes', 94–100; Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 136–8. The first known *logothetes ton oikeiakon* is Hagiotheodorites who was promoted to this office by Michael VIII in the period 1259–1261. See Pach. I, 155.21–157.1.

<sup>229</sup> A high fiscal official introduced by Alexios I. See Guillard, 'Logariaste'; Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 141. For the Palaiologan period see Bartusis, *Land and privilege in Byzantium*, 358.

<sup>230</sup> This household office is first attested in the empire of Nicaea. Theodore Mouzalon, one of the three Mouzalon brothers favoured by Theodore II, was made either *protokynegos* (Akrop. 155.18–19) or *protoierakarios* (Pach. I, 41.13–14). See Guillard, 'Dignitaires', *Recherches*, I, 601–603; ODB 3, 1745–1746; below at 106 for the *protoierakarios*.

<sup>231</sup> For the *himation*, a tunic, perhaps synonymous with *kabbadion*, see below at 118.3, 224.4, 238.11, 260.2. Here, in the plural, the word could refer to 'garments' in general. See note 700 below.

<sup>232</sup> The first known *skouterios*, a certain Xyleas, is attested in the empire of Nicaea in the 1250s. He had a military function. See Akrop. §66:139.8–9; Guillard, 'Préteur du peuple', 84–6.

<sup>233</sup> The *skouterios* is mentioned again later (130.2–4) as the carrier of the *dibellion* and the shield. On feast days celebrated in monasteries the bootmaker carries the *dibellion* but without the shield (200.15–202.1). The 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII refers to the *skouterios* who holds the 'spear and the shield' when the emperor is on campaign: Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 38.27–39.29. The etymology of *dibellion* indicates two *vella*,



καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες Βάραγγοι. Εἴτε οὖν εἰς τὸ φωσσάτον ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐρίσκεται εἴτε καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ, τὸ διβέλλιον πάντοτε ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ φέρεται.

Ὁ ἀμηράλιος ὑπὸ τὸν μέγαν δοῦκαν εὐρίσκεται, προηγεῖται δὲ τοῦ στόλου παντός.

- 5 Ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων δέχεται τὰς τῶν αἰτούντων καὶ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀναφοράς, καβαλλαρίου διερχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως.

[p. 184] Ὁ κοιαίστωρ εἶχε μὲν πάλαι καὶ οὗτος ὑπηρεσίαν, νῦν δὲ οὐδαμῶς.

Τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀδνουμιαστοῦ ὑπηρέτημα λεχθήσεται καὶ τοῦτο ὀπηνίκα τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου τὸ εἰς τὸ φωσσάτον.

- 10 Ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ οὐδεμίαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχει.

Ὁ πρωτοῖερακάριος ἄρχει τῶν φερόντων ὄρνεα κυνηγῶν, φέρει δὲ καὶ χειρόρτιον ἐπὶ ζώνης, ὡς προεῖρηται.

Ὁ λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγγελῶν εἶχε μὲν καὶ οὗτος πάλαι ὑπηρεσίαν, νῦν δὲ οὐδαμῶς.

are also all the accompanying Varangians.<sup>234</sup> Whether the emperor is with the army or elsewhere, the *dibellion* is always carried in front of him.

The *ameralios*<sup>235</sup> is under the *megas doux* and commands the entire fleet.

The *epi ton deeseon* receives, as the emperor passes on horseback, the requests of the petitioners and those who have been wronged.<sup>236</sup>

[p. 184] The *koiaistor*<sup>237</sup> had a service of old but now he has none.

The service of the *megas adnoumiastes*<sup>238</sup> will be described when that of the *megas domestikos* in the army is described.

The *logothetes tou stratou*<sup>239</sup> has no service.

The *protoierakarios* is leader of the hunters who bring birds and he wears a glove on his belt, as was previously mentioned.<sup>240</sup>

The *logothetes ton agelon*<sup>241</sup> also had a service of old, but now he has none.

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tufts, a meaning supported by a 10th c. gloss on the word ('*dibelias* are *touphia*'): Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v. *dibellion*; Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 63 and n. 190. It appears therefore that the *dibellion* is a spear that has two pennons attached to it. See Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 175–176; Babuin, 'Standards and insignia of Byzantium', 22, 31. An illustrated mid-13th c. manuscript, probably from Mosul, a *Kitab al-Diryaq* of Ps.-Galen, shows a scene in which an attendant behind the seated Turkish ruler holds an object of this description: Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, fig. 31 (Vienna, Nat. Lib. A. F. 10, fol. 1); also illustrated in black and white in Stillman, *Arab Dress*, pl. 19.

<sup>234</sup> Both the *dibellion* and the Varangians always accompany the emperor.

<sup>235</sup> On the *ameralios* see 305.

<sup>236</sup> For the emperor's riding out to hear petitions, see above at 72–78. On the *epi ton deeseon*, see Morris, 'What did the *epi ton deeseon* actually do?', 125–40; Macrides, 'The ritual of petition', 356–70.

<sup>237</sup> The title derives from the Roman magistracy of the quaestor. In the later Roman empire the quaestor was a high-ranking official with legislative and judicial functions; his importance diminished in middle Byzantium. See Guillard, 'Questeur'; ODB 3, 1765–66.

<sup>238</sup> This military title, first attested in the Palaiologan period, derives from the *adnoumion*, a Latin loan word meaning a 'levy of soldiers'. See Ahrweiler, 'Recherches', 8–9. On the official, see Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 246. On his service in the army, see ch. VI.

<sup>239</sup> The *logothetes tou stratotikou* was a high fiscal official attested between the 7th and the late 11th c. charged with maintaining the list of soldiers and military lands. See Guillard, 'Les logothètes', 25–31; Ahrweiler, 'Recherches', 7, 10. Although *logothetai tou stratotikou* are attested in the 14th c., their field of competence is unclear. See Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 238.

<sup>240</sup> The office is first attested at the empire of Nicaea. See Guillard, 'Dignitaires', in *Recherches*, I, 600–601; ODB 3, 1745. See above at 64.1–4 and below 303, 305–306.

<sup>241</sup> The *logothetes ton agelon* (logothete of the herds) is attested from at least the 8th c. until the second half of the 10th c. He oversaw the imperial livestock in Asia Minor. The title was revived in the 'empire of Nicaea'. See Guillard, 'Logothètes', 71–5; Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 145–6.

Ὁ μέγας διερμηνευτής ἐστὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἐρμηνέων, οὓς κοινῶς δραγουμάνους καλοῦσιν.

Ὁ ἀκόλουθος εὐρίσκεται μὲν ἔνοχος τῶν Βαράγγων, ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν, διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ ἀκόλουθος κέκληται.

- 5 Ὁ κριτὴς τοῦ φωσσάτου, τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὸ φωσσάτον εὐρισκομένου, τὰς παρεμπιπτούσας ὑποθέσεις τοῖς στρατιώταις, εἴτε περὶ ἀλόγων, εἴτε ἀρμάτων, εἴτε καὶ κούρσων, ἢ περὶ τοιούτου τινός, καθιστᾷ καὶ ἐξισάζει.

[p. 185] Ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ ἀλλαγίου εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μὲν εὐρίσκεται σύνταξιν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν μέγαν δὲ πριμμικήριον.

- 10 Ὁ πρωταλλαγάτωρ ὡσαύτως καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν μέγαν πριμμικήριον, πλὴν ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπισθεν τῆς συντάξεως, ἵνα ἐὰν ἀπολιμπάνηται τις αὐτῆς, φέρῃ οὗτος καὶ ἀποκαθιστᾷ εἰς τὴν σύνταξιν καὶ εὐτακτῇ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ μέγας πριμμικήριος ἐν χρειᾷ τινὸς γένοιτο τῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης, πρὸς τὸν πρωταλλαγάτορα λέγει, καὶ καλεῖ τοῦτον.

- 15 Ὁ μέγας διοικητὴς οὐδεμίαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχει.

Ὁ ὀρφανοτρόφος ἦν μὲν φροντίζων καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος πάλαι τῶν ὀρφανῶν, νῦν δὲ οὐδαμῶς κέκτηται τινὰ ὑπηρεσίαν.

The *megas diermeneutes* is the first of the interpreters<sup>242</sup> whom they commonly call dragomans.

The *akolouthos*<sup>243</sup> is in charge of the Varangians. He follows the emperor in front of them and for this reason he is called an *akolouthos*.

When the emperor is with the army, the *krites tou phossatou*<sup>244</sup> arranges and resolves the cases that are brought by soldiers concerning either horses, or weapons or booty or some such issue.

[p. 185] The *archon tou allagiou*<sup>245</sup> is in the cortège of the emperor and is under the *megas primmikerios*.

The *protallagator*<sup>246</sup> is likewise under the *megas primmikerios*. However he follows behind the cortège so that if someone from it is left behind he fetches him and restores him in the cortège and establishes order. Should the *megas primmikerios* need anyone from those in the cortège, he says this to the *protallagator*, and the latter summons him.

The *megas dioiketes*<sup>247</sup> has no service.

The *orphanotrophos*<sup>248</sup> of old took care of and was in charge of the orphans, but now he has no service.

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<sup>242</sup> The office of ‘grand interpreter’ appeared during the 12th c. See Guiland, ‘Grand interprète’. The grand interpreter Berroiotēs was sent by Michael VIII to the council of Lyons in 1274 (Pach. II, 493.3).

<sup>243</sup> An office attested since the 9th c. See Guiland, ‘Commandants’, *Recherches*, I, 522–24; ODB I, 47. The title of the office derives from ἀκολουθεῖν, ‘to follow’, ‘to go after or with’.

<sup>244</sup> According to Guiland, ‘Commandants’, *Recherches* I, 528–29, the ancestor of this official attested first in the Palaiologan period is the 11th c. *krites tou stratopedou*. See ODB 2, 1159; Haldon, ‘The *krites tou stratopedou*’, 279–86.

<sup>245</sup> This military office appears to have been introduced at the empire of Nicaea. According to Akropolites, Theodore II Laskaris granted the new title to Constantine Margarites. See Akrop. §60:123.15–18 and 122.3–4. On the *archon tou allagiou*, see Guiland, ‘Commandants’, *Recherches* I, 525, 597. On *allagia* or *tagmata*, and *allagitai*, see Kyriakidis, *Warfare in late Byzantium*, 82–93.

<sup>246</sup> The military office appears to have been introduced in the Palaiologan period. See Guiland, ‘Commandants’, 525–26.

<sup>247</sup> *Megas dioiketes*, an adaptation of the older fiscal office of *dioiketes* (lit. ‘administrator’), appears to have had fiscal or judicial functions. The title is attested ca. 1305 when we hear in a letter by Manuel Moschopoulos about the injustices of an anonymous *megas dioiketes*. See Ševčenko, ‘Imprisonment of Manuel Moschopoulos’, 147 n. 76; Talbot, *Correspondence*, no. 26.

<sup>248</sup> The title of *orphanotrophos* was reserved since the 5th c. (ODB 3, 1537–1538) for the imperial caretaker of orphans. The official was attached to the orphanage of St Paul on the Acropolis of Constantinople, refounded by Alexios I, and restored by Michael VIII after 1261. The *orphanotropheion* is not mentioned after 1320 and, while the *orphanotrophos* does appear in documents into the 15th c., he does not seem to have a function related

Ὁ πρωτονοτάριος δῆλος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος· πρῶτος γὰρ τῶν νοταρίων ἦτοι τῶν γραμματικῶν.

- Τὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναμνήσεων ὑπηρετήμα πάλαι μὲν ἦν τὸ ἀπογράφεσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ἀριστεύοντας, ἀναμνησκῆναι τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἵνα λαμβάνωσι τὰς προση[p. 186]κούσας τιμὰς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν οὐδεμίαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχει.

Ὁ δομέστικος τῶν τειχέων ἔχει τοῦτο τὸ ὑπηρετήμα ὅτι, εἴ τινας τὰ κάστρα περιποιήσεως δέοιντο, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦτον εἰς τὸ ἀνακτίζεσθαι.

- Ὁ προκαθήμενος τοῦ κοιτῶνος, τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτῶνος ἐπιμελούμενος, ἄρχει μὲν τῶν κοιτωναρίων, εὐρίσκεται δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν τοῦ κοιτῶνος παρακοιμώμενον.

Ὁ προκαθήμενος τοῦ βεστιαρίου ἄρχει μὲν τοῦ βεστιαρίου, ὑπηρετεῖ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς προσφερομένας καὶ ἐξερχομένας εἰσόδους τε καὶ ἐξόδους.

- Ὁ βεστιαρίου ἔχει ὑπηρετήμα θαλάσσιον· τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐκστρατεύοντος, ἄρχει οὗτος τοῦ τὸ βεστιάριον φέροντος κατέργου, ἀκολουθεῖ τε κατόπιν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κατέργου.

The service of the *protonotarios*<sup>249</sup> is evident from his title. For he is the first of the notaries, that is, of the secretaries.

The service of the *epi ton anamneseon*<sup>250</sup> in former times was to keep record of those who excelled in campaigns and elsewhere, and to make mention of them to the emperor so that they could receive the appropriate [p. 186] honours. However, at present he has no service.

The *domestikos ton teicheon*<sup>251</sup> has charge of the following, namely, should one of the *kastra* be in need of any attention, he should see to it that it is rebuilt.

The *prokathemenos tou koitonos*<sup>252</sup> takes care of the imperial chamber and is in charge of the chamberlains. He is under the *parakoimomenos tou koitonos*.

The *prokathemenos* of the *vestiarion*<sup>253</sup> is at the head of the *vestiarion*. He also attends to both the incoming and outgoing revenues and expenses.

The *vestiarion*<sup>254</sup> has a maritime service. When the emperor is on a maritime campaign, he is in charge of the ship carrying the *vestiarion* and follows behind the ship of the emperor.

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to the *orphanotropheion*. See Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 176–208, here 206–208; Guillard, ‘Études sur l’histoire: l’orphanotrophe’, 214–216.

<sup>249</sup> The Palaiologan title of *protonotarios* derives from the middle Byzantine title of *protonotarios tou dromou* (a high secretary in the *sekretion* of the *logothetes tou dromou*) attested since the 9th c. See Guillard, ‘Logothètes’, 38–40; Oikonomides, ‘La chancellerie impériale’, 170–171.

<sup>250</sup> Attested first in the Palaiologan period (Kant. II, 99.2). Kazhdan, ODB 1, 724, corrects Guillard’s opinion (‘Mémorialiste, apo ton anamneseon, myrtaite et tatas’, 147–148) that the title existed already in the reign of Alexios I. Guillard connected the title to the late Roman *magister memoriae*. Theodore II Laskaris speaks of ‘reminders’ (*anamneseis*) and ‘petitions’ (*hypomneseis*) as part of his and his father’s routine business at the Nicaean court. See Festa, *Epistulae*, no. 19: 25.7–8. The title was also an *offikion* in the 14th c. patriarchal administration. See Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 357, n. 3.

<sup>251</sup> The *domestikos* of the walls, a military official, is known since at least the 10th c. See Guillard, ‘Comte des murs’.

<sup>252</sup> The title is first attested in the Palaiologan period. The *prokathemenos tou koitonos* George Chatzikes (PLP 30742) was active c. 1305/6. Another holder of the title, Michael Kallikrenites (PLP 1321), is attested in 1321 and again in 1330/1. The title may be related to the 13th c. office of *epi tou koitonos* amply attested on seals. See PBW s.v. *epi tou koitonos*; ODB 2, 1137.

<sup>253</sup> Head of the imperial treasury attested first in the Palaiologan period. See Hendy, *Studies*, 440. Known holders of the title are Nicholas Panaretos (PLP 21652; see Pach. II, 493.2–3: c. 1274, part of Michael VIII’s delegation to the council of Lyons) and John Kanaboures (PLP 10865) in 1308. The *prokathemenos* of the *vestiarion* is probably to be identified with the *archon* of the imperial *vestiarion* mentioned at 238.10.

<sup>254</sup> This title of a navy officer appears in the Palaiologan period. Pachymeres (IV, 607.17–21) equates it with the late Roman military office of the ‘eparch of the army’ who had financial functions. See Failler, ‘L’éparque de l’armée et le bestiarion’, 199–203. Hendy (*Studies*, 440) conflates this title holder with the previous one, the *prokathemenos*

Ὁ ἐταιρειάρχης ὑπηρετεῖ μὲν εἰς τὴν παράστασιν, ὡς προεῖρηται, συνυπηρετεῖ δὲ καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐταιρειάρχῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν προσφύγων.

Ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς λογαριαστὴς λογίζεται τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ εὕρισκομέ[p. 187] νους πάντας ρογάτορας, εἰ λείπει τυχὸν τινί τι ἀπὸ τῆς ρόγας αὐτοῦ, ἣ

5 εἰσδούλευσεν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐρρογεύθη.

Ὁ στρατοπεδάρχης τῶν μονοκαβάλλων ὑπρέτημα εἶχε τοιοῦτον· ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ θέματα τόποις φωσσάτου τάγματα, οἱ μὲν μεγαλοαλλαγῖται ὀνομαζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τρικάβαλλοι, οἱ δὲ δικάβαλλοι, καὶ ἕτεροι μονοκάβαλλοι· ἦν οὖν οὗτος ὁ στρατοπεδάρχης φροντιστὴς καὶ ἐπιμελητὴς μόνων τῶν

10 μονοκαβάλλων.

Ὁ τῶν τζαγγρατόρων στρατοπεδάρχης φροντίζων ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος τούτων.

Καὶ ὁ τῶν μουρτάτων στρατοπεδάρχης ὁμοίως.

Ὁ στρατοπεδάρχης τῶν τζακῶνων ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν εἰς τὰ κάστρα

15 εὕρισκομένων φυλάξεων, οἵτινες τζάκωνες ὀνομάζονται.

Ὁ προκαθήμενος τῶν μεγάλων παλατίων ἐπιμελητὴς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν παλατίων προκαθήμενος ὡσαύτως.

The *hetaireiarches* serves at the reception, as said above,<sup>255</sup> and also collaborates with the *megas hetaireiarches* on behalf of the refugees.<sup>256</sup>

The *logariastes tes aules*<sup>257</sup> makes calculations on behalf of all the salaried [p. 187] officials at court, as to whether any of them is by chance short of a portion of his salary or has done the work for which he was paid.

The *stratopedarches* of the *monokaballoi*<sup>258</sup> had the following service. There were army contingents in the regions of the themes, some called *megaloallagitai*,<sup>259</sup> others *trikaballoi*, *dikaballoi*, and others yet *monokaballoi*. This *stratopedarches* took care of and was in charge of the *monokaballoi* only.

The *stratopedarches* of the *tzangratores*<sup>260</sup> takes care of and is also in charge of these soldiers.

The *stratopedarches* of the *mourtatoi*<sup>261</sup> likewise.

The *stratopedarches* of the *tzakones*<sup>262</sup> takes care of the garrisons, called *tzakones*, stationed in the *kastra*.

The *prokathemenos* of the Great Palace<sup>263</sup> is in charge of it and the *prokathemenos* of the Blachernai palace similarly.

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*tou vestiariou*. However, they must be two separate officials since their attire differs: see above at 66.14–16.

<sup>255</sup> See 90.6–8, 90.13–92.1.

<sup>256</sup> See n. 188 above.

<sup>257</sup> The first known holder of the office of *logariastes tes aules*, (Manuel) Angelos, is attested under John III Batatzes. See Pach. IV, 325.27–28 and n. 55. For later holders of the title, see Guiland, ‘Logariaste’, 107–108.

<sup>258</sup> This Palaiologan military title is known solely from Pseudo-Kodinos. The use of the past tense is noteworthy; it may imply that the holder no longer had the function described at the time of Pseudo-Kodinos.

<sup>259</sup> On the *megaloallagitai* and the *megala allagia*, see Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 193–196; Kyriakidis, *Warfare in late Byzantium*, 89–93. See above at 108 on the *archon tou allagiou*.

<sup>260</sup> Crossbowmen. The only *stratopedarches* of the crossbowmen known from the sources is Sgouros in the early 14th c.: Pach. IV, 455.16–19; 455 n.71. Crossbows were well known among the Byzantines and were in use at least from the 12th c. on, yet Byzantine authors, including Kantakouzenos (I, 174.5), call them ‘Latin’. See Kolias (*Byzantinische Waffen*, 245–53) Bartusis (*Late Byzantine army*, 298–99) claims that the *tzangratoroi* fought only within fortifications and were stationed in fortress garrisons. He therefore concludes that the crossbowmen mentioned here are in Constantinople.

<sup>261</sup> The title of the commander of the *mourtatoi* is first attested in the Palaiologan period. For the *mourtatoi* see above at 98.

<sup>262</sup> A Palaiologan title. On the various functions of the *tzakones*, see above n. 203.

<sup>263</sup> Both the *prokathemenos* of the Great Palace and the *prokathemenos* of the Blachernai are first attested in the Palaiologan period. A certain Pepanos (PLP 22379), *prokathemenos* of the Blachernai palace, is known from Kantakouzenos’ *History*.



[p. 188] Ὁ τῶν θεμάτων δομέστικος ἦν πάλαι φροντίζων καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος τῶν τοῦ δημοσίου πραγμάτων.

Καὶ οἱ δομέστικοι τῶν τε ἀνατολικῶν καὶ δυτικῶν θεμάτων φροντισταὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν ἐκεῖσε δημοσίων πραγμάτων.

5 Τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου μυρταίτου ὑπηρέτημα ἀνεπίγνωστόν ἐστι.

Τὸ τοῦ πρωτοκόμητος θαλάσσιόν ἐστι· εὐρίσκεται γοῦν οὗτος τῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ στόλῳ πάντων κομήτων ὁ πρῶτος.

Καὶ τὸ τοῦ δρουγγαρίου ὡσαύτως θαλάσσιον· δροῦγγα γὰρ ποσότης τοσούτων τινῶν ἐρμηνεύεται, ἧς ἄρχει ὁ τοιοῦτος δρουγγάριος.

10 Οἱ προκαθήμενοι καὶ οἱ καστροφύλακες ὑπηρεταὶ ἐκάστης κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πόλεων.

[p. 188] The *domestikos* of the themes<sup>264</sup> in former times took care of and was in charge of the affairs of the public fisc.

The *domestikoi* of the Eastern and Western themes<sup>265</sup> took care of, and were in charge of, fiscal affairs there.

The service of the *megas myrtaites*<sup>266</sup> is unknown.

The service of the *protokomes*<sup>267</sup> is maritime. He is the first of all the *kometes* of the imperial fleet.

The service of the *droungarios*<sup>268</sup> is likewise maritime. For the *drounga*<sup>269</sup> means the quantity of those whom this *droungarios* commands.

The *prokathemenoi*<sup>270</sup> and the *kastrophyllakes*<sup>271</sup> are the functionaries attending to each city according to its rank.

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<sup>264</sup> The *domestikos* of the themes was a middle Byzantine official with fiscal responsibilities in the themes mentioned in the *taktikon* of Uspenskii, Philotheos' *Kletorologion* and the 11th c. *diataxis* of Attaleiates. See Oikonomides, *Listes*, 63.4, 103–105, 157.1, 341; Gautier, 'La diataxis', 121.1700.

<sup>265</sup> First attested in the Palaiologan period, the *domestikoi* of the Eastern and Western themes had fiscal responsibilities. See Guiland, 'Les domestiques des thèmes d'Orient et des thèmes d'Occident', with a prosopographical survey; Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 197. The titles bear similarity with the *domestikos ton scholon* of the East (known as *domestikos* of the East) and *domestikos ton scholon* of the West (*domestikos* of the West), both introduced in the mid 10th c. However these *domestikoi* were high standing generals, not fiscal agents.

<sup>266</sup> A title first introduced in the Palaiologan period with unknown function. The *megas myrtaites* George Prokopes (PLP 23823) is known from a document dating to 1328. The title may have been of Turkish origin. See Balivet, 'Le myrtaites'.

<sup>267</sup> See above note 115.

<sup>268</sup> See above note 116.

<sup>269</sup> Derived from Lat. *drungus*; see Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v. δρογγος. The *Taktika* of Leo gives a definition which supports Pseudo-Kodinos' assertion: 'Droungarios is the term for the commander of one moira ... A moira or droungos is the total unit made up of tagmata, arithmoi or banda ...' (ed. and trans. Dennis, 4.11.72–75: pp. 52–53).

<sup>270</sup> This urban official may have been first introduced in the late 12th c. (ODB 3, 1729). There is ample evidence for him in the 'empire of Nicaea'. See Ahrweiler, 'L'histoire', 155–58 (*prokathemenoi* of Smyrna); Festa, *Epistulae*, no. 140, 197 (*prokathemenos* of Philadelphia).

<sup>271</sup> On this title, not mentioned in ch. I, see n. below 290 n. 55.

[p. 189] Δ' Περί τῆς τῶν Δεσποτικῶν ἑορτῶν τάξεως καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς τελουμένων ἐθίμων.

- Τῇ κδ' τοῦ Δεκεβρίου, καθ' ἣν ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Χριστουγέννων παραμονή,  
 5 τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον μὴ ἐξελθόντος κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἔθους αὐτοῦ  
 συνήθειαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ κελλίῳ εὕρισκομένου, φέρουσι μετὰ τὴν  
 ἀπόλυσιν οἱ κανονάρχαι καὶ ἰστώσιν εἰκονοστάσιον, εἰς ὃ κρέμονται ἅγαι  
 εἰκόνες τῆς τε γεννήσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἕτεραι τρεῖς ἢ καὶ τέσσαρες·  
 ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τούτου ἀναλόγιον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπίκειται ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον.
- 10 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς ἴστανται πλησίον τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων μετὰ  
 τῶν ἱερατικῶν στολῶν, οἱ δ' ἀναγνῶσται μέσον τοῦ τρικλίνου  
 κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ [p. 190] βασιλέως μετὰ τῶν ἱματίων καὶ  
 ἐπιρριπταρίων αὐτῶν, φοροῦντες καὶ καμίσια ἐπάνω τῶν ἱματίων

[p. 189] IV. Concerning the ceremonial for the dominical feasts and the customs observed on those days

On the twenty-fourth of December, Christmas Eve, the emperor does not come to matins, as is customary for him,<sup>272</sup> but remains in his chamber.<sup>273</sup> After the dismissal,<sup>274</sup> the *kanonarchai*<sup>275</sup> bring, and set up, an icon-stand<sup>276</sup> on which hang holy icons of the Nativity and three or four others. In front of this there is a lectern<sup>277</sup> on which the Holy Gospel lies.

The priests stand near the holy icons with their priestly vestments, while the readers<sup>278</sup> [take position] in the middle of the *triklinos* facing [p. 190] the emperor, with their *himatia*<sup>279</sup> and *epirriptaria*,<sup>280</sup> wearing *kamisia*<sup>281</sup> over the *himatia*.

<sup>272</sup> Matins and vespers are incorporated in and are part of the daily reception of the emperor and the holders of court titles in the *triklinos*. See 395.

<sup>273</sup> The emperor's chamber (*kellion*) is close to or adjoins the *triklinos* (see 118–120) which is the site of the reception on 24 December and of the chanting of the hours described here. For the *kellion* and *triklinos*, see 367–77. The emperor is also in the *triklinos* when the liturgy is celebrated later in the day. He is said to enter the church at the end (132.1–3). The liturgy for Christmas was celebrated in the palace at least from the time of Andronikos II's reign: Pach. III, 25.2–4.

<sup>274</sup> The end of matins.

<sup>275</sup> *Kanonarchai* are cantors and leaders of choirs. See Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v. *kanonarchos*. They are mentioned also at 122.17, 158.35, 160.2; coronation of Manuel II, ed. Verpeaux, 356.24–26; ed. Schreiner, 78: *protokanonarches*.

<sup>276</sup> The *iconostasion* of the text is a portable icon-stand and is therefore synonymous with the *proskynetarion* which held more than one icon. See, e.g., the *proskynetarion* of the Hamilton Psalter, early 14th c.: Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (78 A9, f. 39v), reproduced in Evans, *Byzantium: faith and power*, cat. no. 77, p. 153.

<sup>277</sup> For the *analogion*, see Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes*, 193.12); the will of Theodore Skaranos: *Actes de Xéropotamou*, 76, 77. See also at 168.12 where the *analogion* serves as a stand for the cross.

<sup>278</sup> Here and in Philotheos (187.2) the readers are in the company of the *psaltai* or cantors (see also 132, 158, 226). They are minor clergy: ODB 1, 84. For *psaltai* see below, n. 286.

<sup>279</sup> In Pseudo-Kodinos the *himation* is a garment worn by the emperor, his mother and court title holders, as well as members of the church. In all these cases it appears to be a tunic. See 104.10, 224.4, 238.11, 260.2; Verpeaux, 190 n. 1. Cf. ODB 2, 932.

<sup>280</sup> The *epirriptarion* is a cowl or hood. See Oikonomides, *Listes*, 129.18–19 and n. 86; Haldon, *Three treatises*, 224.

<sup>281</sup> Symeon of Thessalonike (396B) regards the *kamision* as the clothing appropriate to the rank of the reader. He describes it as a short chasuble.

ὁ μέντοι πρωτοψάλτης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος λευκά, ὁ λαμπαδάριος δὲ κρατῶν τὸ χρυσοῦν διβάμπουλον, ὁ μαίστωρ καὶ πάντες οἱ ψάλται πορφυρᾷ, οἱ κανονάρχαι δὲ μετὰ ἱματίων μόνων καὶ ἄσκεπεῖς.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ πρωτοβεστιαρίτης τε, ὁ μέγας ἐταιρειάρχης, ὁ 5 πριμμικήριος τῆς αὐλῆς, οἱ ἐταιρειάρχαι, καὶ ὅσοι φέρουσι δικανίκια καὶ ὑπηρετοῦσιν, εἰσάγουσι τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παράστασιν, ὥστε τοῦτον πληρωθῆναι τὸν οἶκον.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξέρχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου εἰς τὴν θύραν ἵσταμένου καὶ τὴν 10 τοῦ βασιλέως φέροντος σπάθην. Ἄμα οὖν τῷ τὸν βασιλέα

The *protopsaltes* and the *domestikos* wear white,<sup>282</sup> the *lampadarios*<sup>283</sup> holds the double-wreathed golden candlestick,<sup>284</sup> the *maistor*<sup>285</sup> and all the cantors<sup>286</sup> wear purple,<sup>287</sup> and the *kanonarchai*<sup>288</sup> wear only *himatia* and are bareheaded.

After this the *protoprotestarites*, the *megas hetaireiarches*, the *primmikerios tes aules*, the *hetaireiarchai* and all those who carry staffs and serve,<sup>289</sup> usher the holders of court titles into the emperor's reception, so that this room<sup>290</sup> becomes full.

After this the emperor comes out of his chamber, while the *megas domestikos* stands at the door and holds the emperor's sword.<sup>291</sup> As soon as the emperor

<sup>282</sup> Both the *protopsaltes* and the *domestikos*, often mentioned together by Pseudo-Kodinos, are members of the minor clergy and are imperial clergy. Together with the *maistor* and the *kanonarchai* they participate in the chanting of the office. See Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 175, 596; ODB 1, 646; below, 230.15, 17. Their white clothing marks them out as choir leaders. Ignatios of Smolensk, in his account of the coronation of Manuel II, also describes the 'white as snow' garments of the leader of the singers: Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 106–107.

<sup>283</sup> The first mention of this ecclesiastical official who was a member of the imperial clergy: Pach. II, 377.23; Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 552.16; 559.15b. He is mentioned below, always as the carrier of the candlestick and large candle. In Mazaris' *Journey to Hades*, 50.6–7, a man with the surname *Lampadarios* holds a large candle.

<sup>284</sup> The *dibampoulon* is traditionally defined as a two-branched candlestick: Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.; Verpeaux, *Traité*, p. 191. However, there is only ever one *lampas* or large candle mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos, either in connection with the *dibampoulon* (120.5–6, 132.17–18) or on its own (140.8, 144.5, 170.25). Balsamon (Rh-P IV, 545) says that the emperors' candles are 'ringed by two gold wreaths'. His description suggests that the 'di' in *dibampoulon* refers to the two circles or wreaths embossed in the metal of the candlestick. For this interpretation, adopted here, see Parani, "'Rise like the sun, the God-inspired kingship'", fig. 2, for an image of a modern *dibampoulon*. See also 350–51.

<sup>285</sup> Mentioned also at 214.24, the *maistor* is one of the cantors and at the head of the cantors as a teacher of chant. ODB 2, 1269.

<sup>286</sup> The *psaltai* sing the responses and chants of the liturgy. See ODB 3, 1903–1904. At the coronation of an emperor (below at 226.11–15), they are divided into two groups. See below, n. 658.

<sup>287</sup> For the purple clothing of the singers see also Ignatios of Smolensk's description of Manuel II's coronation (Majeska, *Russian travelers*), 106–107. On colours, in general, and purple, in particular, see 354.

<sup>288</sup> See above, at n. 275.

<sup>289</sup> The author refers to specific service at the reception. He repeatedly mentions these same court title holders who 'perform a service at the reception' in his description of the daily receptions and the feast days: see 88.10–90.8, 126.8–9, 150.16–18, 158.22–24, 168.2. For the *hetaireiarchai*, see above at n. 255.

<sup>290</sup> The *triklinos*.

<sup>291</sup> For the *megas domestikos* and the emperor's sword, see below, n. 295. The earliest reference to the *megas domestikos* holding the emperor's sword is in Michael VIII's *prostagma* of 1272 for Andronikos II where the *megas domestikos* is mentioned

- φανῆναι οἱ ψάλται αὐτίκα ψάλλουσι τὸ [p. 191] πολυχρόνιον. Ψαλλόντων δὲ τούτων, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέρχεται καὶ ἀσπάζεται τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας, εἴθ' ὑποστρέψας ἵσταται πλησίον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μὲν μεγάλου δομεστίκου κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος ἵσταμένου τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ τῆς σπάθης, ὡς εἴρηται,
- 5 τοῦ δὲ λαμπαδαρίου κάτωθεν τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου τὸ διβάμπουλον μεθ' ἡμμένης λαμπάδος φέροντος, ἧς δὴ λαμπάδος τὰ μὲν ἄκρα εἰσὶ διὰ κινναβάρεως βεβαμμένα, τὸ δὲ μέσον διὰ πεταλίου κεχρυσωμένον ἔχοντος σταυροὺς ἐντὸς κύκλων κοκκίνους. Τῆς οὖν τῶν ὥρων ἐνάρξεως γενομένης, φέρει αὐτίκα παιδόπουλον τοῦ βεστιαρίου τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δικανίκιον, ὅπερ
- 10 λαβὼν ὁ μέγας πριμμικήριος φέρων δίδωσι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

appears, the cantors immediately chant [p. 191] ‘Many years’.<sup>292</sup> While they are chanting, the emperor goes to the holy icons and kisses them.<sup>293</sup> Then he returns and stands next to his throne,<sup>294</sup> while the *megas domestikos* stands to the left of the emperor with his sword,<sup>295</sup> as was mentioned, and the *lampadarios* stands below the *megas domestikos*<sup>296</sup> and holds the double-wreathed candlestick with a large lit candle,<sup>297</sup> whose ends are painted with cinnabar and whose middle is gilded with gold leaf which has red crosses within circles.<sup>298</sup> When the [office of the] hours<sup>299</sup> begins, the page of the *vestiarion* immediately brings the staff of the emperor, which the *megas primmikerios* takes and carries and hands over to the emperor.<sup>300</sup>

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as one of the officials for whom it is customary to carry the imperial sword: Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzeit’, 38.6–11. See 349–50.

<sup>292</sup> See at 122.

<sup>293</sup> Pachymeres (II, 343.6–7) refers to the emperor kissing the icons before the beginning of the liturgy.

<sup>294</sup> The emperor stands while listening to the hymns. See 381 and n. 300 below.

<sup>295</sup> Par. gr. 1242, f. 5 v (John VI Kantankouzenos presiding over a church council) shows an official standing to the emperor’s left, holding a sword hilt side up. Pl. 2. Vat. gr. 1851, f. 1r, the ‘*epithalamion*’, also shows an official to the emperor’s left holding the sword in the same manner. Pl. 10. If the manuscript dates to the 12th c., the image would be the earliest depiction of the *megas domestikos* or another official holding the sword by the emperor’s side. For the manner in which the sword is held, see below n. 375. See also 350.

<sup>296</sup> The *lampadarios* stands ‘below’ (κάτωθεν) the *megas domestikos* because the *megas domestikos* is standing on the platform that holds the imperial throne. Gregoras (I, 567.1–9) describes the raised end of the *triklinos* where the throne is and on which the emperor, empress, sons, brothers and uncles of the emperor are allowed to stand. It appears from this passage that the *megas domestikos* who is holding the imperial sword is also allowed to be on the same level as the emperor. On the candle and the sword, see 349–51.

<sup>297</sup> That is, the *lampadarios* carries both the double-wreathed candlestick and a large candle. Two kinds of candles are mentioned in the text, the *λαμπάς*, translated here as ‘large candle’ and the *κηρός*, ‘taper’. For the ‘large candle’ see 350–51.

<sup>298</sup> Cinnabar, a mineral used as a pigment, produces a brilliant red colour, vermilion. Red and gold are the characteristic colours of the hats of the high court title holders. For colours in Ps.-Kod., see 353–55. For the cross-in-circle motif, see 343–44.

<sup>299</sup> The Little Hours are meant, prime, terce, sext and none. See Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*; below at notes 307, 308.

<sup>300</sup> This procedure is described above at ch. III, in an account of the service of the *megas primmikerios*. The emperor stands, holding his staff, while listening to the hymns: Pach. II, 413.21–23; Greg. I, 567.4–5.



- Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι εἰς μὲν τὰς καθ' ἑκάστην γινομένας παραστάσεις ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει ὅτι *Τὸ δικανίκιον μου*, καὶ φέρει τοῦτο τοῦ βεστιαρίου παιδόπουλον, καθὰ εἴρηται· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἑορτῶν, ὅταν παράστασις γένηται, μετὰ τὸ τὸν βασιλέα εἰς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ σταθῆναι, καὶ [p. 192] χωρὶς τοῦ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν
- 5 ὅτι *Τὸ δικανίκιον μου*, λέγει ὁ μέγας πριμμικήριος, *Παιδόπουλον*, καὶ φέρει τοῦτο· ὁ δὲ περὶ τούτου λόγος οὗτός ἐστιν, ὅτι εἰς τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν τῶν ὁρθῶν παραστάσεις καὶ τῶν ἑσπερινῶν, μετὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐντίμους τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς τὴν παράστασιν εἰσελθεῖν, λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι, *Τὸ δικανίκιον μου*, σημεῖον ὃν τοῦτο τοῦ καὶ τὸν παρακάτω λαὸν εἰσελθεῖν, κατὰ δὲ τὰς μεγάλας τῶν ἑορτῶν
- 10 πάντες ἄρχοντές τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ εἰσέρχονται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι χρεία διὰ τοῦτο τὸν βασιλέα ζητῆσαι τὸ δικανίκιον αὐτοῦ· τόδε γὰρ εἰδὼς ὁ μέγας πριμμικήριος λέγει ἀνερωτήτως, καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτό.

- Ψάλλονται οὖν αἱ ὥραι, ἥ τε πρώτη, ἡ τριθέκτη καὶ ἡ ἐννάτη, μετὰ τῶν τροπαρίων· εἰς μέντοι τὸ τελευταῖον τῆς ἐννάτης ὥρας τροπάριον
- 15 λέγει ὁ πρωτοψάλτης τὸ *Δόξα*, καὶ ψάλλεται εἴτα καὶ τὸ *Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεί*, καὶ οὐ ψάλλεται ἐκ δευτέρου μὲν τὸ τρο[p. 193]πάριον, ἀναγινώσκεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κανονάρχου, ὃς καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναγνῶναι λέγει οὕτω· *Πολυχρόνιον ποιῆσαι ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἀγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη*, *Πολυχρόνιον ποιῆσαι ὁ Θεὸς τὴν κραταιὰν καὶ ἀγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη*,
- 20 καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τρίτου, *Πολυχρόνιον ποιῆσαι ὁ Θεὸς τὴν θεοπρόβλητον*,

One should know that during the daily receptions,<sup>301</sup> the emperor says ‘My staff’ and the page of the *vestiarion* brings it, as was described.<sup>302</sup> But when a reception takes place on feast days, after the emperor stands at his throne and [p.192] without his saying ‘My staff’, the *megas primmikerios* says ‘Page’ and he brings it. The reason is this. During the daily reception of matins and vespers,<sup>303</sup> after the eminent court titles holders enter the reception, the emperor says ‘My staff’ as a signal for the people next [in rank] to come in.<sup>304</sup> But during the great feast days all holders of court titles, as well as the others,<sup>305</sup> enter and for that reason it is not necessary for the emperor to ask for his staff. As the *megas primmikerios*<sup>306</sup> knows this, he says [‘Page’] without being asked, and they bring the staff.

The hours<sup>307</sup> of prime, terce-sexst and none<sup>308</sup> are chanted with the *troparia*.<sup>309</sup> At the end of the last *troparion* of none the *protopsaltes* says ‘Glory’ and then the ‘Now and forever’ is chanted. The *troparion* is not chanted twice, [p. 193] but is read by the *kanonarches* who, after reading it, says the following: ‘May God grant a long life to your holy imperial Majesty for many years!’ ‘May God grant a long life to your mighty and holy imperial Majesty for many years!’ And again he says for a third time: ‘May God grant a long life to your God-appointed,

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<sup>301</sup> The ‘daily reception’ took place twice a day, at matins and at vespers, as Pseudo-Kodinos indicates at 122.6–7. This was also the case in the 10th c., as the *Book of Ceremonies* reveals. See Featherstone, ‘The Great Palace as reflected in the *De Cerimoniis*’, 54–55. By the 14th c. matins and vespers were part of the reception itself. The reception took place also on Sundays and when the emperor was on campaign. See, e. g., Attaleiates, ed. Bekker, 256.11–19; ed. Pérez Martín, 184.25–185.3; *Synopsis chronike*, ed. Sathas, MB VII, 522.14–19. Pseudo-Kodinos does not give a protocol for the daily reception, as does the *Book of Ceremonies*. Instead he makes passing reference (158.1), giving a full protocol for the reception on feast days. See 395–97.

<sup>302</sup> See ch. III, 84.11.

<sup>303</sup> See above at 90.9–10.

<sup>304</sup> As above in ch. III, the hierarchical order of entry into the *triklinos* is from highest to lowest court title holder.

<sup>305</sup> By ‘all the holders of court titles’ Pseudo-Kodinos could mean the ‘eminent’ court title holders mentioned above or, literally, all holders of court titles. The ‘others’ would then be either those below the top court title holders or, in the second case, unranked members of the court.

<sup>306</sup> For the *megas primmikerios* as ‘caretaker’ of the emperor’s staff, see above 84.7–10.

<sup>307</sup> The liturgical hours for the vigil of Nativity, a form of Little Hours of prime, terce, sext and none, is characterised by three scriptural readings, a Prophecy, Apostle and Gospel. See below, 124, and ODB 2, 952–3.

<sup>308</sup> The terce-sexst is an office celebrated between the third and the sixth hour of the morning. The prayers of these two hours are read in succession, while prime and none are chanted separately. See Vogt, I (commentary), 159–160. On the hours of the day see note 314.

<sup>309</sup> *Troparia* are hymns inserted after each verse of psalms: ODB 3, 2124.

*θεόστεπτον καὶ θεοφροῦρητον κραταιὰν καὶ ἀγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη. Εἴτα ἐπευφημίζει ἡ παράστασις λέγουσα, Πολυχρόνιον ποιῆσαι ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἀγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, καὶ ψάλλεται τὸ τροπάριον αὐθις, ἐπεὶ τὸ Καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ προεργέθη.*

- 5 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ψαλμοὺς τῶν ὥρῶν ἀναγινώσ[ρ. 194]κει ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος, τὴν Προφητείαν καὶ τὸν Ἀπόστολον ὁ πρωταποστολάριος, τῶν δὲ Εὐαγγελίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς, τὰ δὲ γε λοιπὰ ἱερεῖς ἕτεροι.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τῶν ὥρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπελθόντος αὐθις, καὶ τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας ἀσπασαμένου, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ εἰσελθόντος,

- 10 λύεται ἡ παράστασις μέχρις ἂν ἡ τῆς λειτουργίας προσήκουσα ἔλθῃ ὥρα, καὶ τότε συμπάλλεται καὶ ὁ ἐσπερινὸς ὕμνος.

Γίνεται μέντοι τοῦτο οὕτως, εἴπερ τύχοι οὕσα ἡ ἑορτὴ ἐν ἄλλῃ τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἡμέρᾳ· εἰ δ' ἐν Σαββάτῳ ἢ Κυριακῇ, τῶν ὥρῶν καὶ τῶν τροπαρίων ψαλλομένων, πάρεστι μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν,

- 15 ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ψάλλεται αὐτῇ· ἡ δὲ γε αἰτία τοῦ μὴ παρῆναι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐστὶν ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πέντε ἡμέρας ψάλλεται πρῶτον ὁ ἐσπερινὸς ὕμνος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἡ λειτουργία, εἰ δὲ ἐν Σαββάτῳ τύχοι ἢ Κυριακῇ, εἰς τρίτην ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας γίνεται ἡ λειτουργία· διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ [ρ. 195] οὐδὲν σώζει ψάλλεσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην ὅλην ἀκολουθίαν τῶν τε
- 20 ὥρῶν καὶ τῶν τροπαρίων, διὰ τὸ πλείστην εἶναι, καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ψάλλεται μὲν πρῶτον ἡ λειτουργία ἰδίως κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον καιρὸν, καὶ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδημίας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἐσπερινοῦ ὥραν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

God-crowned, God-defended mighty and holy imperial Majesty for many years!<sup>310</sup> Then the reception acclaims [the emperor], saying: ‘May God grant your holy imperial Majesty a long life for many years!’<sup>311</sup> Since the ‘Now and forever’ was said earlier, the *troparion* is chanted again.

The archdeacon reads the psalms of the hours. [p. 194] The reading of the Prophecy is done by the *protapostolarios* who also reads the passage from the Apostle.<sup>312</sup> As for the Gospels, the *protopapas* reads the first and the other priests read the rest.

After the dismissal of the [office of the] hours<sup>313</sup> the emperor goes again and kisses the holy icons and after this he enters his chamber. The reception is dissolved until the hour of the liturgy approaches, and at that time the vespers are chanted as well.

This [ceremony] takes place in this fashion if the feast happens to be on a day of the week other than Saturday or Sunday. If the feast falls on a Saturday or Sunday, the emperor is present during the chanting of the hours and the *troparia*, but not at the liturgy; this is chanted separately. The reason that the emperor is not present at the liturgy is that on the other five days the chanting of the vespers comes first and the liturgy follows. On Saturday or Sunday, however, the liturgy takes place at the third hour of the day.<sup>314</sup> For this reason, [p. 195] there is no obligation to chant the whole office of the hours and the *troparia*, because this would take too long.<sup>315</sup> By necessity the liturgy is sung separately first, at the established time, and without the emperor’s presence, but at the hour of the vespers the emperor comes to the church.

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<sup>310</sup> The *polychronion* or ‘many years’ acclamations. See also the *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 37.6–7.

<sup>311</sup> See *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 35–8, for the acclamations of the people for the emperor on Christmas. See Wellesz, *Byzantine music*, 114–122, and Tillyard, ‘The acclamation of emperors in Byzantine ritual’, 239–260, for the music of the acclamations from a fifteenth-century manuscript. See 442.

<sup>312</sup> The ‘Apostle’ is a book containing extracts of readings for the year from the Acts and the epistles of the Apostles. See *Actes de Xéropotamou*, 76. Here the specific reading from the epistles of St Paul, ‘the Apostle’, is meant.

<sup>313</sup> See at n. 307 above.

<sup>314</sup> The day was divided into 12 equal parts but the length of the daytime hours varied depending on the season. Thus, the ‘third’ or ‘fourth’ hour in early spring would be later than the equivalent later in the season. See Grumel, *La chronologie*, 163–164; ODB 2, 952. On the shortest day in winter the third and fourth hours would be from 9:00–9:45 and 9:45–10:30, while on the longest day in summer they would extend from 8:00–9:15 and 9:15–10:30.

<sup>315</sup> That is, when the feast is on a weekday, there is a break between the office and the liturgy which takes place later in the morning, as described here. However, when it falls on Saturday or Sunday, the liturgy takes place early in the morning. If the office were added to that, the service would become very long.

Τῶν οὖν τροπαρίων ψαλλομένων ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς φορεῖ σκιάδιον καὶ τὴν καθημερινὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες δὲ ὡσαύτως· κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἑσπερινὸν καὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀλλάσσει ροῦχον μαργαριταρέϊνον, φορεῖ δ' ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ φόρεμα, ἥως ἢ κρινωνίαν, ἢ τετράφυλλον, ἢ τι ἕτερον ὅμοιον τούτοις· οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες σκαράνικα, φακεώλια, καββάδια καὶ ἐπιλούρικα, ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ.

Ψαλλομένης οὖν τῆς λειτουργίας, ἢ μόνον τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ εἰ ἐν Σαββάτῳ ἢ Κυριακῇ τύχοι, ὡς εἴρηται, οἱ προρρηθέντες ἄρχοντες, οἱ καὶ τῆς παραστάσεως ὑπηρεταί, τὰ βασιλικά φέροντες φλάμουλα τῆς  
 10 προκύψεως ἰστώσι καταντικρὺ, ἃ δὴ καὶ εἰσὶ ταῦτα· τὸ μὲν [p. 196] ἓν,

While the *troparia* are being chanted the emperor wears a *skiadion* and his everyday attire and the holders of court titles do likewise. For vespers and the liturgy he changes into a garment<sup>316</sup> decorated with pearls. He wears on his head the headdress he thinks fit, that is, a *krinonia*, a *tetraphylon*<sup>317</sup> or something else similar to these. The holders of court titles wear *skaranika*, turbans, caftans, and *epilourika*, each according to his rank.<sup>318</sup>

During the chanting of the liturgy, or only the vespers, if the feast happens to be on Saturday or Sunday, as mentioned, the aforesaid holders of court titles who perform a service at the reception<sup>319</sup> bring the imperial banners<sup>320</sup> and place them opposite the *prokypsis*.<sup>321</sup> These banners are as follows: [p. 196] One of them shows

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<sup>316</sup> *Rouchon* is used generically here to refer to a garment. See above at 36.2. The ‘garment’ in this case is probably a caftan.

<sup>317</sup> These headdresses which bear the names of flowers/plants are mentioned only once, here. They have not been identified.

<sup>318</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos names the hats first (*skaranika*, turbans) and the clothing next (caftans, *epilourika*). Those holders of court titles who wear *skaranika* on their heads wear caftans on their bodies, while those who wear turbans as headgear dress in *epilourika*. Certain court officials have a choice, the *meas domestikos* to the *droungarios tes vigles*. Below the *droungarios tes vigles* some officials wear one combination, others the other: 58.16–18. See Table V.

<sup>319</sup> See n. 289 above.

<sup>320</sup> These banners or flags are different in design and decoration from those described at 70.10 as ‘the customary imperial banner’. Those appear to have been made of rectangular pieces of cloth attached laterally to a pole. The ones mentioned here have different shapes and decoration. The ‘octopus’ had 8 streamers, either attached to the pole or lance itself or to a rectangular/square piece of cloth (see n. 323). It was decorated with images of the Hierarchs. The other banners may have consisted of rectangular cloths with images painted or embroidered on them (the archangel Michael, the ‘Archgeneral’, St George on horseback, the emperor on horseback, the cross with the martyrs Demetrios, Prokopios, Theodore Tiron and Theodore Stratelates on each arm) or, may have combined cloth with metal or wood shapes fixed to a lance: the *drakonteion* (see n. 328). On *phlamoula*, see Haldon, *Three treatises*, 271–74. See also below 339–41.

<sup>321</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos gives an indication of the appearance and the location of the structure which, like the ceremony, is called the *prokypsis*. It is elevated, since the emperor and others are said to ‘ascend it’ (132.3, 16); it has columns (132.12–13) and curtains (132.18–19) and is in the courtyard of the palace (132.12–13). According to Gregoras (II, 616–617) John V stood on an ‘outdoor structure’ at the palace on the first Christmas Eve after his coronation in November 1341. Xanthopoulos (585B) attributes to Andronikos II the building of an ‘outdoor platform’ on four columns. On this see Magdalino, ‘Pseudo-Kodinos’ Constantinople’, 13–14. See below 368–69.

ἀρχιστράτηγος· τὸ ἕτερον, εἰκόνας ἔχον πολλὰς θείων ἱεραρχῶν  
ὀκτάγλωσσον, ὅπερ καλεῖται ὀκταπόδιον· ἄλλο, σταυρὸς ἔχον εἰκόνας  
τῶν ἁγίων τεσσάρων μεγάλων μαρτύρων, Δημητρίου, Προκοπίου καὶ  
Θεοδώρων· ἕτερον, ἔχον τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον ἔφιππον· ἄλλο, δρακόντειον καὶ

the Archgeneral;<sup>322</sup> the other, an eight-pointed one called ‘octopus’,<sup>323</sup> has many images of the holy Hierarchs;<sup>324</sup> another one in the form of a cross<sup>325</sup> has images of the four great holy martyrs, Demetrios, Prokopios and the [two] Theodores;<sup>326</sup> another has saint George on horseback,<sup>327</sup> another is the dragon [banner],<sup>328</sup> yet

<sup>322</sup> An embroidered cloth depicting Manuel Palaiologos, half-brother of Manuel II, petitioning the archangel Michael, may constitute the only surviving Byzantine banner. See Guillou, ‘Inscriptions byzantines d’Italie sur tissu’, 174–76 and plates 48–55. For banners depicted on coins and seals, see Pl. 5 and 73 n. 112.

<sup>323</sup> Kinnamos (125.16–18), describing Manuel I’s use of lances, also mentions the banner ‘divided into eight parts’ which ‘it is the custom to call an octopus’.

<sup>324</sup> The holy Hierarchs refers to the Three Hierarchs, Basil, Gregory Nazianzus and John Chrysostom. They were commemorated on 30 January, a feast day introduced into the liturgical calendar in the reign of Alexios I (1081–1118): PG 29, cols. 390–393; Agapitos, ‘Teachers, pupils and imperial power in eleventh-century Byzantium’, 188–191. The Three Hierarchs are represented together in a mosaic in the Cappella Palatina (mid-12th c.). This depiction may be the ‘earliest known instance of the three shown in isolation in monumental painting’: Ćurčić, ‘Some palatine aspects of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo’, 139 and n. 33.

<sup>325</sup> This banner may have had a painted or embroidered cross on the cloth, with each of the four martyrs depicted in the spaces between the arms of the cross. However, from Pseudo-Kodinos’ description it is possible to imagine a cross of wood or metal affixed to the end of a pole, with incised images of the martyrs. In this case the ‘banner’ would be a ‘standard’. For evidence of such labarum-like standards, see Babuin, ‘Standards and insignia of Byzantium’, 28, who cites Attaleiates (ed. Bekker, 161.14–18; ed. Pérez Martín, 120.5–7) and Chon. (*History*, 191.31–33). Grotowski, *Arms and armour*, 121 n. 211, suggest that busts of the martyrs were portrayed on the arms of the cross on clipei.

<sup>326</sup> Theodore Tiron and Theodore Stratelates, ‘the general’, whose cult spread in the late 9th and early 10th c.: Grotowski, *Arms and armour*, 117–21. The two Theodores are often found represented in the company of Demetrios and Prokopios. Grotowski, *op. cit.*, 104–105 and n. 158. On the inclusion of martyrs such as Demetrios and Prokopios, who originally had no military connection, into the ranks of soldiers, see Grotowski, *op. cit.*, 61–63, 64.

<sup>327</sup> An epigram of Psellos describes a banner of Constantine Monomachos representing St George together with the horseback emperor: ed. Westerink, no. 27, p. 295.

<sup>328</sup> The *drakonteion* is a type of banner known from the second century. It is listed among standards and banners in the *Book of Ceremonies*: ed. Reiske, II, 41:641.2. The image of a dragon in wood or metal was affixed to a pole; the cloth attached to it filled with air as the banner was carried. Choniates (*History* 397.11–12) refers to the ‘likenesses of dragons that hung from poles and were chased around by the wind’. See Babuin, ‘Standards and insignia of Byzantium’, 5–59; Coulston, ‘The ‘*draco*’ standard’, 101–114. Babuin, *op. cit.*, 15, 31, assumes that the reference in Pseudo-Kodinos is to a two-dimensional dragon, painted or embroidered onto the cloth of the banner and representing the dragon opponent of St George who is depicted on another banner. However, the reference below to the ‘Assyrian’ origin of the *drakonteion* may be an indication that this banner was still three-dimensional in the 14th c. For the origins of the *drakonteion*, see below at 148 and n. 390.



ἕτερον δέ, τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχον στήλην ἔφιππον· ἃ δὴ πάντα εἰσὶν ἕκαστον ἀνὰ δύο, ἥτοι ὁμοῦ δώδεκα. Ἐμπροσθεν δὲ τῶν τοιούτων φλαμούλων προΐσταται ὁ σκουτέριος βαστάζων τὸ διβέλλιον, ὃ δὴ ἓνι μόνον ἓν, καὶ τὸ σκουτάριον τὸ βασιλικόν.

5 Ἦν μὲν οὖν πάλαι συνήθεια, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως σύνταξις ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι, ἥτοι καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον φλάμουλον πεντακόσιοι, νῦν δὲ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα φλάμουλα φέρουσι καὶ ἰστῶσι καταντικρὺ, ὥς εἴρηται, τῆς προκύψεως· ἐκτὸς δὲ ὁπόταν στρατεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς, κατ' ἀναλογίαν τῆς ποσότητος τῆς αὐτοῦ συντάξεως, ἔχει καὶ φλάμουλα ἓν τυχὸν ἢ καὶ δύο.

10 Ὅπισθεν δὲ τῶν τοιούτων βασιλικῶν φλαμούλων ἴστανται τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, οὐ μὴν καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τούτων δ' αὖ ὀπισθεν τὰ τῶν δημάρχων.

another has an image of the emperor on horseback.<sup>329</sup> The banners, two of each type, number twelve in all. The *skouterios* stands in front of these banners and carries the *dibellion* – there is only one – and the imperial shield.<sup>330</sup> It was an old custom for the imperial cortège to consist of six thousand people, that is, each of the banners corresponded to five hundred people.<sup>331</sup> But now they bring and set up these banners<sup>332</sup> opposite the *prokypsis* in the said fashion. When the emperor is outside [Constantinople] on campaign he has one or two banners<sup>333</sup> in accordance with the size of his cortège.

The banners of the despots and of the holders of court titles<sup>334</sup> stand behind these imperial banners, but not according to rank.<sup>335</sup> Behind these are the banners of the demarchs.<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos describes several objects which were decorated with the image of the emperor on horseback: banners, round shields, and the *skaranika* of certain court title holders. For banners see also at 71.10; for *skaranika*, see 332–36.

<sup>330</sup> On the *skouterios* who holds the shield of the emperor and the *dibellion*, not only for *prokypseis* but also whenever the emperor goes outside Constantinople, see above 104.11–12. At 200.16–202.6, it is the *tzangas* or bootmaker who carries the *dibellion*, without shield, to monasteries where certain feast days are celebrated.

<sup>331</sup> Kantakouzenos, II, 14.10–11, refers to the 500 in the imperial guard.

<sup>332</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos contrasts earlier practice, one banner for every 500 in the imperial cortège, with the present. Now the banners are set up in front of the *prokypsis* but, presumably, they do not represent groups of 500 any longer.

<sup>333</sup> Confirmation of Pseudo-Kodinos' statement is found in the late 13th c. *Synopsis Chronike* (Sathas, MB, VII, 526.14–21). The author refers to an incident involving the 'small flag' of the emperor [Theodore II] which 'it is the custom' to carry on expeditions.

<sup>334</sup> For other references to the banners of the court title holders see 70.10–72.1, 82.10, 86.5, 146.6, 204.10.

<sup>335</sup> The placing of the banners 'not according to rank' is the only occasion on which hierarchical order is not observed in the protocols of Pseudo-Kodinos.

<sup>336</sup> In the *Book of Ceremonies* (ed. Reiske, 37.14–15; 55.24; 377–379, etc.) demarchs are heads of the Blues and Greens, coordinating their ceremonial role and taking part in receptions, as ranked title holders. 'Two demarchs' are among those alerted on the eve of a procession to Hagia Sophia to celebrate a feast day: ed. Reiske, 6.5–6. Philotheos (ed. Oikonomides, 57.4, 107.21–22, 326–327) gives the demarchs ranking in the hierarchy. See Cameron, *Circus factions*, 23, 258–261. In the Palaiologan period they are heads of neighbourhoods with administrative and policing duties. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, 106–107 and n. 225; Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 101–102. In a letter to Andronikos II, the patriarch Athanasios I asks that the emperor order two demarchs to inquire into the sale of bread and into the weights and measures: ed. Talbot, no. 100, p. 257. Greg. (II, 608.10–12, 982.12–17) recounts that demarchs were ordered to control mobs in the capital at the time of the takeover of the regency government under Anne of Savoy (1341). Sphrantzes' account of the siege of 1453 shows that demarchs were held responsible for aspects of the defense of the city: ed. Maisano, 132.11–16. A formula survives for the appointment of a demarch in a neighbourhood of Constantinople: ed. Sathas, MB VI, 643–

- [p. 197] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τῶν προρρηθέντων ὕμνων, πάντες ψάλται τε καὶ οἱ ἀναγνώσται πολυχρονίζουσι τὸν βασιλέα εἰσερχόμενον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσκυνῆσαι καὶ ἀντίδωρον λήψεσθαι. Εἷτα ἀνέρχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς προκύψεως, καὶ αὐτίκα ἔρχεται ὁ βασιλικὸς ἅπας κλήρος μετὰ τῶν
- 5 προρρηθέντων ἐνδυμάτων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἵστανται ἔμπροσθεν τῶν φλαμούλων· μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων δὴ τῶν τοῦ κλήρου καὶ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν φλαμούλων ἵστανται πάντες οἱ λεγόμενοι παιγνιώται, ἥτοι σαλπικταί, βυκινάτορες, ἀνακαρισταὶ καὶ σουρουλισταί, οὗτοι καὶ μόνοι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν λεπτῶν ὀργάνων οὐδὲ ἐν παραγίνεται.
- 10 Εἷτα ἔρχονται καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὡσαύτως μετὰ τῶν φορεμάτων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἵστανται ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν, καθὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ· ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ Βάραγγοι, καὶ ἵστανται καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ πλησίον τῶν τῆς προκύψεως κιονίων, φέροντες τοὺς πελέκεις αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν καρποχείρων αὐτῶν· τοῦ βασιλέως δ' ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς προκύψεως φανέντος αἵρουσιν αὐτοὺς πάντες,
- 15 ὡς ἔθος, ἐπὶ τῶν ὥμων αὐτῶν.
- [p. 198] Ἀνερχομένου οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς δεδήλωται, εἰς τὴν πρόκυψιν συνανέρχονται καὶ οἱ δεσπόται, ἔτι τε ὁ λαμπαδάριος μετὰ τοῦ διβαμπούλου καὶ τῆς λαμπάδος, καὶ ὁ πρωτοβεστιτάριος. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ κρέμανται βηλόθυρα εἰς τὴν πρόκυψιν

[p. 197] After the completion of the forementioned hymns all cantors and readers wish ‘Many years’ to the emperor, who goes into the church to perform *proskynesis*<sup>337</sup> and take *antidoron*.<sup>338</sup> Then the emperor ascends the *prokypsis*, and immediately all the imperial clergy, wearing the forementioned vestments, come and stand in front of the banners. Between them, that is, between the clergy and the banners, all the so-called players take up their position, namely, the trumpeters, horn players, drummers<sup>339</sup> and flautists.<sup>340</sup> Only these are present there, for not one of the instruments [that are] delicate [in sound] is at hand.<sup>341</sup>

Then the holders of court titles come likewise with their attire and take position, each according to his rank, in the same way as in the *triklinos*.<sup>342</sup> Likewise the Varangians take position in the courtyard next to the pillars of the *prokypsis*, holding their axes on their palms. When the emperor appears from above, from the *prokypsis*, they all raise their axes onto their shoulders, as is the custom.<sup>343</sup>

[p. 198] When the emperor goes up onto the *prokypsis*, as was mentioned, the despots<sup>344</sup> also accompany him, as does the *lampadarios* with the candlestick and the large candle,<sup>345</sup> and the *protovestiarios*. Since curtains<sup>346</sup> hang at the *prokypsis*,

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44. For the ‘banners’ of the demarchs mentioned here, see Babuin, ‘Standards and insignia of Byzantium’, 27.

<sup>337</sup> The emperor performs *proskynesis* only before holy things. On *proskynesis*, see 386–87.

<sup>338</sup> Bread that has been blessed but not consecrated, distributed after the dismissal.

<sup>339</sup> For *ἀνάκαρα* as kettledrums, see above at 80.6.

<sup>340</sup> Trumpeters and flautists are mentioned as present at the *prokypsis* of Kantakouzenos’ daughter in Selymbria in 1346 (Kant. II, 588.9–11), and trumpets in John V’s Epiphany *prokypsis* in 1342: Greg. II, 617.22–618.5. For musical instruments see 439–41; Pl. 15.

<sup>341</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos distinguishes between loud instruments whose sound carries, played in the open air, and softer, ‘delicate’, ones, played indoors. For a similar distinction (‘haut’, ‘bas’) made in the medieval west of the time, see the discussion by Maliasas, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, 259–62.

<sup>342</sup> See above, 122.

<sup>343</sup> The Varangians are also called ‘axe-bearers’: Greg. II, 896.16–20.

<sup>344</sup> For the despots, see above, 26.5 and n. 1.

<sup>345</sup> For the candlestick, see Ps.-Kod. 118, 120, and 350–51.

<sup>346</sup> On curtains, see below 134.

τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καλύπτοντα θεωρίαν, ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος πिलाτίκια κρατῶν ἀπηρωρημένα γε ὄντα κατὰ τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ, περὶ ὧν μετ' ὀλίγον ῥηθήσεται, ἐκβαλὼν αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ βηλοθύρου δείκνυσι πρὸς τὸν λαόν, δηλῶν διὰ τούτου ὅτι ἀνῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν πρόκυψιν.

- 5 Ὅντος οὖν ἐν τῇ προκύψει τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στέμμα ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ φορεμάτων φορέσειν μέλλοντος, ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος λαμβάνων αὐτὸ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ ρουχαρείου ὑπηρετῶν δίδωσι τῷ βασιλεῖ· οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τὸν τοιοῦτον τῶν ἐορτῶν καιρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτω ποιεῖ. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἴδιον καὶ ἐξαιρέτον, ὅτι ἐάν τι ζωύφιον ἴδῃ ἢ πηλὸν ἢ ἄλλο τι περὶ τὸ ρούχον
- 10 τοῦ βασιλέως, τὸ σκιάδιον αὐτοῦ ἐκβαλὼν, τὴν χεῖρα ἐκτείνας ἐπαίρει ἢ καθαίρει τοῦτο ἀνερωτήτως, μηδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων [p. 199] ἀρχόντων ἄδειαν ἔχοντος τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, εἰ μὴ τούτου καὶ μόνου.

- Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι ὅπερ καλεῖται νῦν στέμμα ὠνομάζετο πάλαι διάδημα· τοῦτο δὲ ἦν βλάτιον μετὰ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μέτωπον
- 15 κείμενον μὲν, δεδεμένον δ' ὀπισθεν περὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, διὸ καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο διάδημα· ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀμειφθὲν ἐγένετο οἶον ὁρᾶται τὴν σήμερον, καὶ ὠνομάζεται στέμμα. Ὁ δὲ νῦν καλεῖται διάδημα, ἐλέγετο πάλαι ζώνη

hiding the emperor from sight, the *protovestiarios*<sup>347</sup> holds *pilatikia*<sup>348</sup> which are suspended from his right hand – about these something will be said shortly – and projecting these outside the curtains,<sup>349</sup> he shows them to the people, making plain by this gesture that the emperor has ascended the *prokypsis*.

When the emperor is on the *prokypsis* and is about to wear his crown<sup>350</sup> or any of the other items of his attire, the *protovestiarios* gets this item from one of the attendants of the wardrobe and gives it to the emperor. The *protovestiarios* does this not only at the time of the feasts, but always. He has also this particular and exclusive right. If he should see a bug or mud or something else on the emperor's garment,<sup>351</sup> after taking off his *skiadion*, he stretches his hand and removes it or cleans it without asking. No other [p. 199] holder of a court title has licence to do this, apart from him alone.

One should know that what is now called a *stemma* once had the name diadem. This was a silk cloth with stones and pearls that lay on the forehead of the emperor and was tied around the head at the back; therefore it was called a diadem. Because it changed little by little, it acquired the shape seen today and is now called a *stemma*.<sup>352</sup> What is now called a diadem was, in former times, named a military

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<sup>347</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos gives an account of the *protovestiarios*' function as an aside to his description of the *prokypsis*. This court title holder acts as a master of ceremonies at the *prokypsis*, indicating to the audience the progress of the preparations for the ceremony. He also obtains articles of clothing from the 'wardrobe' (*roucharion*) for the emperor on the occasion of a *prokypsis* but also on other occasions, and can exercise his right to remove dirt or insects from the emperor's clothing. For the *vestiarian*, see above, n. 134. His connection with the emperor's *roucharion* is made much more explicit than with the *vestiarian*.

<sup>348</sup> A hapax. See below at 148.10–12 where Ps.-Kod. describes *pilatikia* as 'strips of cloth with gold wire embroidery'. Although this object cannot be identified, the practice of displaying items of clothing or weapons on the Chalke gate of the Great Palace and elsewhere, in order to call attention to a particular event, is known from the *Book of Ceremonies* and other texts. See Reiske, 617.7–8; 623.9–12; 625.11–13; Haldon, *Three military treatises*, 96.54–57. Sources of the 12th and 13th c. mention a red sandal hung above the entrance to the palace to announce the birth of a *porphyrogenetos*: Italikos, ed. Gautier, 279.10–13 (Manuel I); Samuel Mauropous, unpublished text discussed in Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 243–244 and n. 48 (Alexios II); Holobolos, ed. Treu, 91.3–11 (Constantine, son of Michael VIII).

<sup>349</sup> The *protovestiarios* makes this gesture three times, each time indicating a different stage in the preparations leading to the *prokypsis*. For Byzantine images and objects representing a disembodied hand, see Maguire, 'The disembodied hand', 230–35.

<sup>350</sup> For the *stemma*, see below at n. 352.

<sup>351</sup> Here Pseudo-Kodinos uses the word *rouchon* with its generic meaning, without indication of a specific garment. See above, 37 n. 18.

<sup>352</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos describes the evolution of the imperial crown. The *stemma* of his day was a closed crown with a hemispherical bowl, introduced in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos: see Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 3.4.1: 'the imperial diadem, decorated all over

στρατιωτική, δηλοῦσα τιμὴν· ὅθεν καὶ οἱ τύραννοι πρῶτον ἀφήρουν τῆς ζώνης καὶ τοῦ στρεπτοῦ τοὺς τῶν μαρτύρων ἐντίμους τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦντας, ἔπειτα παρεδίδουν τούτους βασανισταῖς. Στρεπτὸν δέ ἐστιν ἐληλαμένος χρυσός, ἐκ τριῶν πεπλεγμένος καθάπερ σχοι[p. 200]νίων, ὅπερ ἐφόρουν ἐπὶ τραχήλου.

5

Ὅτε γοῦν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ στέμμα φορεῖ, ἕτερόν τι ἔνδυμα οὐ φορεῖ, εἰ μὴ τὸν σάκκον καὶ τὸ διάδημα. Καὶ ὅτε μὲν ταῦτα, ὅτε δὲ

belt,<sup>353</sup> indicating rank. First, the tyrants stripped the belts and torques from the honourable martyrs who confessed Christ and then they handed them over to the torturers. A torque is made of beaten gold, braided with three strands in the fashion of a rope [p. 200] and worn around the neck.<sup>354</sup>

When the emperor wears the crown, he wears no other garment than the *sakkos* and the diadem.<sup>355</sup> Sometimes he wears this attire, at other times he wears

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with pearls and stones, shaped like a half-sphere'. From Alexios' time until the end of the empire this hemispherical closed headpiece was the shape of the imperial crown. See Parani, *The reality of images*, 28. As Anna Komnene shows, although the shape of the crown changed, the name diadem continued to be used to refer to the closed crown, along with *stemma* and other words. See also n. 353 for late references to the crown as a diadem.

<sup>353</sup> In the 13th and 14th c. *diadema* designates a crown, as it had also in earlier periods (see, e.g., Akrop. 34.1–2; 159.15–16; Greg. II, 788. 22–3), but it now also refers to the 'belt' of the emperor, the *loros*, as Pseudo-Kodinos indicates. Kantakouzenos (I, 202.19–21; II, 564.13), like Pseudo-Kodinos, distinguishes between the *diadema* and the *stemma*, in his account of the coronation of Andronikos III, using the word diadem for an article of clothing. Their common source, a coronation protocol, uses diadem in this way. Furthermore, Ignatios of Smolensk likewise uses the word in the same way in his description of the coronation of Manuel II in 1392: 'he donned the purple and the diadem, and [placed] on his brow the Caesar's crown ...' (Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 108–109; 424–25). These examples are all from ceremonial contexts. However, the meaning of 'belt' for *diadema* can be found also in a sermon of the patriarch Germanos II where he uses the verb περιβάλλω, to 'throw over' or 'put around' (ed. Lagopates, 304.12). It seems, therefore, that 'diadem' with the meaning of belt was already in use in the 13th c. See 358. Parani, *The reality of images*, 18–24 and plate 3, identifies the diadem-belt with the simplified *loros*. The military belt (ζώνη) or sash, an ensign of office (Philotheos, ed. Oikonomides, 96.16, 97.8, 13; 281), was worn around the chest or stomach: Grotowski, *Arms and armour*, 277–81. Although 'diadem' was the word used of a *loros* by the 13th c., the connection Pseudo-Kodinos draws with the military belt is otherwise not attested.

<sup>354</sup> The torque (*strepton*, *maniaki(o)n*), a gold circlet, plain or twisted, worn around the neck, was an ensign of military rank. See also below at 148.13. It never lost its military association. In Philotheos the *kandidatos*, *protospatharios* and *spatharokandidatos* receive the torque from the emperor upon appointment: ed. Oikonomides, 91.7–8, 93.3, 127.18–19. Philotheos describes it as having 'three knots' (τρίκομβον) and it is sometimes so represented in images: See Parani, *The reality of images*, pl. 104: St. Bacchos at Daphne, late 11th c. Early church martyrs who served in the Roman army were stripped of this sign of rank shortly before being put to death. See the *Passio* of Sergios and Bacchos: ed. van den Gheyn, 380, §7: the emperor orders that their belts (ζῶνας) be cut, and that their *chlamydes*, as well as the gold *maniakia* around their necks, be taken off. For surviving examples of 'twisted' metal *strepta*, see James, *Exploring the world of the Celts*, 11; for *strepta* in paintings and mosaics, see Walter, 'The maniakion or torc in Byzantine tradition', 188–91.

<sup>355</sup> The same statement is made in the context of coronation. In this passage Pseudo-Kodinos shows that 'diadem' must refer to an article of clothing: see above n. 353. On the *sakkos*, see below at n. 627.



- ἐπιλούρικον καὶ φακεωλίδα φορεῖ, ἄλλοτε καββάδιον καὶ φναλίν· ἐπὶ δὲ κεφαλῆς φορέματα διάφορα, ποτὲ μὲν τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον τροπαιουχίαν, ποτὲ δὲ Ἰουστινιάνειον, ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ὑπέρτερον, ὧν τὰ σχήματα ἐκάστων οὐκ ἔστι νῦν κατὰ μέρος λέγειν. Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν τοιούτων φορεμάτων καὶ ἐνδυμάτων φορεῖ
- 5 ὁ βασιλεὺς οἷα ἂν βούλοιτο, τὸν δὲ γε σταυρὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ φέρει ἀεὶ, [p. 201] ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ βλάτιον κώδικι ἐοικός, δεδεμένον μετὰ μανδυλίου· ὁ βλάτιον

an *epilourikon* and a turban,<sup>356</sup> and on yet other occasions he wears a caftan and *phyalin*.<sup>357</sup> On his head he wears different headdresses, sometimes the so-called *tropaïouchia*, sometimes the *Justinianeion*, and at other times the *hyperteron*.<sup>358</sup> Now is not the time to describe in detail the shape of each. The emperor wears whichever of these headdresses and garments he might wish. However, he always carries the cross<sup>359</sup> in his right hand [p. 201] and a silk cloth similar to a scroll, tied with a handkerchief, in his left hand. This silk cloth contains earth and is

<sup>356</sup> See 126.5–6 where some holders of court titles are said to wear this attire for the liturgy and vespers on Christmas Eve. The *epilourikon* seems always to be accompanied by the turban, while the caftan is worn with the *skaranikon* by court officials; the emperor wears the caftan with a *phyalin* (see n. 357). The *epilourikon* and turban are mentioned together, as are the *skaranikon* and caftan, as items of clothing adopted by Cyrus the Great from the Medes and the Assyrians: see 148.20–22. That the emperor wore a turban on some occasions is attested in the *Narratio S. Sophia* (8th–9th c.). The author attributes this headgear to the emperor Justinian (ed. Preger, I, 85.12; Mango, ‘Discontinuity with the classical past in Byzantium’, 51–2: the author of the passage ‘evidently thought that this was suitable headgear for an emperor in casual attire’).

<sup>357</sup> The *phyalin*, unidentified until now, is mentioned three times in the text. The emperor wears it; his uncrowned son may wear it at the Christmas Eve *prokypsis* (142.5–7) and for the Palm Sunday *peripatos* (172.4–6). It is a garment, since Pseudo-Kodinos stipulates that when the son of the emperor dons it, he also wears a *stephanos* on his head (142.5–7). The *phyalin* is worn over another article of clothing: the uncrowned son of an emperor wears his ‘customary garment’ and, over it, the *phyalin* ‘with stones and pearls’ (142.7). The emperor wears a caftan with the *phyalin* (138.1). Coislin 79 fol. 2v, an 11th c. manuscript, depicts Michael VII (labelled as Nikephoros III) wearing a heavy, v-shaped collar which could be the *phyalin*. It is decorated with gems and pearls and is worn over the emperor’s caftan. It thus conforms to Pseudo-Kodinos’ description. See Spatharakis, *The portrait*, pl. 72; Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 161–63. A trefoil-shaped collar can be seen also on silver and copper coins of John V, Andronikos IV, and later emperors (Bendall and Donald, *The later Palaiologan coinage*, 152–55). From Pseudo-Kodinos it appears that when the *phyalin* is worn the *loros* (diadem) is not. Cf. Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 161–63. The name of this article of clothing is not known for pre-Palaiologan centuries (see Grierson, *Catalogue*, III/1, 122–123) but if the *phyalin* can be identified with the heavy ‘collar’ it was part of imperial wear from at least the 11th c.

<sup>358</sup> These headdresses have not been identified but their names are suggestive of triumphal occasions. The *tropaïouchia* or ‘victory’ headdress may be the same as the tiara, also known as the *toupha*, a headpiece Byzantine authors associate with triumphs (Zon. III, 566.16–567.1) but also with Justinian (Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, 307 ff.). See Verpeaux, *Traité*, 200 n. 2. See also n. 317.

<sup>359</sup> For an example of a surviving (10th c.) cross, now in the cathedral of Tournai, and thought to have been carried by the emperor on feast days, see Ross, ‘A Byzantine imperial scepter for Easter and a pectoral cross’, 91–5. John VI Kantakouzenos is represented holding the cross sceptre and *akakia* in Paris. gr. 1242, f. 5v. See Pl. 2.

- ἔχει χῶμα ἐντὸς καὶ καλεῖται ἀκακία. Καὶ τὸν μὲν σταυρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς φέρων δι' αὐτοῦ δείκνυσι τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν, διὰ τοῦ στέμματος τὴν τιμὴν, διὰ τῆς ζώνης, ἣ νῦν, ὡς εἴρηται, καλεῖται διάδημα, τὸ στρατιώτην εἶναι αὐτόν, διὰ τοῦ σάκκου μέλανος ὄντος τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κρύφιον, διὰ τοῦ
- 5 χῶματος, ὅπερ καλεῖται ἀκακία, ὡς εἵπομεν, [p. 202] τὸ τὸν βασιλέα ταπεινὸν εἶναι ὡς θνητὸν καὶ μὴ διὰ τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὕψος ἐπαίρεσθαι καὶ μεγαλυνεῖν, διὰ τοῦ μανδυλίου τὸ ταύτης ἄστατον καὶ τὸ μεταβαίνειν ἀφ' ἑτέρου εἰς ἕτερον, διὰ τῆς σπάθης τὸ ἐξουσιαστικόν· καὶ τὴν λαμπάδα δὲ φέρουσιν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ φάσκον Κυριακὸν λόγιον ὅτι *Οὕτω λαμπάτω τὸ φῶς*
- 10 *ὕμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως ἴδωσι τὰ καλὰ ὑμῶν ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.*

Μετὰ μέντοι τὸ τὸν βασιλέα ἀλλάξαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ φορέματα ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος ἐμφάνιζει αὐθις τὰ πιλατικά, τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δεικνύων ἐτοιμασίαν· τὴν δὲ σπάθην αὐτοῦ φέρει ἀρχοντόπουλον ἀσκεπές,

called *akakia*.<sup>360</sup> By carrying the cross the emperor shows his faith in Christ;<sup>361</sup> by the crown he shows his office; by the belt,<sup>362</sup> which, as was said, is now called a diadem, he shows that he is a soldier; by his black<sup>363</sup> *sakkos*, the mystery of the imperial office; by the earth which, as we said, is called *akakia*, [p. 202] that he is humble, as he is mortal, and that he is not to be proud or arrogant because the imperial office is so exalted;<sup>364</sup> by the handkerchief, the inconstancy of his office and that it passes from one person to another;<sup>365</sup> by the sword, authority.<sup>366</sup> The large candle<sup>367</sup> they carry in front of him because of the words of the Lord, 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven' (Matt. 5:16).

After the emperor changes his clothes, the *protovestiarios* once more displays the *pilatikia*, indicating the readiness of the emperor. A bareheaded son of a court

<sup>360</sup> Also known as the *anexikakia*. A Fossati drawing preserves a mosaic representation of John V Palaiologos, from the north side of the eastern arch of Hagia Sophia, holding the (red) *akakia* horizontally, by the (white) handkerchief wrapped around it, just as Pseudo-Kodinos describes it. See Pl. 1. Angels hold the *akakia* in the same manner on a 14th c. *panagiarion*. See Teteriatnikov, 'The mosaics of the eastern arch of Hagia Sophia', 79–81, fig. 11. Representations of *akakia* otherwise show only a rolled red cloth, the 'scroll'. In Paris. gr. 1242, f. 5 v, a manuscript written and illustrated after Kantakouzenos' abdication, Kantakouzenos is represented holding a roll *akakia*: Pl. 2; Hendy, *Catalogue* 4/1, 169–70; Drpić, 'Art, hesychasm, and visual exegesis', 217–47. Mango, *The mosaics of Hagia Sophia*, 66–68, 74–76, dates the portrait of John V, the only extant representation of him, to 1354–1355, after Kantakouzenos' abdication. See also Dagron, 'From the *mappa* to the *akakia*', 203–219, here at 216. For Pseudo-Kodinos' explanation of the significance of the emperor's dress and insignia, see 347–48.

<sup>361</sup> Also, Symeon of Thessalonike, 356A.

<sup>362</sup> See above, n. 353 for the diadem-belt.

<sup>363</sup> Below, the widowed mother of the newly crowned emperor is said to wear a 'black' *himation* (224.3–4) and the dignitaries wear black when they are in mourning (174.5–7). However, it is not allowed to wear black in the palace: see ch. XI note 779. John VI is shown wearing a very dark *sakkos*. See 355–56, for a discussion of 'black' in the reign of John VI.

<sup>364</sup> See 348.

<sup>365</sup> For this interpretation see also Symeon of Thessalonike: PG 155, 356B; Dagron, 'From the *mappa* to the *akakia*', 217, 219.

<sup>366</sup> Although Pseudo-Kodinos says that the emperor wears whatever he wishes for the *prokypsis*, the clothing on whose symbolism he remarks is the imperial costume in which the emperor is most often portrayed in visual representations, the crown, *sakkos* and *loros*. See e.g. Durand, *Byzance*, no. 355, p. 461, no. 357, p. 461, no. 359, p. 465. In addition to the cross and *akakia* which the emperor holds and which are traditional imperial attributes, Pseudo-Kodinos discusses here the meaning of the sword and the candle, which emerge in this text, in combination, as symbols of imperial power. Candle and sword are prominent at Christmas and Epiphany, both in the *triklinos* and on the *prokypsis*. See 351.

<sup>367</sup> The candle is again mentioned together with the sword at 120.5–6, in connection with the reception on Christmas Eve.

τῶν ἐγγύς κατὰ γένος προσηκόντων τῷ βασιλεῖ· ὁ γὰρ μέγας δομέστικος ἴσταται καὶ οὗτος μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ. Σταθεὶς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς προκύψεως φαίνεται ἀπὸ τῶν γονάτων καὶ ἄνω, ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸν σταυρὸν φέρων, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τὴν ἀκακίαν, ὡς δεδήλωται.

- 5 [p. 203] Αὐτὰ ταῦτα φορεῖ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, εἰ ἐστεμμένος εὐρίσκεται, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὸ σύνηθες ῥοῦχον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ λεγόμενον φυαλὶν μετὰ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων, ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς δὲ φορεῖ στέφανον· φαινόμενος καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν γονάτων καὶ ἄνω. Τῶν δὲ δεσποτῶν, τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ τῶν σωματῶν κρύπτονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ στήθους καὶ ἄνω φαίνονται.

title holder carries the emperor's sword;<sup>368</sup> he is among those closely related to the emperor by birth. For the *megas domestikos* also stands in the courtyard with the rest of the court title holders.<sup>369</sup> Standing on the *prokypsis*, the emperor is visible from the knees upwards, carrying the cross in his right hand and the *akakia* in the other, as was explained.

[p. 203] The emperor, his son, carries the same things as well, if he is crowned. If he is not crowned, he wears his customary garment<sup>370</sup> and over it, the so-called *phyalin*<sup>371</sup> with stones and pearls. On his head he wears a *stephanos*.<sup>372</sup> He also is visible from the knees up. As for the despots,<sup>373</sup> they appear from the chest up;<sup>374</sup> the rest of their body is hidden.

<sup>368</sup> Bareheadedness is an indication of youth. See above, at 40.4–7; also Gregoras I, 567.20–21 who states that 'All those in the prime of life (ἐν ἡλικίᾳ) had their heads uncovered'. The Lincoln Typikon shows bareheaded members of the family, Michael Philanthropenos (f. 4r), Michael Tornikes (f. 9v): Spatharakis, *The portrait*, fig. 150, 151. *Archontopoula* are the young (bareheaded) 'sons of court title holders' (*archontes*). Some *archontopoula* are related to the emperor and have the privilege of wishing him 'many years' on Christmas Eve in his chamber (156.18–20). Like pages, adult *archontopoula* are attested also outside the palace as landowners or with fiscal duties. See Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 206; idem., *Land and privilege in Byzantium*, 262–263.

<sup>369</sup> The author explains why the *megas domestikos*, mentioned above, 118.8–9, as the bearer of the emperor's sword, is not here carrying it.

<sup>370</sup> His 'garment' is perhaps his caftan. See above, n. 18.

<sup>371</sup> See above, at n. 357, for this item of clothing.

<sup>372</sup> The *stephanos* is clearly distinguished from the *stemma*. The latter is the term used consistently for the coronation headpiece of the emperor and his wife (224.8–9). The *stephanos*, on the other hand, is worn by the emperor and the empress before their coronation (220.2) by the emperor's son, if he has not been crowned, at the *prokypsis* (142.7) and on Palm Sunday (172.6) and by the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar (244.19, 248.7). Pseudo-Kodinos describes the *stephanos*, also called a *stemmatogyron* (ch. VIII: 246.1), as decorated with gems and pearls and with small arches on all sides (for the despot) or only in front (for the *sebastokrator* and caesar).

In the *Book of Ceremonies* the *stephanos*, decorated with gems and pearls, is 'also called a *kaisarikion*': ed. Reiske, 634.16–18. Ignatius of Smolensk, in his account of the coronation of Manuel II, refers to the 'Caesar's crown with crenellations' which the emperor wears before his coronation (ed. Majeska, 108–109). It is not possible to determine whether the *kaisarikion*, possibly to be identified with the 'caesar's crown', is the *stephanos* of Pseudo-Kodinos. As Parani (*The reality of images*, 67, 68, 69 and n. 70) points out, the caesar was the only one of the dignitaries to wear a headdress as one of his insignia before the 11th c. See also below, ch. VIII, IX.

<sup>373</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos refers above to a son of the emperor, crowned or not. Here he mentions 'despots', other sons of the emperor, brothers, uncles or sons-in-law of the emperor. See note 1 above.

<sup>374</sup> The variations in the visibility of the emperor, his son and the despots can be attributed to variations in the height of the balustrade of the *prokypsis*. See the facades of the base of Theodosius' obelisk for an illustration: Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer*,

Μετὰ γοῦν τὸ ἐτοιμασθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ σταθῆναι, ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος ἐμφανίζει πάλιν ἐκ τρίτου τὰ πιλατικά, δηλῶν διὰ τούτου ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστάθη εἰς τὴν πρόκυψιν, καὶ παρευθὺς ἀνοίγουσι τὰ βηλόθυρα· καὶ οὔτε ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος, οὔτε ὁ λαμπαδάριος, οὔτε μὴν ὁ τὴν βασιλικὴν φέρων σπάθην φαίνονται ὅλως, εἰ μὴ ἡ σπάθη μόνη καὶ ἡ λαμπάς. Ἄμα γοῦν τῷ ἀνοιγῆναι ταῦτα καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μόνον φανῆναι, εὐθὺς ψάλλουσιν οἱ ψάλται τὸ πολυχρόνιον, τῶν ὀργάνων ἡχούντων, διαφορῶν ὄντων, ὡς εἴρηται· οἱ μέντοι ψάλται μετὰ τὸ πολυχρονίσαι σιωπῶσι, τὰ ὄργανα δὲ ἡχοῦσι μέχρι καὶ ἱκανῆς ὥρας· εἴτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἡρέμα κινήσαντος τὸ μανδύλιον, 10 παραντικά [p. 204] καὶ ταῦτα παύουσι, καὶ ἄρχονται πάλιν οἱ ψάλται

When the emperor is ready and is standing, the *protovestiaros* shows again for a third time the *pilatikia*, indicating by this that the emperor has taken his position for the *prokypsis*. At once they open the curtains and neither the *protovestiaros* nor the *lampadarios* nor he who holds the imperial sword appear at all, but only the sword and the large candle.<sup>375</sup> As soon as the curtains part and as soon as the emperor, and only the emperor, appears,<sup>376</sup> the cantors<sup>377</sup> immediately begin to chant the ‘many years’, while the instruments are sounded; they are of various types,<sup>378</sup> as was said. After chanting the ‘many years’ the cantors fall silent but the instruments continue to sound for a long time. Then, when the emperor gently waves his handkerchief,<sup>379</sup> at once [p. 204] they also stop. And again the cantors begin to

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figs. 19–22. Hierarchical considerations are at work here, with the emperor and his son and heir in full view and the despots in partial view.

<sup>375</sup> The sword and the candle are also to be seen at the emperor’s throne, during the morning service on Christmas Eve and possibly at all receptions. See above, 140. Reference is made to the appearance of the ruler with sword and candle in *Livistros and Rodamne* where a painting of Eros the king represents him holding these insignia: ed. Agapitos, ll. 570–73. For the dating of the romance to the middle of the 13th c., see Agapitos, ‘Genre, structure and poetics in the Byzantine vernacular romances of love’, 12–13, 36–37. However, the combination is found also in the 11th c. See 351 and Table III. The *lampadarios* and the bareheaded young man do not appear on the *prokypsis* because they hold sword and candle while kneeling or crouching behind the balustrade. Kantakouzenos (II, 588.7–9) reveals that kneeling eunuchs held the candles in the *prokypsis* of his daughter at Selymbria, before her marriage to Orhan in 1346. In Palaiologan representations the sword is always held high and hilt upwards. Parani, *The reality of images*, 145–48, argues that this manner of displaying the sword derived from imperial ceremonial; the sword would have appeared in the *prokypsis* in this way. See 350. For the sword held in this manner, see Pl. 10. Maguire, ‘The disembodied hand’, 234, considers the hands of the holders of the sword and the candle to be visible.

<sup>376</sup> The reference to the appearance of the emperor only, upon the opening of the curtains, is an indication that the curtains are drawn back, opening to each side, revealing at first only the emperor who would be in the middle of the *prokypsis*. For curtains see Parani, *The reality of images*, 180–181; Kantorowicz, ‘Oriens augusti’, 159–160.

<sup>377</sup> For surviving acclamations for a Christmas *prokypsis* for John VIII and Maria Komnene, see n. 383.

<sup>378</sup> For trumpets at the Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis*, see Gregoras (II, 617.23–618.5) who relates that Kantakouzenos’ mother died shortly before the sounding of the trumpets at John V’s Epiphany *prokypsis* in January 1342. Trumpets and other wind instruments were also sounded at other performances involving an appearance on a *prokypsis* platform: see Kant. II, 588.9–11.

<sup>379</sup> The gesture is reminiscent of the waving of a handkerchief (*mappa*) to start the games at the Hippodrome, as represented on coins and ivory diptychs. See Dagron, ‘From the *mappa* to the *akakia*’, 203–206. Gregoras (II, 616.21–24) draws a parallel between the crowds acclaiming the emperor from below the *prokypsis* and the same at the Hippodrome. For the suggestion that the *prokypsis* took the place of the emperor’s appearance in the *kathisma* at the Hippodrome, see Dagron, ‘Trônes’, 184–85. See 408–410.



προσφόρους λέγοντες στίχους τῇ ἐορτῇ, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὸ Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ὁ στέψας σε βασιλέα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο στίχους, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸ μέχρι καὶ ἰκανῆς ὥρας. Εἴτα γίνεται ἡ εὐφημία τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν δεσποινῶν, μεθ' ἣν πολυχρονίζουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ ψάλλται· τούτου δ' ἔτι

5 ψαλλομένου κλείουσι τὰ βηλόθυρα.

Πάλιν δὲ τῶν ὀργάνων πρὸς ὀλίγον ἠχούντων ἐκβαίνουσι τὰ φλάμουλα, καὶ τὰ μὲν βασιλικά διακομίζονται εἰς τὸ βεστιάριον, ὅπου εὐρίσκονται, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ἐκάστων. Κατελθὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν κατ' ἔθος φορῶν καθημερινὴν στολὴν, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τὰ

10 προρρηθέντα τούτων φορέματα.

Ὁ μέντοι τῆς τραπέζης λόγος ἀναμεινάτω μικρόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν πिलाτικίων προεμνήσθημεν, εἵπωμεν κατὰ πρῶτον περὶ αὐτῶν, ἔπειτα ἵνα καὶ περὶ ταύτης δηλώσωμεν.

chant verses appropriate to the feast,<sup>380</sup> and after a while the ‘Christ is born who crowned you king’,<sup>381</sup> and then verses, and again the same [sequence is repeated]<sup>382</sup> for quite a long time. Then the acclamation of the names of the emperors and the empresses<sup>383</sup> takes place, after which the cantors chant once again ‘Many years’. While this is still being chanted, they close the curtains.

The instruments sound again for a little while, after which they take the banners away. The imperial banners are deposited in the *vestiarion* where they are kept, while the banners of the court title holders<sup>384</sup> are taken to the homes of each. The emperor descends [the *prokypsis*] and goes to the meal, wearing his customary everyday attire, while the court title holders wear the forementioned clothing.<sup>385</sup>

Let the discussion of the meal wait for a little. Since we previously mentioned the *pilatikia*, let us speak first about them; then we will explain about the meal also.

<sup>380</sup> For verses written for the emperor on the occasion of the Christmas *prokypsis*, see Manuel Holobolos for Michael VIII and Andronikos II: ed. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca*, V, 159–64, 167–70, 175, 180–82; Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzeit’, 112–132. See Manuel Philes for an unidentified emperor: ed. Miller, *Carmina*, I, 379–80.

<sup>381</sup> The words and music of this hymn and the one chanted for Epiphany, ‘Christ is baptised who crowned you king’, are preserved in Sinaiticus 1234 f. 179v and 1251 f. 140r (15th c.): *Tà χειρόγραφα*, eds. Balageorgos and Kriticou, I, 76, 142. See Tillyard, ‘The acclamations of emperors in Byzantine ritual’, 239–60.

<sup>382</sup> The sequence, as described by Pseudo-Kodinos here, is also to be found in the Sinai manuscript that preserves the words and music. See n. 383.

<sup>383</sup> The Greek refers to ‘acclamations of the names’, in other words, acclamations of the emperor and empress by naming them. Sinaiticus 1251 f. 113v (15th c.) preserves the vocal acclamations for the emperor John VIII and his wife Maria Komnene for the Christmas *prokypsis*: ‘Many years to the emperors, John Palaiologos, the most pious emperor and *autokrator* of the Romans, and Maria, the most pious *augusta*’: *Tà χειρόγραφα*, eds. Balageorgos and Kriticou, I, 140. The acclamations for John VIII include the empress, as Pseudo-Kodinos also indicates here. He refers to acclamations of the ‘empresses’ also (despots’ wives are included), even though the presence on the *prokypsis* of female members of the imperial family has not been mentioned. He states that only the emperor’s son and despots mount the platform, while other accounts and verse celebrations of *prokypseis* at Christmas and Epiphany likewise make reference only to male members of the imperial family. It seems that the women were acclaimed although they were not on the platform. Above, at 144.1, Pseudo-Kodinos spoke of the emperor, here of emperors. The plural could include the emperor’s son, mentioned at 142.5 or, it could be a sign of the use of different protocols. See 11. Heisenberg’s (‘Palaiologenzeit’, 96) identification of a scene from Vat. gr. 1851, f. 7r, showing an empress on a balcony or upper floor of the palace, as a *prokypsis*, has been shown to be incorrect: Jeffreys, ‘The vernacular εἰσιτήριοι for Agnes of France’, 111.

<sup>384</sup> For a possible example of a late 14th c. banner that belonged to a member of the court, Manuel Palaiologos, see n. 322 above. It is not known what title, if any, he held.

<sup>385</sup> Later Pseudo-Kodinos uses *skiadia* to discriminate between groups of title holders. The court title holders must, therefore, be wearing their everyday clothing, like the emperor.

- [p. 205] Κῦρος ὁ μέγας, ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεύς, υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Καμβύσου, μετὰ θάνατον Ἀστυάγου τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ ἐκληρώσατο καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρχήν, ἦτοι τοὺς Μήδους. Τῶν τοίνυν Περσῶν ἔθνους ὄντων μικροῦ καὶ νομαδικὸν βίον ζώντων, ὁ Κῦρος δὴ οὗτος τὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἔθιμα καταλείψας τοῖς τῶν
- 5 Μήδων ἐχρήτο, μεγάλου ὄντων ἔθνους καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς, ὃν δὴ οἱ κριταὶ ἐφόρουν ἐπιλούρικα καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς φακεωλίδα. Ἐν οὖν φακεωλίων ἐκάστω κρέματαί τι κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος μαργέλλιον συρματέϊνον τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ φοροῦντος τῶν ὠτων καλύπτον, δηλοῦν ὥς τὸ μὲν ἀσκεπὲς τῶν ἐγκαλούντων ἐστί, τὸ δὲ σκεπόμενον οὗς τῶν κατηγορουμένων μὲν, μὴ παρόντων δέ· ἐπὶ δὲ
- 10 τραχήλου τῶν κριτῶν ἐκρέμαντο δύο τινὰ διὰ εἰτανίων πιλατίκια λεγόμενα, ἅπερ εἰσὶ μαργέλλια μετὰ σύρματος, τὸ μὲν μῆκος σπιθαμῆς ἔλαττον, τὸ δὲ πλάτος παλαμιαῖον, ἅτινα ὁ τῶν Μήδων ἐφόρει βασιλεύς, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ [p. 206] κριταί. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἐφόρουν πάλοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ στρεπτά, τὴν τιμὴν τούτων δηλοῦντα, οὕτω καὶ τὰ πιλατίκια τὴν τιμὴν τῶν κριτῶν ἐδήλουν.
- 15 Ὁ τοίνυν Κῦρος τὴν τῶν Μήδων ἀρχὴν κτησάμενος, ὥς δεδήλωται, καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι τούτων ἐχρήτο· πολεμήσας δ' ἔπειτα καὶ τοῖς Ἀσυρίοις συμπαρέλαβε μὲν καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀρχήν, μείζω τῆς τῶν Μήδων οὔσαν, ἅφ' ὧν καὶ τινα τούτων ἔθιμα ἔλαβεν· ἑαυτὸν δὲ βασιλέα Περσῶν αἰεὶ ὠνόμαζε τιμῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχῆς, εἰ καὶ τῶν Μήδων καὶ τῶν Ἀσυρίων ἐλάττων ἦν αὐτῇ, ὥς εἴρηται·
- 20 καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς τῶν Μήδων ἀρχῆς ἔλαβε τό τε φακεώλιον καὶ τὸ ἐπιλούρικον, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀσυρίων τὸ σκαράνικον, τὸ καββάδιον καὶ τὸ δρακόντειον φλάμουλον· καὶ ἔκτοτε ἐπεκράτησε τοὺς μετὰ Κῦρον πάντας βασιλέας

[p. 205] Cyrus the Great,<sup>386</sup> king of the Persians, the son of Cambyses, inherited the realm of the Medes also after the death of his grandfather Astyages. Since the Persians were a people who followed a nomadic life, this Cyrus abandoned the ways of the Persians and adopted those of the Medes, a great and magnificent people, whose judges wore *epilourika* and a turban on the head. On the left side of each turban, a strip of cloth<sup>387</sup> embroidered with gold wire, was suspended which covered one of the ears of the wearer, indicating that the uncovered ear is for plaintiffs, while the covered ear is for those who have been accused but are not present.<sup>388</sup> On the neck of the judges were suspended by cords two so-called *pilatikia* which were strips of cloth with gold wire embroidery whose length was little less than a hand span and whose width [was] the size of a palm.<sup>389</sup> The king of the Medes wore these, as did the [p. 206] judges. Just as in the past generals wore torques denoting their rank, so too did the *pilatikia* denote the rank of the judges.

Cyrus, who, as explained, acquired the realm of the Medes, adopted also their customs. Then he fought the Assyrians and took over their kingdom, which was larger than that of the Medes; he took also some of their customs. Cyrus always titled himself 'king of the Persians' for the sake of rendering honour to his father's kingdom, even though, as mentioned, it was smaller than that of the Medes and of the Assyrians. From the realm of the Medes he took the turban and the *epilourikon*, while from the Assyrians he took the *skaranikon*, the caftan, and the dragon banner.<sup>390</sup> From that time on it became the practice for all kings after

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<sup>386</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos explains the origins of the *pilatikia*, as well as articles of clothing (the *skaranikon*, the caftan or *kabbadion*, the *epilourikon*), head pieces (the turban or *phakeolion*) and the dragon banner (*drakonteion*). He shows that, despite their foreign origins, they are indeed Roman, by providing a version of the succession of the four world empires, the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman, from the Book of Daniel, found also in Byzantine authors of 'world chronicles'. For his argument see Parani, 'Cultural identity and dress', 95–124, here 122–3. On the influence of the Book of Daniel on Byzantine writers see Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie*; Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 103. At 164.8–14 Pseudo-Kodinos mentions another article of clothing borrowed from the Assyrians, the *granatza/lapatzas*. See n. 449 below.

<sup>387</sup> For *margellion* as a 'border' or edging, see above n. 21.

<sup>388</sup> The practice of covering or blocking one ear to keep it for the defendant, is attributed to Alexander of Macedonia in the advice to the emperor by Theognostos, written in the first half of the 13th c: ed. Munitiz, 199.70–80; for the date see Munitiz, xxvi–xxix. In that text, Alexander is said to have blocked his ear with his finger.

<sup>389</sup> These objects cannot be identified. See above at n. 348.

<sup>390</sup> The *drakonteion*, mentioned also above at n. 328 as one of the 6 types of banner brought out for the *prokypsis*, is always attributed to an eastern people by the sources, although the specific attribution varies. Pseudo-Kodinos here gives the banner an origin in one of the kingdoms to which the Roman empire is a successor and heir. The usual attribution is to steppe-nomads. The 10th c. Souda describes what must be dragon banners as 'Scythian banners': ed. Adler, IV, no. 322, p. 351. Cf. Coulston, 'The *'draco'* standard', 101–114, esp. 109–110.

καλεῖσθαι Περσῶν μέχρι καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου, ὃν καταστρεψάμενος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔσχε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τούτου.

- Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐλέγετο βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καλοῦνται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου διάδοχοι
- 5 βασιλεῖς· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν [p. 207] Μακεδόνων ἦν βασιλεὺς, ἡ δὲ Μακεδονία ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων χεῖρα εὐρίσκεται, τὰ μὲν ἐῷα ἔθνη διδόασι μεγάλην τιμὴν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς διαδόχῳ τοῦ πατρικοῦ ὀσπητίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὰ δ' αὖ ἐσπέρια ὡς τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου διαδόχῳ. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὕτως, ἐπανιτέον δ' αὖθις ὅθεν ἐξήλθομεν.
- 10 Τοῦ βασιλέως μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπελθόντος καὶ καθίσαντος, ὑπηρετοῦσιν αὐτῷ ὁ τε δομέστικος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης· οὗτοι καὶ γὰρ ὑπηρετοῦσιν εἰ παρόντες εὐρίσκονται, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ὁ πιγκέρνης. Πολυχρονίζουσι δὲ τούτον ἔξω τοῦ τρικλίνου ὅσοι φοροῦσι σκιάδια χρυσοκόκκινα· καὶ εἰσελθοῦσιν ὀρίζει ὁ βασιλεὺς, *Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη*, καὶ
- 15 ἀπέρχονται. Καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς πολυχρονίζουσιν οἱ συρματέϊνα φοροῦντες. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πολυχρονίσαι καὶ τούτους, ὁ πρωτοβεστιαρίτης πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ ἰστάμενος, ἢ εἰ τύχοι λείπειν αὐτόν, ὁ μέγας ἐταιρειάρχης ἢ ὁ πριμμικήριος τῆς αὐλῆς, λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς, *Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη ὀρίζει ὁ [p. 208] αὐθέντης μας ὁ βασιλεὺς*· οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰσελθόντες προσκυνοῦσι καὶ ἀπέρχονται καὶ
- 20 οὗτοι. Ἐπειτα πολυχρονίζουσιν οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἄρχοντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν φοροῦντες σκιάδια χρυσοκόκκινα καὶ συρματέϊνα ἀπέρχονται, ὡς εἴρηται, πλὴν

Cyrus to be called ‘king of the Persians’ until Darius, whom Alexander, king of the Macedonians, vanquished and whose realm he took over.

Because Constantine the Great both was, and was called, ‘emperor of the Romans’, the emperors, his successors until now, are called ‘emperors of the Romans’. And since Alexander [p. 207] was king of the Macedonians but Macedonia is subject to the emperor of the Romans, the eastern people pay great honour to the emperor as successor of the paternal house of Alexander<sup>391</sup> but the western people pay great honour to him [the emperor] as the successor of the great Constantine. This is the situation regarding these matters. One must return again to the point from which we started.<sup>392</sup>

After the emperor comes to table and sits down,<sup>393</sup> the *domestikos*<sup>394</sup> and the *epi tes trapezes* serve him. They attend to him if they are present, as does also the *pinkernes*.<sup>395</sup> All those who wear gold-red *skiadia*<sup>396</sup> wish him ‘Many years’ outside the *triklinos*,<sup>397</sup> and as they enter the emperor bids them ‘Many years’,<sup>398</sup> and they depart. After them, the ones who wear *skiadia* embroidered with gold wire thread wish him ‘Many years’. After they wish ‘Many years’, the *protovestiarites*,<sup>399</sup> who stands by the door, or, if by chance he is absent, the *mezas hetaireiarches* or the *primmikerios tes aules*, says to them ‘Our lord the emperor bids you Many years!’ [p. 208] They come, perform *proskynesis*<sup>400</sup> and they also depart. Then the next holders of court titles wish ‘many years’. Those wearing gold-red *skiadia* and [*skiadia*] embroidered with gold wire depart, as was said, apart from

<sup>391</sup> See 356–57, for Ilkhanid and Mamluk perceptions of the Byzantine emperor as the successor of Alexander the Great.

<sup>392</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos returns to 146.11: the emperor descends the *prokypsis* and goes to table.

<sup>393</sup> Only the emperor sits at table; no one shares his table. See below and 391–393.

<sup>394</sup> As Pseudo-Kodinos reveals below, the *domestikos* (*tes trapezes*) serves the emperor with the *epi tes trapezes* as his assistant, since the *mezas domestikos* will depart ‘with the first rank of court title holders’: see 154.12–13. The *mezas domestikos* belongs to the group of court title holders who wear gold-red *skiadia*, the first group to wish the emperor ‘many years’.

<sup>395</sup> The *pinkernes* attends the emperor at table, pouring drinks for him. See 156.9–11. The empress also had a *pinkernes* to serve her: Kant. III, 277.20–21.

<sup>396</sup> The holders of court titles are mentioned from the highest to the lowest in rank. Only the lowest remain for the meal. Hierarchy is determined by the type of *skiadion* worn. The colour of the *skiadion* and the decoration on it are the signifiers of rank. See 328 and Table V.

<sup>397</sup> A reception is taking place in the *triklinos* at the conclusion of which the emperor eats. For the *polychronion*, see above at 122–124.

<sup>398</sup> It is only to the gold-red *skiadia* wearers, the highest group in the hierarchy, that the emperor speaks directly.

<sup>399</sup> See above at 88–90 for the *protovestiarites* who serves at receptions, ushering the court title holders into the *triklinos*.

<sup>400</sup> On *proskynesis* and the ‘many years’ (*polychronion*), see 386–87, 442.

τοῦ πιγκέρνη· περιμένει γὰρ οὗτος ὑπηρετήσων ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῷ βασιλεῖ. Τοὺς δὲ κλαπωτὰ φοροῦντας, οἱ προδηλωθέντες ὑπηρεταί, τοὺς τόπους ἐκάστων τούτων γινώσκοντες, φέρουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ πολυχρονίζουσι καὶ οὗτοι. Εἴτα λέγουσι καὶ πρὸς αὐτούς, *Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη ὀρίζει ὁ αὐθέντης μας ὁ βασιλεὺς*, καὶ οὐκ ἀπέρχονται, ἀλλ' ἴστανται εἰς τὴν παράστασιν.

- 5
- Ὁ δέ γε ποτεστάτος τῶν ἐν τῷ Γαλατᾷ Γενοῦϊτῶν καὶ οὗτος εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τῆς προκύψεως σὺν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄρχουσι μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρχόντων εὐρισκόμενος, προσκαρτερεῖ μέχρι καὶ τῆς τραπέζης· καὶ μετὰ τὸ σταθῆναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς τὴν παράστασιν μέχρι καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου δρουγγαρίου τοῦ [p.
- 10 209] στόλου, ἐλθόντες καὶ οὗτοι πολυχρονίζουσι λατινικῶς· εἰσελθόντος οὖν καὶ προσκυνήσαντος μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, ὀρίζει ὁ βασιλεὺς, *Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη*, καὶ δίδωσι διὰ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ τῷ ποτεστάτῳ κολίκιον, καὶ ἀπέρχεται. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους πολυχρονίζουσι καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ εἰσέρχονται μέχρι καὶ τοῦ λογοθέτου τῶν ἀγγελῶν. Εἴτα καὶ ὁ τῶν Πισσαίων ἔρχεται κόνσουλος, καὶ
- 15 πολυχρονίζει καὶ οὗτος σὺν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν. Εἰσελθόντων οὖν καὶ προσκυνησάντων ὀρίζει καὶ τούτοις δι' ἔρμηνέως ὁ βασιλεὺς, *Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη*,

the *pinkernes*.<sup>401</sup> The latter remains in order to attend to the emperor at table. The forementioned attendants, who know the place of each, usher in those who wear *skiadia* embroidered with silver gilt thread and the latter also wish 'Many years'. Then they also say to them: 'Our lord the emperor bids you Many years!' They do not depart, but remain at the reception.<sup>402</sup>

The podestà of the Genoese in Galata<sup>403</sup> with his officials is also present at the time of the *prokypsis*, along with the other holders of court titles; he stays on until the meal. After the holders of court titles up to the *megas droungarios* [p. 209] *tou stolou*<sup>404</sup> take their place at the reception, they [the Genoese] also come and wish 'Many years' in Latin.<sup>405</sup> When he [the podestà] has entered and performed *proskynesis* together with his companions, the emperor bids him 'Many years' and gives a *kolikion*<sup>406</sup> to the podestà with this own hand, and he departs. After them, the other holders of court titles as well wish 'Many years' and enter, up to the *logothetes ton agelon*. Then the consul of the Pisans<sup>407</sup> also comes and wishes 'Many years', together with those who accompany him, according to their rank. When they come and perform *proskynesis*, the emperor bids them 'Many years' through an interpreter,

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<sup>401</sup> The *pinkernes* wears a *skiadion* embroidered with gold wire and therefore belongs to the second group that has just departed.

<sup>402</sup> See Table V. These are the lowest court title holders in the hierarchy.

<sup>403</sup> See below at 182.20.

<sup>404</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos describes here (152.6–154.11) how the holders of court titles mentioned above at 152.2, that is, those who wear *klapota skiadia* come into the reception in two phases, with the Genoese in between and the Pisans after the second lot. They enter in two separate groups, first all those down to the *megas droungarios tou stolou*, then those to the *logothetes ton agelon*. A final, third, group must also enter, although Pseudo-Kodinos does not say so explicitly here. Later, however, those 'who come after' the *logothetes ton agelon* are mentioned as present at the meal. The *logothetes ton agelon* is said to be a boundary between those who wear 'gold' and those who wear 'red' *skaranika*; he wears neither: see 156.4–5.

<sup>405</sup> The language of each group of foreigners is highlighted, as is the use of an interpreter in the case of the Pisans only. The omission of reference to other interpreters may not be significant. For the Genoese, see Balard, *La Romanie génoise*; for the Venetians, Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*.

<sup>406</sup> A *kol(l)ikion*, a bread roll in the shape of a ring: Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.; Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, V, 24. Pseudo-Kodinos specifies only the podestà as the recipient of a *kolikion*. Gifts of food are recorded also in the *Book of Ceremonies* (ed. Reiske, 178.3–7): on Holy Thursday the emperor gives members of the court two apples and a stick of cinnamon.

<sup>407</sup> The Pisans were given trading privileges in the empire in 1111 in a chrysobull that also granted honorific privileges and a wharf in Constantinople. On the history of the Pisans in the empire, see Otten-Froux, 'Documents inédits sur les Pisans en Romanie aux XIIIe–XIVe siècles', 153–91; Balard, 'I Pisani in Oriente', 8–9, 13, 14.



καὶ ἀπέρχονται. Καὶ μετὰ τούτους ὁ κόνσουλός τῶν Ἀγκωνιτιάνων μετὰ τῶν  
 σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ γίνεται καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς καθὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Πισσαίους. Οἱ Βενέτικοι  
 δὲ ἔρχονται μὲν εἰς τὴν πρόκυψιν, οὐ προσκαρτεροῦσι δέ, ἀλλ' ἀπέρχονται·  
 ἢ δ' αἰτία ῥηθήσεται μετὰ ταῦτα. Ἐπειτα ἔρχονται καὶ πολυχρονίζουσι καὶ  
 5 οἱ Βάραγγοι κατὰ τὴν πάτριον καὶ οὗτοι γλῶσσαν [p. 210] αὐτῶν, ἡγουν  
 ἐγκλινιστί, τοὺς πελέκεις αὐτῶν συγκρούοντες κτύπον ἀποτελοῦντας.

Μετὰ γοῦν τὸ πάντα τοὺς τοῦ παλατίου πολυχρονίσαι κατὰ τὴν τάξιν  
 αὐτῶν, μέχρι καὶ τῶν Βαρδαριωτῶν, κατὰ τὴν πάλαι πάτριον καὶ τούτων  
 φωνήν, ἥτοι περσιστί, εἰσέρχονται καὶ οἱ ψάλται, τὸ πολυχρόνιον ψάλλοντες  
 10 καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ τὸ κοντάκιον, *Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκει*, καὶ  
 πάλιν τὸ πολυχρόνιον.

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν μέγας δομέστικος προαπέρχεται μετὰ τῆς  
 πρώτης τάξεως τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὁ δὲ δομέστικος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης  
 προῖστάμενος ὑπηρετεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ, συνυπηρετοῦντα ἔχων καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ  
 15 τῆς τραπέζης, ὡς προεῖρηται, κράζων οὗτος ἕκαστον τῶν ἀρχόντων  
 κατὰ τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ, ἥτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίτου καὶ κάτω,  
 δίδωσι μίνσον ἀπὸ τῆς [p. 211] τραπέζης, ὃν λαμβάνων ὁ ἄρχων

and they depart. After them the consul of the Anconitans<sup>408</sup> comes with those who accompany him, and that which happened in the case of the Pisans happens also with them. The Venetians come to the *prokypsis*, but they do not stay; they depart. The reason will be given afterwards.<sup>409</sup> Then the Varangians come and also wish ‘Many years’, they also in their native language, [p. 210] that is in English,<sup>410</sup> while striking their axes which produce a clashing noise.<sup>411</sup>

After all those of the palace wish ‘Many years’, according to their rank, up to the Vardariots (they say it in their ancient native language, that is, in Persian),<sup>412</sup> the cantors<sup>413</sup> also come and chant the ‘Many years’ and after this the *kontakion*, ‘The Virgin bears today the One beyond all being’,<sup>414</sup> and again the ‘Many years’.

Since the *mezas domestikos*<sup>415</sup> departs earlier with the first rank of the holders of court titles, the *domestikos* whose rank is above<sup>416</sup> the *epi tes trapezes* serves the emperor. He has the *epi tes trapezes* as his assistant, as mentioned, and calls each of the court title holders according to his position, that is, from the *protovestiarites* down,<sup>417</sup> and gives him a plate<sup>418</sup> from [p. 211] the table. The court title holder takes

<sup>408</sup> Ancona is known to have had trading privileges in the empire and property in Constantinople along the Golden Horn from the 12th c. The consul was appointed for a three-year period. See Pertusi, ‘The Anconitan colony in Constantinople’, 199–202.

<sup>409</sup> The ‘reason’ is given much later at 184–186.

<sup>410</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos recognises the Varangians as ‘nationals’ of a country and lists them with the representatives of contemporary states, the Genoese, Pisans and Anconitans. The 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII likewise refers to the ‘English’ origin of the Varangians: ἐγγλινοβάρανγοι (Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzet’, 39.49). For evidence of an Anglo-Saxon settlement on the Black Sea see Shepard, ‘Another New England?’, 39.

<sup>411</sup> For the axes of the Varangians, see also n. 343.

<sup>412</sup> For the Vardariots, see above 100.11–102.3.

<sup>413</sup> See above, 286.

<sup>414</sup> See the Typikon of the Great Church, ed. Mateos, I, 156, 158. The hymn by Romanos the Melodist is dated to the last years of the reign of Anastasius (d. 518). See Grosdidier de Matons, *Hymnes*, II, 43–51; Follieri, *Initia*, II, 58.

<sup>415</sup> Michael VIII’s 1272 *prostagma* states that it is the custom for the *mezas domestikos* to serve the emperor at table: Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzet’, 38.11–13.

<sup>416</sup> Literally, ‘he stands before’ or ‘in front of’ the *epi tes trapezes*. Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the ‘place’ or ‘position’ (τόπος: 154.15, 156.1) of each court title holder, an expression of his rank. Tenth-century ceremonial books refer to the στάσις of the court title holder: *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 144.1–3; Philotheos, ed. Oikonomides, 25; 129.15–16. See also an epigram of Theodore Stoudites (Garzya, ‘Theodori Studitae Epigrammata’, no. 118, p. 58.5). The *domestikos* (*tes trapezes*) is one rank higher than the *epi tes trapezes* with whom he serves at the imperial table. They are always mentioned together: 92.1–2, 164.2–3, 186.14, 240.12–14.

<sup>417</sup> The *protovestiarites* is the first of the court title holders invited to the meal. He and all those below him wear *klapota skiadia*.

<sup>418</sup> Μίναρος signifies a course in a meal, a dish, but also the plate on which it is served: Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v. μίναρος; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 163.17 and n. 132. Pseudo-Kodinos uses

ὑποχωρεῖ μὲν τῆς τραπέζης μέχρι καὶ τοῦ τόπου, ἐν ᾧ ἵσταται κατὰ τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ· ἱστάμενα δ' ἐκεῖσε βασιλικά παιδόπουλα ἐπαίρουσι τοὺς μίνσους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἀπέρχονται πάντες. Τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται οὕτω μέχρι καὶ τοῦ λογοθέτου τῶν ἀγγελῶν· μεθόριον γὰρ ὥσπερ ἵσταται οὗτος, ἐπεὶ οὔτε

5 χρυσοῦν σκαράνικον οὔτε κόκκινον φορεῖ. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον καὶ κάτω, ὅσοι δηλονότι σκαράνικα κόκκινα φοροῦσι, τοὺς μίνσους λαμβάνοντες καὶ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ τρικλίνου θύρας φέροντες πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀνθρώπους διδόασι, καὶ ἀπέρχονται πάντες, ὡς εἴρηται, προσκαρτεροῦντος ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδενός.

Εἰ δεῖσει δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πιεῖν, ὁ πιγκέρνης ὑπηρετεῖ τοῦτο, οὐ κατὰ τὰς  
10 ἐορτὰς καὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοτε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσθίοντος οὗτος κιρνᾷ εἰ παρῶν εὐρίσκεται· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πιγκέρνης. Καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως ἀκολουθῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἔφερε κωθώνιον μετὰ ἀλύσεως, ὡς ἂν, εἰ ἐν χρειᾷ γένοιτο πιεῖν [p. 212] αὐτὸν ἀπὸ βρύσεως ἢ ποταμοῦ, δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πῆ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν οὐκ ἐνηργεῖτο.

15 Μετὰ μέντοι τὸ δεῖπνον τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ αὐτοῦ ἀπελθόντα πολυχρονίζουσιν οἱ τε δεσπόται, οἱ σεβαστοκράτορες καὶ οἱ καίσαρες· πρὸς οὓς καὶ ὀρίζει ὁ βασιλεὺς δι' ἑαυτοῦ, *Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη*, καὶ ἀπέρχονται· μετ' αὐτοὺς πολυχρονίζουσιν ὡσαύτως καὶ ὅσα τῶν κατὰ γένος προσηκόντων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀρχοντόπουλά εἰσιν ἄσκεπῃ.

it and leaves the table, going as far as the position where he stands in accordance with his rank. Imperial pages who are standing there take the plates<sup>419</sup> from their hands and they all depart in this way. This procedure is followed down to the *logothetes ton agelon* because he constitutes a kind of boundary, as it were, as he wears neither a gold *skaranikon* nor a red one.<sup>420</sup> Those who come after him, that is, all those who wear red *skaranika*,<sup>421</sup> take their plates as far as the doors of the *triklinos* and give them to their men and they all depart, as was said; not one of them remains.

If the emperor should wish to drink, the *pinkernes* attends to this; not only on the feast days but always when the emperor eats, he pours [a drink], if he is present. That is why he is [called] a *pinkernes*.<sup>422</sup> In former times he carried a cup<sup>423</sup> on a chain when he followed the emperor outside the city, so that if the emperor had the need to drink [p. 212] from a spring or a river, he would give the cup to him and the latter would drink. This is not the practice at present.

When the emperor retires to his chamber<sup>424</sup> after the meal, the despots, the *sebastokratores*, and the caesars wish him 'Many years'. The emperor for his part bids them 'Many years', and they depart. After them, all those bareheaded sons of court title holders<sup>425</sup> who are the emperor's kin likewise wish him 'Many years'.

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the word in both senses. The emperor is served dishes but it is not at all clear that the members of the court are. On meals and banquets, see 391–393.

<sup>419</sup> Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 282, surmises that the *minsoi* are plates given as gifts. However, only in the case of the *megas domestikos* is it made explicit that his plate is a gift from the emperor. See Ps.-Kod. 162.9–11.

<sup>420</sup> The *logothetes ton agelon* wears a turban but no *skaranikon* (64.5–6). Every title holder below him wears a plain red *skaranikon* with a tassel. Above, at 150.13–152.5, Pseudo-Kodinos used the *skiadion* as the way of demarcating different groups of court title holders. Here he specifies which officials should come forward by reference to the *skaranikon* even though they are wearing *skiadia* on this occasion too. The reason for this change is that the *skiadion*-wearers are divided into three groups, unlike the *skaranikon*-wearers who make up two groups. See Ps.-Kod. 126.1–6 and 148.8–10.

<sup>421</sup> See 90.6–8 where this group of court title holders is mentioned as the last to be summoned to the daily reception. For their 'red' *skaranika*, see 334–35.

<sup>422</sup> The name of this court title holder indicates his function, κερνέω, to pour. See Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v.

<sup>423</sup> For the κωθώνιον, see Leroy-Molinghen, 'Du ΚΩΘΩΝ au BAYKALION', 208–220. Cups suspended from a chain around the neck of a woman water-seller are depicted in the late 13th c. wall painting of the church of the Blacherna, Arta. See Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Η Βλαχέρνα της Άρτας τοιχογραφίες*, fig. 52, p. 192. For a colour reproduction see *The City of Mystras*, p. 65, fig. 63.

<sup>424</sup> This exchange of wishes takes place in the emperor's chamber. The greatest prestige and intimacy is reserved for these dignitaries and the kin of the emperor.

<sup>425</sup> See above, 40.4–7, for uncovered heads; n. 368 for *archontopoula*.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον εἰς μὲν τὸν ὄρθρον τῆς συνήθους παραστάσεως γενομένης ὃ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες φοροῦσι τὰ συνήθη καθ' ἡμέραν φορέματα· εἰς δὲ τὴν λειτουργίαν ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς φορεῖ ροῦχον μαργαριταρεῖνον, καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς ἔν ἅφ' ὧν ἐμνήσθημεν πρότερον φορεῖν αὐτὸν φορεμάτων κατὰ τὸν

5 τῆς λειτουργίας καιρὸν, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν φορέματα, ὡς δεδήλωται.  
Μετὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν λειτουργίαν, τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν παραγενομένου, πρὸ τοῦτον καθίσαι, ἔρχεται ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς ἢ τις τῶν ιερῶν ἑτερος, καὶ ποιῶν εὐχὴν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης [p. 213] διὰ τὸ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν παρελθεῖν, ἀρχὴν δὲ τὴν κρεωφάγον λαβεῖν, λαμβάνει ἄρτον

10 καὶ μίνσον, καὶ ἀπέρχεται.  
Ἔπειτα δὲ προσκαλεῖται ὁ πρωτοβεστιαρίτης τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν· τοῦ οὖν βασιλέως καθίσαντος, ὑπηρετεῖ ὁ μέγας δομέστικος οὕτω. Παρίσταται πρῶτος οὗτος δὴ ὁ μέγας δομέστικος σύνεγγυς τῷ βασιλεῖ, μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ τῆς τραπέζης δομέστικος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης.

15 Διακομίζοντος δὲ μίνσους τοῦ δομεστίκου τοῦ δομεστικείου, οὓς μέλλει φαγεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ διδόντος τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, τοῦ δὲ τῷ τῆς τραπέζης δομεστίκῳ, τούτου δ' αὖ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον, ὁ μέγας δομέστικος τίθησι τούτους ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως. Ἐσθιοντος οὖν, εἰ δεῖσει πιεῖν, ὑπηρετεῖ ὁ πικέρνης, ὡς εἴρηται, εἰ ἐνδημῶν εἴη· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὁ ἐντιμότερος

20 κινῶ τῶν ἀρχόντων.  
Οἱ τοῦ δομεστικείου τοῖνυν δομέστικοι τοὺς μίνσους ἅπαντας φέροντες τιθέασιν ἐπ' ἐδάφους. Εἴτα οἱ προδηλωθέντες ἄρχοντες ὑπηρεταί, ἥως ὃ τε πρωτοβεστια[p. 214]ρίτης, ὁ μέγας ἐταιρειάρχης καὶ ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς πριμμικήριος, τοὺς ἄρχοντας προσκαλοῦνται εἰς τὴν παράστασιν· οἱ δὴ καὶ

25 παραγενόμενοι ἴστανται ἕκαστοι εἰς τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν.  
Ἔπειτα εἰσέρχονται καὶ οἱ ψάλται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιρριπταρίων καὶ καμισίων αὐτῶν, καὶ ψάλλουσιν ἰδιόμελον τῶν τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἥτοι τὸ *Μάγοι Περσῶν βασιλεῖς*. Ψαλλόντων οὖν τούτων, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς μικρὸν ἀποσχόμενος τοῦ ἐσθίειν κάθηται· ὁ δὲ μέγας δομέστικος, ὁ δομέστικος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης

30 ὑποχωροῦσι πλαγίως μέχρι καὶ τοῦ τοίχου.  
Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι τούτους τὴν ψαλμωδίαν, τοῦ βασιλέως αὐθις ἀρξαμένου ἐσθίειν, ὁ μέγας δομέστικος πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπελθὼν κατέρχεται πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον καὶ καλεῖ κατ' ὄνομα τὸν τε πρωτοψάλτην, τὸν δομέστικον, τὸν λαμπαδάριον καὶ τὸν μαῖστορα. Ἐλθοῦσιν οὖν, δίδωσι μίνσους αὐτοῖς, οὓς καὶ

35 ἐπαίροντες οἱ κανονάρχαι ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν, [p. 215] ὥσπερ τὰ παιδόπουλα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐκβάλλουσιν ἔξω. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λέγει ἅλιν ὁ μέγας δομέστικος, *Ἐλᾶτε καὶ ἐσεῖς*, καὶ ἐρχόμενοι πάντες οἱ ἀναγνώσται

On the next day<sup>426</sup> when the customary reception takes place at matins, the emperor and the holders of court titles wear their customary daily dress. For the liturgy, the emperor is dressed in a garment embroidered with pearls and on his head he wears one of the headdresses mentioned earlier<sup>427</sup> that he wears at the time of the liturgy. The holders of court titles wear their own attire, as described.

After the liturgy the emperor comes to table. Before he sits, the *protopapas* or some other priest comes and says a prayer at the imperial table, [p. 213] because the forty-day fast<sup>428</sup> has finished and meat eating has begun. He takes bread and a plate, and leaves.

Then the *protovestiarites* invites the *mezas domestikos* to the table. When the emperor sits down the *mezas domestikos* performs the following service. The *mezas domestikos* is positioned first, near the emperor; after him is the *domestikos tes trapezes*, and after him the *epi tes trapezes*. The *domestikos tou domestikeiou*<sup>429</sup> brings the dishes which the emperor is about to eat and gives them to the *epi tes trapezes*. The *epi tes trapezes* passes them to the *domestikos tes trapezes*, the latter in turn to the *mezas domestikos*, and the *mezas domestikos* places them in front of the emperor. While the emperor eats, if he should wish to drink, the *pinkernes* serves, as was mentioned, if he should be present. If not, the most distinguished among the court title holders pours [the drink].

The *domestikoi tou domestikeiou* bring all the plates and place them on the floor. Then the above-mentioned holders of court titles who serve as attendants, namely the *protovestiarites*, [p. 214] the *mezas hetaireiarches*, and the *primmikerios tes aules*,<sup>430</sup> invite the [other] holders of court titles to the reception. They come and each stands in his position.

Then the cantors enter in their *epirriptaria* and *kamisia* and chant the *idiomelon* for this feast, namely, 'The magi kings of Persia'.<sup>431</sup> While they are chanting the emperor sits and refrains from eating for a short time. The *mezas domestikos*, the *domestikos*, and the *epi tes trapezes* withdraw, moving sideways, toward the wall.

When they finish their singing and the emperor begins to eat, the *mezas domestikos* approaches the table, going to one end, and summons by name the *protopsaltes*, the *domestikos*, the *lampadarios* and the *maistor*. When they come, he gives them plates. The *kanonarchai* take them from their hands, [p. 215] just as the pages do in the case of the holders of court titles, as was said, and carry them out. Thereupon, the *mezas domestikos* says again, 'You too come!' All the readers come,

<sup>426</sup> Christmas day.

<sup>427</sup> See above at 126.4–5.

<sup>428</sup> The 40-day fast before Christmas.

<sup>429</sup> This attendant at the imperial table is not a holder of a court title. He is attached to the kitchen. For the *domestik(e)ion*, see Syropoulos, ed. Laurent, 296.26.

<sup>430</sup> These three holders of court titles are mentioned also above as attendants on Christmas Eve. See n. 416.

<sup>431</sup> An *idiomelon* is a hymn with a unique melody. See also below at 172.2. For 'The magi kings of Persia', see Follieri, *Initia*, II, 360.

ἐπαίρουσι μίνσους, καὶ φέρουσι τούτους δι' ἑαυτῶν· καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς στραφέντες οἱ κανονάρχαι ἐπαίρουσι καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν μίνσους, καὶ ἀπέρχονται.

- Εἴτα ἔρχεται ὁ μέγας δομέστικος πλησίον τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον λέγει πρὸς τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν πανυπερσέβαστον οὕτω,
- 5 *Πανυπερσέβαστε*, καὶ ἐλθόντι δίδωσι μίνσον, ὃν παρευθὺς παιδόπουλον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνον χειρῶν, ἀπελθὼν δίδωσιν ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πανυπερσεβάστου· ὁ δὲ ἀπέρχεται, καὶ ἵσταται πάλιν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ. Ὅμοιως λέγει καὶ τῷ ἀνεψιῷ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ πρωτοβεστιάριῳ, καὶ γίνεται καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω· τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους ἀνεψιοὺς τοὺς μὴ ὀφφίκια ἔχοντας κράζει
- 10 οὕτως, *Ἀνεψιὲ τοῦ αὐθέντου μας τοῦ βασιλέως*, ἥ, *ἐξάδελφε*, ἥ, *θεῖε*· καὶ ἔρχεται ὁ προϊστάμενος τούτων, εἴτ' ἐφεξῆς οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὸν τόπον εἰς ὃν ἕκαστος ἵσταται, καὶ γίνεται καὶ [p. 216] εἰς αὐτοὺς παρὰ τῶν παιδοπούλων ὥσπερ καὶ εἰς τὸν πρωτοβεστιάριον καὶ τὸν πανυπερσέβαστον, καθά προδεδήλωται.

- Ἔπειτα κράζει τοὺς ἄρχοντας πάντας ὀνομαστί, μέχρι καὶ αὐτῶν πάντων
- 15 τῶν σκαράνικα φορούντων κόκκινα· καὶ πάντων μίνσους λαμβανόντων ἐξέρχεται οὐδὲ εἷς, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἵστανται εἰς τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου τιμὴν. Ἔπειτα μετὰ τὸν πρωτονοτάριον ἔρχονται οἱ πριμμικήριοι τῶν Βαράγγων καὶ πάντες οἱ Βάραγγοι μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ λαμβάνουσι μίνσους καὶ οὗτοι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς στρατιῶται καὶ παραμοναῖ
- 20 καὶ ἕτεροι πλείστοι. Ἀπαντες δὲ οὗτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγαλωτέρου μέχρι καὶ τοῦ μικροτέρου διὰ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου χειρὸς λαμβάνουσι τοὺς μίνσους, καὶ ἀπέρχονται.

- Τῶν γὰρ τοῦ δομεστικείου δομεστίκων τοὺς ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμενους μίνσους δι' ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης
- 25 τιθέντων, καὶ γὰρ ἔχουσιν οὗτοι ἐπ' ἀδείας τοῦτο τότε καὶ μόνον ποιεῖν, ὁ μέγας δομέστικος, ὡς εἴρηται, ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης

take plates and carry them by themselves. After them the *kanonarchai* return, take their own plates and depart.

Then the *megas domestikos* comes near the emperor and a little later says to the nephew of the emperor, the *panhypersebastos*,<sup>432</sup> the following: ‘*Panhypersebastos!*’ When he comes he gives him a plate. A page immediately takes the plate from his hands, withdraws and gives it to a retainer of the *panhypersebastos*. The *panhypersebastos* departs and stands again in his position. The *megas domestikos* speaks in like fashion also to the nephew of the emperor, the *provestiarios*,<sup>433</sup> and this procedure is observed with respect to him also. The other nephews who do not hold offices he calls in this way: ‘Nephew of our master the emperor’ or ‘Cousin’ or ‘Uncle’. The one who holds precedence among them comes; then the rest follow suit, each standing in his position. With respect [p. 216] to them the pages observe the same procedure as with the *provestiarios* and the *panhypersebastos*, as described above.

Then he summons all the holders of court titles by name, up to all those who wear red *skaranika*.<sup>434</sup> After they have all received their plates, no one retires, but they all remain in their positions in honour of the *megas domestikos*.<sup>435</sup> Then, after the *protonotarios*,<sup>436</sup> the *primmikerioi* of the Varangians<sup>437</sup> and along with them all the Varangians come and they too receive plates. After them, soldiers and *paramonai*,<sup>438</sup> and very many others come. All these, from the highest to the lowest, receive a plate from the hand of the *megas domestikos* and retire.

After the *domestikoi tou domestikeiou* place the plates that are lying on the floor on the end of the imperial table – for they are entitled to do this – then and only then, the *megas domestikos*, as mentioned, takes these from the table

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<sup>432</sup> Reference to the *panhypersebastos* and also the *provestiarios* as nephews of the emperor indicates a date for this protocol from the reign of Andronikos II. See Introduction, 16.

<sup>433</sup> Mentioned also at 26, 50, in the company of the *panhypersebastos*.

<sup>434</sup> On this occasion, Christmas, the title holders wear their feast day hats, the *skaranika*. All holders of court titles are summoned by title, up to those who wear red velvet *skaranika* with tassel, the lowest group. However, the fact that the *protonotarios* is mentioned here – ‘after the *protonotarios*’ – indicates that also the red *skaranika* wearers are included, since he is in this group.

<sup>435</sup> For the special position of the *megas domestikos* in Pseudo-Kodinos’ text, see the Introduction, 5–7.

<sup>436</sup> For his position in the hierarchy among the red *skaranika* wearers, see Ps.-Kod. 66 and Table V.

<sup>437</sup> For the Varangians, see above, n. 99. The Vardariots also had a *primmikerios*. See n. 220.

<sup>438</sup> Unlike the Varangians and the Vardariots, with whom they are mentioned, the *paramonai* were native troops. See above n. 201 and Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 276.



- τούτους ἐπαίρων διαδίδωσι. Καθ' ἣν δ' ὥραν οὗτος τοιοῦτους [p. 217] διανέμει μίνσους, εἴπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν χρεία τινὸς γένοιτο, παρὰ τε τοῦ δομεστίκου καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ὑπηρετεῖται. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ τὸν μέγαν δομεστίκον πρὸς πάντας διανεῖμαι τοὺς μίνσους, τοῦ δομεστίκου καὶ
- 5 τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ὑποχωρησάντων, ὑπηρετεῖ αὐθις τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ μέγας δομεστικός, καὶ πᾶσι μὲν οὗτος διαδίδωσι τοὺς μίνσους, ὡς εἴρηται, τούτῳ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοχείρως. Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις δίδονται εἴτε χρυσάφια εἴτε ἀσήμια διὰ μίνσων, εἰσκομίζονται αὐθις εἰς τὸ βεστιάριον· ὁ δὲ σκευὸς ὁ μέγας δομεστικός διὰ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως λαμβάνει χειρὸς, εἴτε χρυσοῦν εἴτε
- 10 ἀργυροῦν εἴη, εἰσκομίζεται οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἔχει τοῦτο δῶρον αὐτός.
- Ἐπειτα μετὰ τὸ ἐπαρθῆναι τὸ μινσάλιον, τοῦ δομεστίκου τοῦ δομεστικείου κομίσαντος ἄρτον ἐν παναγιαρίῳ, ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθέως ἀνίσταται· ὁ δὲ πατεῖ ἰσοπέδιον, τῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ γένος προ[p. 218]σηκόντων νέων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσκεπῶν τις δραμῶν ἀμφοτέραις κατέχει χερσίν, ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα ἐδραῖως
- 15 πατεῖν. Τὸ δέ γε παναγίριον ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης λαβὼν, ἐπάνω τῆς τραπέζης τίθησι, καὶ ὑψὼν παναγίαν δίδωσι ταύτην τῷ δομεστίκῳ, ὁ δὲ τῷ μεγάλῳ δομεστίκῳ, οὗτος δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἅμα τῷ τὴν παναγίαν βαλεῖν ἐν τῷ στόματι, πάντες βοῶσι τὸ πολυχρόνιον, καὶ ὁ πιγνέρνης αὐτίκα τὸ τοῦ οἰνοχείου φέρει

and distributes them.<sup>439</sup> While he [p. 217] distributes these plates, if the emperor should be in need of anything, he is served by the *epi tes trapezes*. After the *mezas domestikos* has distributed plates to everyone, the *domestikos* and the *epi tes trapezes* retire and the *mezas domestikos* in turn serves the emperor. The *mezas domestikos* hands over plates to everyone in the described fashion, however the emperor gives him [his plate] with his own hand.<sup>440</sup> All the plates that are handed over to the other people – whether gold or silver<sup>441</sup> – are returned again to the *vestiarion*. However, the plate that the *mezas domestikos* takes from the hand of the emperor – whether it be gold or silver – is not returned at all, but the *mezas domestikos* keeps it as a gift.

Then, after the tablecloth is removed, the *domestikos tou domestikeiou* brings bread in a *panagiarion*<sup>442</sup> and the emperor stands up forthwith. He steps on a footstool<sup>443</sup> which one of the bareheaded [p. 218] youths related to the emperor by blood<sup>444</sup> rushes to hold with both his hands so that the emperor can step on it securely. The *epi tes trapezes* takes the *panagiarion*, puts it on the table, raises the bread called *panagia*,<sup>445</sup> and gives it to the *domestikos* who gives it to the *mezas domestikos*, and he to the emperor. As soon as the emperor puts the *panagia* in his mouth, everyone shouts ‘Many years’. Immediately the *pinkernes* brings the plate

<sup>439</sup> The anonymous description of Manuel II’s coronation also refers to this manner of distributing plates to the court title holders: ed. Verpeaux, 360.13–17; ed. Schreiner, 79.93–95. By taking the plate from the emperor’s table the *mezas domestikos* shows that the plate comes from the emperor. See 392.

<sup>440</sup> That is, the *mezas domestikos* is given his plate by the emperor himself. See 5–6 and 352.

<sup>441</sup> Gregoras (II, 788.15–18) states that at the coronation banquet of John Kantakouzenos in 1347 the plates were not of gold and silver but rather were earthenware.

<sup>442</sup> A plate or vessel for bread (the *panagia*) made of silver, gold, wood or semi-precious stones and decorated with an image of the Panagia. Manuel Philes wrote a number of epigrams for *panagiaria* which describe them: ed. Miller, I, 30, 38–39, 228–229, 244; II, 157–158, 199, 239–240. The earliest surviving example is made of jasper and has been dated to 10th/11th c. See ODB 3, 1569; *Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, ed. Karakatsanes, cat. no. 9.8. Drpić, ‘Notes on Byzantine *panagiaria*’, 51–62.

<sup>443</sup> See Parani, *The reality of images*, 170–73; ODB 2, 795.

<sup>444</sup> Probably an *archontopoulon*, although not designated as such. See above at 140.14–142.1.

<sup>445</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos describes the ‘Elevation of the Panagia’, the raising of a loaf of bread or a piece from it, both called a ‘panagia’, accompanied by acclamations extolling the Holy Trinity and imploring the Virgin for help. Mentioned first in the 10th c., the ‘elevation’ could take place on a number of occasions and places, during the divine liturgy, after meals in monasteries, at court (as known from Pseudo-Kodinos), and also at home. See Goar, *Euchologion*, 680–81; Symeon of Thessalonike, 661D–668D. Pseudo-Kodinos makes no reference to the acclamations which accompanied the elevation. See Yiannias, ‘The elevation of the Panaghia’, 227–36.

σκουτέλιον, κρατῶν καὶ μανδύλιον, ἐπεὶ προαπῆραν, ὡς εἴρηται, τὸ μινσάλιον. Εἴτα τοῦ μὲν βασιλέως καθίσαντος, τοῦ δὲ μεγάλου δομεστίκου, τοῦ δομεστίκου καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἀράντων τὴν τράπεζαν, λαμβάνουσι ταύτην οἱ τοῦ δομεστικείου δομέστικοι· τῶν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο προσκυνησάντων,

5 λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ μεγάλῳ δομεστίκῳ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ, *Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, μέγα δομέστικε*. Ἐπειτά φησι πρὸς αὐτόν, *Ἀπελθε*, καὶ παρευθὺς συνεξέρχονται πάντες τῷ μεγάλῳ δομεστίκῳ.

- Ἔτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀσυρίων βασιλείας κατῆλθέ τι φόρεμα μέχρι [p. 219] καὶ τῶν νῦν βασιλέων, γρανάτζα λεγόμενον, ὅπερ καὶ φορεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς
- 10 ἄνευ ζώνης, οὗ κρεμάμενα τὰ μανίκια διήκουσι μέχρι καὶ ἀστραγάλων· ὁ δὲ φόρεμα καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἕκαστοι ἔχουσιν ἐπ' ἀδείας φορεῖν, πλὴν ἐξωσμένον, τῶν μανικίων ἐμπεπηγμένων ὄντων πρὸς τὴν ζώνην ὀπισθεν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς φορεῖ καλεῖται γρανάτζα, ὡς εἴρηται, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων λαπάτζας· ὅπως δὲ ἁδηλόν ἐστι· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες

with the wine vessel<sup>446</sup> and holds also a napkin since, as mentioned, the tablecloth has been removed. Then, when the emperor sits down, the *meḡas domestikos*, the *domestikos* and the *epi tes trapezes* remove the table and the *domestikoi tou domestikeiou* take it. Thereupon, they perform *proskynesis* and the emperor says to the *meḡas domestikos* in a loud voice: 'Many years, *meḡas domestikos*!' <sup>447</sup> Then he says to him, 'Retire!' and everyone immediately retires along with the *meḡas domestikos*.

Further,<sup>448</sup> there is one garment that has come down [p. 219] to the emperors of today from the kingdom of the Assyrians; it is called a *granatza*.<sup>449</sup> The emperor wears it without a belt; its sleeves hang and reach as far as the ankles. This garment, each of the court title holders is entitled to wear, although with a belt, and with the sleeves attached to the belt at the back. The one worn by the emperor is called a *granatza*, as was said, while that worn by the court title holders is called a *lapatzas*. How this distinction has come about is unclear. All the other holders of

<sup>446</sup> The *oinocheion*, a wine or water carafe, of silver, copper or glass: see Oikonomides, 'The contents of the Byzantine house', 211; below also at n. 552. Pseudo-Kodinos does not say what is done with the wine vessel. There is no mention of drinking at this point, although the presence of the *oinocheion* makes this implicit.

<sup>447</sup> To be addressed directly by the emperor is an honour. See 6 n. 28.

<sup>448</sup> This section, on the origin and the nature of the *granatza/lapatzas*, reads like an afterthought of the author to the discussion above on the Assyrian origin of items of clothing: 148. There appears to be no reason to introduce the information here, since neither the holders of court titles nor the emperor wears this garment on Christmas day, nor does Pseudo-Kodinos specify any time when it is worn. However, the latter's reference to the exceptional position of the *meḡas domestikos* with regard to the wearing of the *lapatzas* indicates that the *meḡas domestikos* is the reason for the insertion here. This additional note has more to do with the *meḡas domestikos* and less with the article of clothing described. Pseudo-Kodinos wishes to complete all that can be said about the *meḡas domestikos* in the palace, as the next lines (166.5–6) make clear.

<sup>449</sup> The origin of the words *granatza/lapatzas* is debated. Arab-Persian derivation has been suggested as well as Armenian. See Hemmerdinger, '158 noms communs grecs d'origine iranienne, d'Eschyle au grec moderne', 31. Whatever the etymology of the words, garments with very long sleeves are known among the Turkish ruling classes for whom the length of sleeve was indicative of the rank and social standing of the wearer. The longer the sleeves, the higher the standing of the wearer. See Stillman, *Arab dress*, 65; *EI*, V, 732–39, here 739. Long sleeves hanging loose are seen in the funerary portrait of an unidentified person in Tomb F of the *parekklesion* of the monastery of Chora (Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I, 289) and, likewise, on a saint in the outer narthex (Nelson, 'Heavenly allies at the Chora', 34–5). See Pl. 3, 14. The *lapatzas/granatza* can be seen also on frescoes in Serbia, Macedonia (FYR) and Thessalonike (St Nicholas Orphanos: Pilate) and in manuscript illuminations (the Bulgarian Manasses and the Serbian Alexander Romance). All examples are 13th to 15th centuries. See Cvetković, 'Prilog proučavanju vizantijskog dvorskog kostima', 143–56. The only representation of a Byzantine ruler wearing this garment is in the Pisanello drawings of John VIII Palaiologos: Evans, *Byzantium*, 318B recto, 529–32.

οὕτω, τοῦ μεγάλου δὲ δομεστίκου καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο φοροῦντος ἐξωσμένον κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, τὸ μὲν ἐν τῶν τοῦ τοιοῦτου λαπάτζα μανικίων ἐνι ἐμπεπηγμένον, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον κρέμαται τιμῆς ἔνεκα, ἐπεὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀμφοτέρω, ὡς εἴρηται, κρέμανται.

- 5 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ὑπηρετήματα τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου ταυτὰ εἰσι, καθὼς εἵπομεν· τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς μετ' ὀλίγον ῥηθήσεται καὶ αὐτά.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς πεντάκις τοῦ ἔτους τρώγει ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ, πάντων παρισταμένων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐνδεδυμένων τὰ τε σκαράνικα καὶ τὰ καββάδια αὐτῶν, ἥως κατὰ [p. 220] τε τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Χριστουγεννήσεως, τῶν Φώτων,

- 10 ἀλλὰ δὴ τῶν Βαΐων, τῆς Μεγάλης Κυριακῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, εἵπομεν δὲ κατὰ μέρος περὶ μιᾶς τούτων, τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δηλονότι γεννήσεως, ῥητέον ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν θείων Θεοφανίων ἑορτὴ γίνεται ἀπαραλλάκτως ὡς καὶ ἡ τῆς Χριστουγεννήσεως· ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν λειτουργίαν ἁγιασμός, εἰ

- 15 πατριάρχης εὐρίσκεται οἰκουμενικός, γίνεται παρ' αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, παρά τινος τῶν ἐτέρων πατριαρχῶν, ἢ τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἢ τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας, ἢ τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐὰν ἐνδημῶν τύχη· εἰ δ' ἴσως μηδένα τούτων εἶναι συμβαίη,

court titles wear it in this way, but the *megas domestikos*, who also wears it with a belt, like the rest, has one of the sleeves of the *lapatzas* attached, while the other sleeve hangs loose as a mark of honour, since both sleeves of the emperor hang loose, as was said.

The service of the *megas domestikos* in the palace is as we described. His service outside the palace will also be spoken about shortly.<sup>450</sup>

The emperor eats five times a year in the *triklinos* in the presence of all the holders of court titles<sup>451</sup> who are dressed in their *skaranika* and caftans, namely, on [p. 220] the feast of the Birth of Christ, on Epiphany,<sup>452</sup> but also on Palm Sunday, Great Sunday<sup>453</sup> and the feast of the Holy Spirit.<sup>454</sup> As we have given an account in detail of one of these feasts, that of Christ's Birth, the others should also be spoken about now.

The feast of holy Epiphany takes place just like that of Christmas with no difference.<sup>455</sup> The blessing [of the water] after the liturgy<sup>456</sup> is performed by the ecumenical patriarch, if he is present. If not, one of the other patriarchs, either the patriarch of Alexandria or Antioch or Jerusalem, performs it, if he happens to be present [in Constantinople]. If none of them should happen to be present,

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<sup>450</sup> Ch. VI.

<sup>451</sup> The emperor dines also on Christmas Eve but not all the court title holders are given plates then, only the lowest group. On that occasion also they do not wear their *skaranika* but their everyday headgear. See above, note 385. Although Pseudo-Kodinos says the emperor dines 'in the presence' of the court title holders, they do not actually remain in the *triklinos* but take their plates out of the room. See 391–93.

<sup>452</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos refers to Epiphany on 6 January as the Feast 'of the Lights' and also as Theophany (166.13).

<sup>453</sup> Easter Sunday.

<sup>454</sup> Pentecost. See below, 190.1–7..

<sup>455</sup> The *prokypsis* takes place also on this day. See also below, 172.20–21, where Pseudo-Kodinos is explicit. The 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII refers to *prokypseis* in the plural; narrative sources for the 14th c. indicate that there are two feasts on which the ceremony takes place, Christmas and Epiphany: Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzit', 38.16; Greg. II, 616.16–20; 617.22–24. Panaretos reports the same for Trebizond. On *prokypsis*, see 401–11.

<sup>456</sup> It appears from the Typikon of the Great Church (Mateos, I, 182.8–14) and Pachymeres (III, 31.23–27), writing about 5 January 1283, that the blessing of the water took place at the '*phiale*' of Hagia Sophia. In both these texts the emperor's presence is not mentioned. For the *phiale*, a fountain in the atrium of Hagia Sophia, see the description of Paul the Silentiary, ed. Friedländer, 590–611; see also Janin, *Églises*, 464; Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 138–39, 201. However, another blessing took place also in the palace, with the patriarch officiating, as the *Book of Ceremonies* (ed. Reiske, 139–141: church of St Stephen) and Pseudo-Kodinos show. In the latter, the site of the blessing is not the palace church. Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the 'reception room' and the 'courtyard'.

ποιεῖ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ὁ τοῦ παλατίου πρωτοπαπᾶς. Δίδεται δὲ παρὰ μὲν τοῦ πατριάρχου τῷ βασιλεῖ λαμπράς, παρὰ δὲ τῶν προρρηθέντων ὑπηρετῶν τοῖς ἐν ἀξιώμασι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τε ἐντὸς τῆς παραστάσεως ἄρχουσι, καὶ τοῖς [p. 221] ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, ὡσαύτως τῷ τε ποτεστάτῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ.

- 5 Τῇ Κυριακῇ τῆς Σταυροπροσκυνήσεως τῆς παραστάσεως ἵσταμένης κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν προειρημένων ἑορτῶν, περὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὄρθρου φέρει τὸν σταυρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ παλατίου ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τῶν ψαλτῶν ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος, φορῶν μὲν τὸ σῦνηθες αὐτῷ στιχάριον, φορῶν δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ φελώνην, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπιτραχήλιον ἄλλ' ὠράριον, τὸ *Σῶζον Κύριε τὸν*  
 10 *λαόν σου καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου* ψαλλόντων· [p. 222] καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσυπαντᾷ τούτῳ τῆς παραστάσεως ἵσταμένης εἰς τὴν τῆς θύρας εἰσοδον, καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναλογίου τεθέντος, ἀσπάζεται τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς. Ἐπειτα ὑποστρέφει καὶ ἵσταται πάλιν εἰς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἀπέρχεται καὶ προσκυνεῖ αὐθις καὶ ἀσπάζεται τὸν σταυρόν·  
 15 καὶ εὐθέως αἴρουσι τοῦτον, τοῦ βασιλέως προπέμποντος μέχρι καὶ τῆς τοῦ τρικλίνου θύρας, καὶ πλέον οὐδέν.

- Ἡ δ' αἰτία τοῦ τὸν ἀρχιδιάκονον φελώνην κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἑορτὴν φορεῖν ἐστὶν αὕτη· ὅτι κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον οἱ ἐξκατάκοιλοι ἱερεῖς εὐρίσκοντο ἔχοντες ἕκαστοι ἐκκλησίας καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοὺς κληῖρον· διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ τὰς μεγάλας καὶ  
 20 ἐπισήμους τῶν ἑορτῶν ἡμέρας, ὄντων ἐκάστου εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ πατριάρχης οὐκ εἶχεν ὑπηρέτας ἐντίμους μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. Τῶν πατριαρχῶν οὖν τις ἠθέλησεν αὐτοὺς διακόνους εἶναι πρὸς τὸ ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῷ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἡμέραις [p. 223] τῶν ἑορτῶν· ὃ δὴ καὶ πεποίηκεν. Ὅταν οὖν

the *protopapas*<sup>457</sup> of the palace performs the blessing. A large candle<sup>458</sup> is given by the patriarch to the emperor and by the forementioned servants<sup>459</sup> to those who hold dignities and to all those holders of court titles who are in the reception [room] and those [p. 221] in the courtyard, also to the *podestà* and those with him.<sup>460</sup>

On the Sunday of the Adoration of the Cross,<sup>461</sup> the reception takes place in accordance with the custom of the forementioned feasts. At the end of matins, the archdeacon brings the cross from the palace church together with the cantors, who chant ‘Save thy people, Lord, and bless thine inheritance’ (Ps. 28.9).<sup>462</sup> He wears his customary *sticharion*, wearing a chasuble on top, and not an *epitrachelion* but an *orarion*.<sup>463</sup> [p. 222] The emperor goes to meet it at the entrance to the door [of the *triklinos*] while the reception is taking place, and he kisses the cross that has been placed on a lectern. Then he returns and stands again at his throne. After the dismissal [of the reception], he goes and again venerates and kisses the cross. Immediately they raise up the cross, with the emperor accompanying as far as the door of the *triklinos*, and not further.

The reason why the archdeacon wears a chasuble (*phelone*) during this feast is this: originally, the *exkatakoiloi*<sup>464</sup> priests each had a church and clergy under them. For this reason, since each of them was in his own church during the great and solemn feast days, the patriarch did not have with him assistants of distinguished rank. One of the patriarchs, therefore, wanted them to be deacons so that they could assist him on these [p. 223] feast days, which is what he did. So then, when

<sup>457</sup> See above, 124. 7.

<sup>458</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos often makes a distinction between the *λαμπάς* and the *κηρίον/κυρός*, the large candle and the taper: see 442–43. In this case he leaves it to be understood that everyone receives the same kind of candle as the emperor. However, Pachymeres states that the non-imperial participants in the ceremony held tapers. See n. 460.

<sup>459</sup> For those holders of court titles who serve at Christmas and Epiphany see above at n. 394.

<sup>460</sup> Pachymeres III, 31.23–30, also mentions the presence of ‘Italians’ at the blessing and the ‘abundant light, with tapers given to the Italians also’.

<sup>461</sup> The feast of the Adoration of the Cross, on the Sunday of the middle week of Lent: *Book of Ceremonies*, ed. Reiske, 161–162. The palace church in the 10th c. was the Pharos and it is there that the Cross was venerated. On the history of the feast day see Klein, ‘Constantine, Helena and the cult of the True Cross in Constantinople’, 31–57. For the Elevation of the Cross, the other feast day associated with the True Cross, see below 190.8–12.

<sup>462</sup> See the Typikon of the Great Church, ed. Mateos, II, 40.25; Follieri, *Initia*, III, 612.

<sup>463</sup> On the *sticharion* (tunic), *phelonion* (chasuble), *epitrachelion* (priest’s stole) and *orarion* (deacon’s stole), see ODB 3, 1956, 1647, 1531, ODB 1, 725; Thierry, ‘Le costume épiscopal byzantin’, 308–315; Bernadakis, ‘Les ornements liturgiques chez les Grecs’, 129–130, 131–132, 139; Johnstone, *Church embroidery*, 14, 16–18.

<sup>464</sup> The *ex(o)katakoiloi* were, from the 11th c., the highest officials of the Great Church, the *megas oikonomos*, *megas sakellarios*, *megas skeuophylax*, *chartophylax*, *tou sakelliou*, and from the 12th c., also the *protekdikos*. In the 15th c. the *megas ekklesiarches* was added to their number. See Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 59–60, 101–103.



- ὁ πατριάρχης σφραγίζει τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἐξκατακοίλους, ἤγουν ἢ μέγαν οἰκονόμον, ἢ μέγαν σακελλάριον, ἢ τινα ἕτερον ἐξ αὐτῶν, ποιεῖ αὐτὸν φορεῖν φελώνην, ὡς καὶ πρότερον καθὼς ἱερεὺς ἐφόρει, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπιτραχήλιον, ἀλλ' ὠράριον. Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτε προβάλλεται ἀρχιδιάκονον, ἐκ
- 5 τῆς τοιαύτης τῶν ἐξκατακοίλων τάξεως ὡς ἐντιμότερων τῶν ἄλλων ὄντων προβάλλεται τοῦτον, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοθεν· διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ῥηθέντα λόγον φορεῖ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος κατὰ ταύτην καὶ μόνην τὴν τῆς Σταυροπροσκυνήσεως ἑορτὴν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ φελώνην, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοτὲ ποτε· εἰ δὲ τύχοι μὴ εἶναι ἀρχιδιάκονον, φέρει τὸν σταυρὸν ὁ τυχὼν διάκονος.
- 10 Εἰδέναι δὲ δεῖ ὅτι ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς ἀγίας καὶ μεγάλης Τεσσαροκοστῆς οἱ ἱερεῖς τε καὶ οἱ διάκονοι [p. 224] πορφυρᾷ στιχάρια καὶ φελώνας φοροῦσι, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἑορτῆς, τῶν Βαίων καὶ τοῦ Μεγάλου Σαββάτου.
- Τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Βαίων προετοιμάζεται μὲν ὁ περίπατος διὰ μέσης τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἀπὸ τοῦ κελλίου τοῦ βασιλέως διήκων μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας·
- 15 διὰ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Σαββάτου τοῦ Λαζάρου νυκτὸς καταπάπτουσι τὸ ἔδαφος μὲν τοῦ περιπάτου, ἐνδύουσι δὲ πάντας τοὺς στύλους ἢ διὰ μυρσινῶν ἢ δαφνῶν ἢ ἐλαιῶν· καὶ ἐπιφωσκούσης τῆς Κυριακῆς φαίνεται ἐξαίφνης κατεσκευασμένος ἄμα καὶ ἔτοιμος ὁ περίπατος.
- Τοῦ γοῦν ὄρθρου ψαλλομένου ἀλλάσσει ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐξέρχεται
- 20 τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ, ἥτοι μετὰ τῶν προρρηθέντων ἀλλαγμάτων αὐτοῦ· καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἄλλας τῶν ἑορτῶν φορεῖ ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς τε καὶ σώματος οἷα ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φορεμάτων βούλοιο, ὡς δεδῆλωται, κατὰ δὲ ταύτην οὐδὲν ἄλλο φορεῖ, εἰ μὴ τό τε στέμμα καὶ τὸν σάκκον, φέρων ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ σταυρὸν, ἐν δὲ γε τῇ ἀριστερᾷ τὸ [p. 225] μανδύλιον
- 25 μετὰ τῆς ἀκακίας, ὡς ἔθος ἐστί, καὶ λαμπάδα. Ἀλλάσσουσιν ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ συνήθη τούτων ἀλλάγματα, ὡς προείπομεν.

the patriarch ordains these *exkatakoiloi*, that is, either a *megas oikonomos* or a *megas sakellarios* or another one among them, he makes him wear a chasuble – which he wore also earlier as a priest – and not an *epitrachelion*, but rather an *orarion*.<sup>465</sup> Hence also when the emperor appoints an archdeacon, he appoints him from nowhere else than from among the *exkatakoiloi* who are more distinguished than the others. Therefore, for the said reason, the archdeacon wears a chasuble in the palace on the feast of the Adoration of the Cross and only during this feast, and at no other time ever. If there happens to be no archdeacon present, a deacon can carry the cross.

One should know that the priests and deacons wear [p. 224] purple tunics and chasubles throughout the holy and great Forty-day Lent, apart from the feasts of the Annunciation, Palm [Sunday] and Holy Saturday.

For the feast of the Palms, the *peripatos*<sup>466</sup> is prepared in advance in the middle of the week; it extends from the chamber of the emperor as far as the church. On the Saturday of Lazaros,<sup>467</sup> at night, they strew myrtle, laurel or olive branches over the ground of the *peripatos*, and dress all the columns, with them.<sup>468</sup> When Sunday dawns, the *peripatos* suddenly appears at once prepared and ready.

While matins are being chanted, the emperor dresses<sup>469</sup> and comes out of his chamber, dressed, that is, in the clothes mentioned earlier. On the other feast days he wears on his head and his body whichever of his clothes he might wish, as has been indicated. But on this feast day he wears nothing other than his crown and *sakkos*, carrying a cross in his right hand and a [p. 225] handkerchief with the *akakia* in his left,<sup>470</sup> as is the custom, and also a large candle. The holders of court titles likewise wear their customary clothes, as we said earlier.

<sup>465</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos explains that the *exkatakoilos* official wears a chasuble, as he would, being a priest, but the deacon's *orarion* rather than a priest's *epitrachelion*. See above, n. 463.

<sup>466</sup> 'Peripatos' refers both to an elevated external walkway that faced onto the courtyard of the palace and to the ceremony that took place on Palm Sunday. As a ceremony the *peripatos* is first mentioned in the 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII: Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 38.13–16. The Great Palace also had a *peripatos* near the Chrysotriklinos: Pach. IV, 401.9–11. There is no evidence, however, that in the 10th c. Palm Sunday was celebrated by a procession along a walkway. See 411–13.

<sup>467</sup> The Saturday before Palm Sunday.

<sup>468</sup> The strewing of aromatic plants on paths over which the emperor will walk is attested in the *Book of Ceremonies* for many occasions: ed. Reiske, I, 1:6.13–18; II, 15:573.19–574.1. On Palm Sunday paths are strewn with myrtle and other plants in commemoration of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. The 'columns' that are decorated were those elevating the *peripatos* or columns along the *peripatos* itself.

<sup>469</sup> Literally, he 'changes', that is he dresses for the feast day. For ἀλλάγματα (ἀλλάξιμα), see *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 641; Pach. III, 93.16–18; IV, 543.12–13; Greg. III, 505.19–21; 507.15–16; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, 79.11: ἀλλαγὴ ἱερατικῇ. See also n. 139 above.

<sup>470</sup> This pose would not be physically possible were the *akakia* not held by a handkerchief. The handkerchief-tied *akakia* may date from the introduction of the emperor's custom of holding a candle in the same hand. For the *akakia*, see above at 138.5–7. See Pl. 1.

- Προανέρχεται γοῦν ὁ λαμπαδάριος εἰς τὸν περίπατον λαμπαδηφορῶν, ψάλλων ὅλον τὸ ιδιόμελον τὸ *Ἐξέλθετε ἔθνη, ἐξέλθετε καὶ λαοί, καὶ θεάσασθε σήμερον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν*· εἰς τύπον γὰρ Χριστοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἔρχεται, εἴτα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς, εἰ παρατύχοι, ὃς δὴ καί, 5 εἰ ἐστεμμένος ἐστί, φορεῖ στέμμα καὶ οὗτος ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἀκολουθῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πατρί· εἰ δὲ μὴ, στέφανον καὶ φυάλιν, ὡς προείπομεν.<sup>10</sup> Καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἀνέρχονται οἱ δεσπότες, εἴτα ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος μετὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἔπειτα ὁ πατριάρχης, μᾶλλον δ' οἱ πατριάρχαι, εἰ παρόντες εἰσίν, ἐνδεδυμένοι τὰς ἀλλαγὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἱερεῖς πέντε ἢ καὶ πλείους ἁγίας εἰκόνας 10 φέροντες. Ἀπελθόντων οὖν οὕτω διὰ τοῦ περιπάτου μέχρι καὶ τῆς [p. 226] ἐκκλησίας, γίνεται ἡ ἀπόλυσις τοῦ ὄρθρου ἐκεῖσε· εἴτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑποστρέφει καθ' ὃν εἴρηται τρόπον, τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου προπορευομένου.

- Καὶ μετὰ τὸ τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ περιπάτου κατελθεῖν τὸν τε πατριάρχην καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, τοῦ βασιλέως παιδόπουλον ἐξελθὼν ἀρπάζει κλάδον, δηλοῦντος 15 τούτου βασιλικὸν ὅρισμὸν εἶναι τὸ τὸν περίπατον διάρπαγμα γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτίκα γίνεται οὕτω· διαρπάζεται δὲ παρὰ τε τῶν Βαράγγων, τῶν παραμονῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ εὐρισκομένων τάξεων. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα γενέσθαι, ἀπέρχεται μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, ἐπεὶ λειτουργία οὐ γίνεται διὰ τὸ τὴν ὥραν παραταθῆναι· ὑπηρετεῖ δὲ ὁ μέγας δομέστικος. 20 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἡ τῶν Χριστουγέννων ἑορτὴ καὶ τῶν Φώτων, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν Βαΐων, γίνονται κατὰ τὴν γεγραμμένην τάξιν, μετὰ τῶν προκύψεων καὶ τοῦ περιπάτου, ἂν μὴ ἦ λελυπημένος ὁ βασιλεὺς· εἰ δὲ διὰ θάνατον, ἢ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἴσως τῆς δεσποίνης, ἢ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος,

<sup>10</sup> D omits ὡς προείπομεν, but adds ἥως βρακεῶλια, σακαράνικα [sic], γκαββάδια [sic] καὶ ἐπιλούρικα.

The *lampadari*<sup>471</sup> ascends the *peripatos* first, carrying a large candle and chanting the *idiomelon*: ‘Go out nations, go out people, and behold today the king of heavens’.<sup>472</sup> For the gospel book processes as a representation of Christ.<sup>473</sup> Then come the emperor and his son, the emperor, if he happens to be present. If he is crowned, he also wears a crown like his father, following his father the emperor. If he is not crowned, he wears a *stephanos*<sup>474</sup> and *phyalin*, as we said earlier.<sup>475</sup> After him the despots go up, then the archdeacon with the gospel book, then the patriarch or rather the patriarchs, if they are present, dressed in their attire,<sup>476</sup> and after them five priests or more, carrying holy icons. They go in this way along the *peripatos* to the [p. 226] church. The dismissal of matins takes place there. Then the emperor returns in the manner described, with the *lampadari* walking in front of him.

After the emperor, the patriarch, and the priests have descended from the *peripatos*, a page of the emperor comes out<sup>477</sup> and takes hold of a branch; this indicates that the dismantling of the *peripatos* is to take place by imperial order and it takes place immediately in this manner. It is dismantled by the Varangians, the *paramonai* and the other units that are in the courtyard.<sup>478</sup> After all this has taken place, the emperor goes to table; there is no liturgy because the time has passed. The *megas domestikos* serves [at table].

One should know that the feasts of Christmas and of the Lights, but also Palm [Sunday], take place in accordance with the ceremonial that has been prescribed,<sup>479</sup> with the *prokypseis* and the *peripatos*, unless the emperor is in mourning. If, because of the death of his wife, the empress, or a son of his who is an emperor,<sup>480</sup>

<sup>471</sup> See n. 283 above.

<sup>472</sup> Authorship of this hymn is attributed to the emperor Theophilos: Theoph. Cont., 106.22–107.5; Skyl., ed. Thurn, 63.5–13; Zon. III, 366.16–367.2. Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, I, 486. The melody of this hymn is unique (*idiomelon*) and not modelled on others. See ODB 3, s.v. *sticheron*; Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 243–5.

<sup>473</sup> In other words, in the *peripatos*, the gospel book represents the ‘king of heavens’ of the hymn. However, it is the emperor who follows the *lampadari* and not the Gospel book. The words of the hymn are associated with the emperor. See 413.

<sup>474</sup> See above, n. 372.

<sup>475</sup> Above at n. 357.

<sup>476</sup> *Τὰς ἀλλαγὰς αὐτῶν*: clothes worn for feast days and receptions. Literally, ‘change of clothing’. See above, n. 469.

<sup>477</sup> This statement is an indication that the *peripatos* is a structure on the outside of the palace. See n. 466 above.

<sup>478</sup> See above, 96.5–100.4.

<sup>479</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos refers either to his own description above or to other written accounts of ceremonial that have not survived.

<sup>480</sup> The dress of the emperor and his public appearances in mourning are regulated by the degree of relationship of the deceased to the emperor and also the imperial status or not of the deceased. See ch. XI, esp. n. 769.

εἷη [p. 227] λελυπημένος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, τὰ φλάμουλα δηλονότι καὶ ὀργάνων ἦχος καὶ στολῶν λαμπρότης, οὐ γίνεται διὰ τὴν λύπην τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡσαύτως οὐδὲ πρόκυψις· ἀλλ' ἐξίων ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἔθος, μετὰ φορέματος λευκοῦ καὶ τοῦ σκιαδίου αὐτοῦ, τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων μελανειμονούντων μέχρι

5 καὶ σεβαστοκρατόρων καὶ δεσποτῶν (μέλανα γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι φοροῦσι πλὴν ὑποδημάτων τε καὶ σελλῶν), ἵσταται ἔμπροσθεν τῆς παναγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Νικοποιοῦ, ὅπου ἢ τοῦ ἀγίου Γεωργίου ἐστὶν εἰκὼν.

Γίνεται τοίνυν ἡ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὀνομάτων εὐφημία μόνον ἐν τῇ τῶν Χριστουγέννων ἑορτῇ καὶ τῶν Φώτων, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ ἀπέρχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς. Ἐν

10 δὲ τῇ τῶν Βαΐων, ἐπεὶ ἔτι ψαλλομένου τοῦ ὄρθρου γίνεται ὁ περίπατος καὶ ἔστιν ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι, ὡς ἔθος, λιτὴν, ἐν δὲ τῇ λιτῇ περιπατῆσαι καὶ τὸν βασιλέα, ὁ μὲν περίπατος γίνεται, περιπατεῖ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς φορῶν ἐπιλούρικον λευκὸν καὶ φακεῶλιον· καὶ γενομένης ἀπολύσεως τοῦ ὄρθρου [p. 228] ἔμπροσθεν τῆς Νικοποιοῦ, ὅπου καὶ ἡ τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας ἵσταται εἰκὼν, ὑποστρέφει ὁ βασιλεὺς.

he is [p. 227] in mourning,<sup>481</sup> the other things, namely the banners, the sounding of instruments,<sup>482</sup> and the brilliant attire are not produced because of the sorrow of the emperor.<sup>483</sup> Likewise, there is no *prokypsis*.<sup>484</sup> But the emperor goes out,<sup>485</sup> as is the custom, in white<sup>486</sup> attire and his *skiadion*, while the other holders of court titles are clad in black, up to the *sebastokratores* and the despots; they too wear black, except for their shoes and saddles.<sup>487</sup> He stands in front of the all holy Theotokos Nikopoios, where the icon of St George is.<sup>488</sup> Only the acclamation of the imperial names happens on the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany, as mentioned, and the emperor leaves. On the feast of the Palms, since the *peripatos* takes place while matins are being chanted and it is necessary for a procession<sup>489</sup> to take place, as is the custom, and for the emperor to walk in the procession, the *peripatos* takes place but the emperor walks along the *peripatos* wearing a white *epilourikon* and a turban,<sup>490</sup> and when the dismissal of matins takes place [p. 228] in front of the [chapel of the] Nikopoios, where the icon of the Hodegetria<sup>491</sup> also is, the emperor returns.

<sup>481</sup> This passage is an additional note on the *peripatos* and *prokypseis*. Pseudo-Kodinos devotes an entire section later (ch. XI) to the mourning attire of the emperor.

<sup>482</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos uses the word ὄργανα, 'organs' to refer to musical instruments in general, and, specifically the wind instruments enumerated above in the description of the *prokypsis*: 132.7–9. See 439–41.

<sup>483</sup> See ch. XI, n. 772 below.

<sup>484</sup> See n. 485.

<sup>485</sup> The emperor 'goes out' from the palace into the courtyard. This is an example of the basic and succinct way in which Pseudo-Kodinos refers to movement. Pach. (III, 25.1–5) seems to confirm the arrangements stipulated here for an emperor in mourning when he states that Andronikos II, at Christmas 1282, 'stood below as a demonstration of his sorrow'. He did not, in other words, mount the *prokypsis*.

<sup>486</sup> The colour of mourning for the emperor: see also ch. XI.

<sup>487</sup> At ch. XI Pseudo-Kodinos states that everyone wears black when the emperor wears white for the death of a close relative. Black shoes are, however, not worn by the court title holders. Pachymeres (II, 657.16–18) shows that dark shoes indicate that the wearer has no office. He describes how at a memorial service for Theodore II, a *grammatikos* of the *protovestiarios* Mouzalon was attacked, having been mistaken for Mouzalon. His assailants realised they had the wrong man when they saw that his shoes were black (Pach. I, 85.14–24).

<sup>488</sup> The icon of St George is mentioned also below (Ps.-Kod. 238.9–10) where it is said to be in the courtyard of the palace. That there was a chapel (εὐκτήριον) dedicated to the Mother of God the 'Victory Bringer' facing onto the courtyard of the palace is known from Gregoras (I, 304.10) who recounts an incident involving the icon, 'painted on one of the walls of the palace in front of the chapel of the Theotokos Nikopoios'. See 369–70.

<sup>489</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos refers here to the *peripatos* as a 'procession' (λιτή). He uses the verb 'to walk' (περιπατῆσαι) to express the emperor's participation in the procession. See 400.

<sup>490</sup> If he were not in mourning he would be wearing a crown and *sakkos*. See 170.20–24.

<sup>491</sup> The icon of the Hodegetria was brought to the palace from the monastery *ton Hodegon* on the Thursday of the fifth week of Lent and remained there until Easter Monday. See n. 507 below. For the chapel of the Theotokos Nikopoios, see above at n. 488.

Τῇ Μεγάλῃ Δευτέρᾳ, τῇ Μεγάλῃ Τρίτῃ, τῇ Μεγάλῃ Τετράδι, καὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ Πέμπτῃ ἀναγινώσκονται τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου ἢ παρ' ἐτέρου διακόνου, ἐὰν μὴ οὗτος παρῶν τύχη.

- 5 Πρὸ δὲ τῆς λειτουργίας τῆς αὐτῆς Μεγάλῃς Πέμπτῃς γίνεται ὁ νιπτῆρ οὕτω· προετοιμάζουσι πτωχοὺς δώδεκα καὶ ἐνδύουσι τούτους ὑποκάμισα, κουρτζουβάκια καὶ παπούτζια· καὶ τεθείσης ἐν τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως κελλίῳ λεκάνῃς, ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς ἐκτὸς πρὸς τὴν θύραν εὕρισκόμενος ποιεῖ εὐλογητὸν καὶ λέγει τὸ τρισάγιον. Ἐπειτα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀναγινωσκομένου παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὅταν εἴπῃ τὸ *"Υδωρ βάλλει εἰς τὸν νιπτῆρα, ἐγγεῖ ἐν τῇ* [p. 229]
- 10 *λεκάνῃ τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ βασιλεὺς.* Εἶτα φέρουσι τοὺς προητοιμασθέντας πένητας καθ' ἓνα βαστάζοντα κηρὸν ἀπτόμενον, καὶ τοῦτου μὲν καθίσαντος, τοῦ δὲ πρωτοπαπᾶ, ὡς εἴρηται, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀναγινώσκοντος καὶ λέγοντος τὸ *"Ἦρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς πόδας νίπτειν τῶν μαθητῶν,* καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις μέχρις ἂν δηλονότι πάντας νιφθῆναι. Νίπτει ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα
- 15 ἐκάστου, καὶ ἀποσπογγίσας διὰ τῆς κρεμαμένης ἔμπροσθεν τοῦτου σινδόνης τὸν νιφθέντα πόδα ἀσπάζεται τοῦτον. Καὶ οὕτω γινομένου τελειοῦται ἡ τοῦ νιπτῆρος ἀκολουθία· δίδονται δὲ καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἅνα χρυσᾶ νομίσματα τρία, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄρχεται ἡ λειτουργία. Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς φορεῖ ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων φορεμάτων αὐτοῦ οἶον ἂν βούλοιο, οἱ δέ γε
- 20 ἄρχοντες τὰ συνήθη αὐτῶν φορέματα ἕκαστος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἀπέρχεται μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ, τράπεζα δὲ οὐδαμοῦ.

On Holy Monday, Holy Tuesday, Holy Wednesday and Holy Thursday the four Gospels are read either by the archdeacon or, if he does not happen to be present, by another deacon.

Before the liturgy of Holy Thursday, the Washing [of the Feet]<sup>492</sup> takes place in the following way. They prepare in advance twelve poor people<sup>493</sup> and dress them in shirts, breeches<sup>494</sup> and shoes. After a basin has been placed in the chamber of the emperor, the *protopapas* who is outside, at the door, makes a blessing and says the *trisagion*.<sup>495</sup> Then the gospel is read by him and when he says, 'He poured water into a basin' (John 13.5), the emperor pours the water into the [p. 229] basin. Then they bring one by one the poor people who have been prepared in advance, each one carrying a lit taper.<sup>496</sup> When each poor man sits down, the *protopapas*, as mentioned, reads the gospel and says, 'Jesus began to wash the disciples' feet' (John 13.5), and he says this many times until all have been washed; the emperor washes the right foot of each [person] and dries the washed foot with a cloth hanging in front of him and he kisses it.<sup>497</sup> When this has taken place, the rite of the Washing of the Feet ends. Three gold coins are given to each one of them. Thereupon the liturgy begins. The emperor wears whichever article of forementioned clothing he might wish to wear, but each holder of a court title wears his customary clothing.<sup>498</sup> After the dismissal, the emperor goes to his chamber. There is no meal.

<sup>492</sup> Known to monastic practice (Petrides, 'Le lavement des pieds', 321–326; see the *typikon* of the Theotokos Kecharitomene, Constantinople: ed. and trans. Gautier, §72: p. 124–125) where the Washing of the Feet takes place in the narthex of the church, and at Hagia Sophia (Typikon of the Great Church, ed. Mateos, II, 72–4: *akolouthia* after vespers), the Washing of the Feet is not attested in Byzantine imperial ceremony before Pseudo-Kodinos. In the 10th c. the emperor went to old-age homes on Holy Thursday: *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 177–78. A 12th c. origin has been suggested for the introduction of the Washing of the Feet to imperial ceremonial: Herrin, 'Byzance: Le palais et la ville', 219.

<sup>493</sup> This is the only reference to the 'poor' and imperial benefaction to the poor in Pseudo-Kodinos. In contrast, Philotheos and the *De cer.* give a large number of instances in which the poor are recipients of imperial charity. See Tinnefeld, 'Die Rolle der Armen bei Festfeiern im byzantinischen Hofzeremoniell', 109–113; Stathakopoulos, "'Philoptochos basileus'", 165–79.

<sup>494</sup> For *κουρτζουβάκια*, see also Sphrantzes, ed. Maisano, 58.2–3; Trapp. *Lexikon*, s.v. On trousers, a common item of male attire from the middle Byzantine period, see Grotowski, *Arms and armour*, 203–208.

<sup>495</sup> The 'thrice-holy' hymn: 'Holy God, holy strong one/holy immortal one, have mercy on us'. It was part of the liturgy by the 6th c., sung at the beginning of all Eucharists: ODB 3, 2121. See below at 186.11, 220.3–4, 226.9–10.

<sup>496</sup> On *κηρός* as 'taper', see n. 458 above.

<sup>497</sup> On kissing of the 'right' foot of the emperor, see 386–87.

<sup>498</sup> That is, customary for a feast day. The court title holders wear *skaranika*: see n. 527 below.



- Ἐπειτα ψάλλεται ἡ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας ἀκολουθία κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον καιρόν, καθ' ἣν καὶ ἀνα[p. 230]γινώσκονται τὰ δώδεκα εὐαγγέλια, ὅτε καὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ δίδεται λαμπὰς παρὰ τοῦ πρωτοπαπᾶ, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἄρχουσι πᾶσι, τοῖς τε ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τρικλίνου, κηροί, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὴν
- 5 τῶν Φώτων ἡμέραν· ἦντινα δὴ λαμπάδα φέρει ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀναγινωσκομένου, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦτου ἀπόλυσιν ὁ ἐντιμότερος τῶν καθευρεθέντων ἐκεῖσε ἀρχόντων ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως λαμβάνων χειρῶν ἐνὶ τῶν παιδοπούλων δίδωσιν ἀσκεπεῖ, καὶ κατέχει ἕξω περὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τοῦ κελλίου τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ ὅτε πάλιν μέλλει ἀναγνωσθῆναι
- 10 ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἄρχων τὴν λαμπάδα λαμβάνων δίδωσιν αὐθις τῷ βασιλεῖ· καὶ γίνεται καθεξῆς ὁμοίως μέχρι καὶ τῶν δώδεκα.

- Δεῖ δε γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τέσσαρες ἀγρυπνίαι γίνονται κατ' ἐνιαυτόν (τοῦ Μεγάλου Κανόνος, τῆς Ακαθίστου, τοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Μεγάλην Πέμπτην) καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἴσταται ἐν ᾧ ἂν
- 15 τῶν κελλίων αὐτοῦ βούλοιτο κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἀγρυπνίας, τῆς ἀκολουθίας ἀκούων, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ.

[p. 231] Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πρώτης αὐτῶν ἐπιδημοῦσα ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας μένει μέχρι καὶ τῆς Μεγάλης Κυριακῆς τοῦ Πάσχα·

Then the office of the vigil<sup>499</sup> is chanted at the set time, during which [p. 230] the twelve gospels are read. At this time a large candle is given to the emperor by the *protopapas*, but to all the remaining holders of court titles, both inside and outside the *triklinos*, tapers [are given], as on the day of the Lights [Epiphany]. The emperor holds this large candle while the Gospel is being read and after the completion of the reading, the most distinguished of the court title holders who are present there takes it from the hands of the emperor and gives it to one of the bareheaded pages who holds it outside near the front door of the imperial chamber.<sup>500</sup> When again another gospel is to be read, the mentioned court title holder takes the large candle and gives it in turn to the emperor. This takes place again in similar fashion until the twelve [have been read].

One should know that four vigils are held in the palace in a year, that of the Great Kanon,<sup>501</sup> the Akathistos,<sup>502</sup> the Annunciation<sup>503</sup> and on Holy Thursday,<sup>504</sup> also that the emperor stands during these vigils, listening to the office, in whichever of his chambers<sup>505</sup> he might wish, while the holders of court titles stand in the *triklinos*.

[p. 231] The icon of the most holy Mother of God Hodegetria remains in the palace<sup>506</sup> from the first of these [vigils]<sup>507</sup> until the Holy Sunday of Easter. The

<sup>499</sup> See below at n. 507.

<sup>500</sup> The emperor is in his chamber during the office of the vigil. See below at n. 505.

<sup>501</sup> The vigil of the Great Kanon takes place on Thursday of the fifth week of Lent. The Great Kanon is a penitential hymn, composed by Andrew of Crete (8th c.). See Wellesz, *Byzantine music*, 204.

<sup>502</sup> According to the Patmos ms. of the Typikon of the Great Church (10th c.) the Akathistos hymn, a *kontakion* in honour of the Theotokos, was sung during the vigil of Saturday, mid-Lent, or on the following Saturday. The hymn is sung with the congregation standing, recalling the all-night vigil during which, according to tradition, the hymn was first sung in thanksgiving for the lifting of the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626. Its authorship is uncertain. See Wellesz, *Byzantine music*, 191; ODB 1, 44.

<sup>503</sup> 25 March.

<sup>504</sup> See the 10th c. Typikon of the Great Church for the reading of the 12 gospels: ed. Mateos, II, 76–8.

<sup>505</sup> This statement confirms that the emperor is not in the *triklinos*, where the holders of court titles are, for the office of the vigil. Pseudo-Kodinos uses the plural only here in reference to the emperor's chambers.

<sup>506</sup> The icon was placed in front of the chapel of the Virgin Nikopoios: see 174.14–15 above.

<sup>507</sup> Eighteen days, that is from the vigil of the Great Kanon, the Thursday of the fifth week of Lent, until Easter Sunday. It is not known how long this annual relocation of the icon had been taking place. Angelidi and Papamastorakis, 'The veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria', 383, 385, suggest that the transfer of the icon began in the early 14th c., and was related to the great devotion that Andronikos II and Andronikos III exhibited towards the icon. In the Palaiologan formula for the swearing of an oath the emperor's subjects swear by the Hodegetria, another indication of the importance of this icon under the Palaiologoi. See Sathas, MB VI, 652.11–12. Kantakouzenos (III, 8. 10–15 with II, 614.23–615.3) made an oath in front of the icon at the end of the civil war, on 8 February 1347. The icon was in

ἦντινα εἰκόνα ἐρχομένην μὲν ἀπαντᾷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τῆς τοῦ παλατίου αὐλῆς· τῇ Δευτέρᾳ δὲ ἀπερχομένην προπέμπει μέχρι καὶ τῶν Ὑψηλῶν ἐκτός, καὶ γενομένης ἐκεῖσε μνήμης τῶν βασιλέων, ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑποστρέφει.

- 5 Τῇ Μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ ψάλλονται αἱ ὥραι μετὰ τῶν τροπαρίων καθ' ὃν εἶπομεν τύπον ἐν τῇ τῶν Χριστουγέννων ἐορτῇ. Καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον, ἥτοι εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν τοῦ Μεγάλου Σαββάτου, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς φορεῖ ἄλιν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ φορεμάτων οἷον ἂν βούλοιο, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν παράσημα, ὡς δεδήλωται. Καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου ἀνά[ρ. 232]γνωσιν, ἥτοι εἰς τὸ *Ἀνάστα ὁ Θεός, κρῖνον τὴν γῆν*, ἐξάγουσι τρεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν δάφνας
- 10 ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ πάντους ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως. Εἶτα ἐξ ἐτοίμου παιδόπουλα ὄντα φέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς δάφνας καὶ οὗτοι, καὶ πάντους πληροῦντες τούτων τὸν τρίκλινον· τράπεζα δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν οὐδαμῶς.

- Ὁ δὲ τῆς Μεγάλης Κυριακῆς ὄρθρος ψάλλεται ἐν τρίτῃ ἢ καὶ τετάρτῃ τῆς ἡμέρας ὥρα, γίνεται δὲ οὕτω· τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ φορεμάτων
- 15 φοροῦντος ἅτινα βούλεται, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τὰ οἰκεῖα παράσημα, ἐξέρχεται ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχidiaκόνου καὶ τινῶν τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν, καὶ δίδωσι λαμπάδα τῷ βασιλεῖ· καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἄρχοντες, ὧν πολλὰκις ἐμνήσθημεν, διδῶσι πᾶσι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὡς κὰν ταῖς προρρηθείσαις ἐορταῖς, κηρούς. Τῶν οὖν τῆς ἐκκλησίας θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων
- 20 οὐσῶν, θυμιᾷ ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς, εἶτα ἐκφωνεῖ πρῶ[ρ. 233]τον τὸ *Δόξα τῇ ἁγίᾳ ὁμοουσίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ καὶ ἀδιαιρέτῳ Τριάδι, πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*. Καὶ τῶν ψαλτῶν τὸ *Ἀμὴν* ἐπειπόντων, ἐκφωνεῖ οὗτος

emperor meets the icon on its arrival at the gate of the palace courtyard, and when it leaves on [Easter] Monday he accompanies it as far as *Ta Hypsela* outside.<sup>508</sup> After the commemoration of the emperors<sup>509</sup> takes place there, the emperor returns.

On Good Friday the hours are chanted with the *troparia* in the way that we mentioned for the feast of Christmas.<sup>510</sup> On the following day, that is, during the liturgy of Holy Saturday, the emperor again wears whichever article of clothing he may wish, while the holders of court titles wear their insignia,<sup>511</sup> as has been indicated. After the reading of the Apostle,<sup>512</sup> [p. 232] that is, at the ‘Arise O God, judge the earth’ (Ps. 82.8), three of the readers bring laurels from the church and spread them in front of the emperor. Then at once pages who are there also bring laurels from outside and spread them, filling the *triklinos* with them. After the dismissal there is no meal.

The matins of Holy Sunday are chanted during the third and fourth hour<sup>513</sup> of the day. It is done in this manner. The emperor wears whichever item of clothing he wishes, while the holders of court titles wear their personal insignia.<sup>514</sup> The *protopapas* comes out of the church with the archdeacon and some of the readers and gives a large candle to the emperor. The holders of court titles who serve as attendants, whom we have often mentioned,<sup>515</sup> give tapers to all the court title holders, as on the forementioned feasts. After the doors of the church have been closed, the *protopapas* censes, and then utters, first, [p. 233] ‘Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving and indivisible Trinity, always, Now and forever and unto the ages of ages’. The cantors utter ‘Amen’ and then he cries out

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the palace, although it was not yet Lent. The Hodegetria was still being taken to the palace in the 15th c. Doukas (272.8–10) refers to this ‘custom’ on the eve of the fall of the city but places it in the week after Easter Sunday. Frescoes from a church in Cozia, Romania (1380) depict the Hodegetria accompanied by clergy, the emperor and the holders of court titles wearing *skaranika*. Babić (‘L’iconographie constantinopolitaine de l’Acatiste de la Vierge à Cozia (Valachie)’, 178–79, 184–89, figs. 4–6) argues that the fresco depicts the annual transfer of the icon to the palace during Lent.

<sup>508</sup> *Ta Hypsela*, the ‘High Places’, is a gate (198.4) in an elevated position, as its name implies. It is described here as ‘outside’ the courtyard of the palace. Below, at 196–198, the emperor is said to pass through *Ta Hypsela* on his way to the Blachernai church. Magdalino, ‘Pseudo-Kodinos’ Constantinople’, 3, locates it on the hill to the south of the *Hagiasma*, now all that is left of the Blachernai complex, and suggests that it was a tall structure with a towered gatehouse. *Ta Hypsela* was therefore not the gate into the courtyard of the palace but another gateway into the palace precinct. See 374 and n. 62.

<sup>509</sup> A memorial service.

<sup>510</sup> See above, 122.14, 124.12–23.

<sup>511</sup> See below, at n. 514.

<sup>512</sup> See above, 124.6.

<sup>513</sup> On the hours of the day see above at note 314.

<sup>514</sup> That is, their customary attire.

<sup>515</sup> The *protovestiarites*, the *megas heataireiarches* and the *primmikerios tes aules*. See above at 158.

- τὸ ἀναστάσιμον τροπάριον, τὸ *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν* ἐκ τρίτου· ἔπειτα διαδεξάμενοι τοῦτο οἱ ψάλλται ψάλλουσι, μέχρις ἂν ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς τοὺς τεταγμένους στίχους τελέσῃ, ἥτοι τὸ *Ἀναστήτω ὁ Θεός*, καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, τοῦ ἀρχidiaκόνου τὰ εἰρηνικά, ὡς ἔθος, εἰπόντος, ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς
- 5 ἀνοίξας τὴν θύραν διὰ χειρὸς εἰσέρχεται οὗτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τὸ *Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα, λαμπρυνθῶμεν λαοί*, γεγωνοτέρᾳ φωνῇ ψάλλοντες· οὐ μὴν τῶν θυρῶν ἔτι κεκλεισμένων οὐσῶν [p. 234] λέγει, ὡς ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν λέγεται, τὸ *Ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν* καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.
- Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ ὄρθρου, τοῦ πρωτοπαπᾶ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχidiaκόνου
- 10 ἰσταμένων ἐν τοῖς προθύροις τοῦ βήματος, τοῦ μὲν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τοῦ δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν φέροντος, εἰσέρχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κατὰ πρῶτον ἀσπάζεται τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, εἶτα τὸν πρωτοπαπᾶν, ἔπειτα τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸν ἀρχidiaκονον· ἐν ὧσφ γοῦν γίνεται τοῦτο, βασιλικὸν θρόνον ἐτοιμασθέντος ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ, ἅμα τῷ ἐξελθεῖν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν βασιλέα, τῶν θυρῶν κλεισθεισῶν,
- 15 καθίζει ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου τὴν σπάθην φέροντος. Καὶ ἡ μὲν λειτουργία ψάλλεται ἡσύχως μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τοῦ Ἀποστόλου· οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες πάντες, εἰσερχόμενοι ἕκαστοι μέχρι καὶ τοῦ ἐσχάτου, ἀσπάζονται πρῶτον μὲν τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα τοῦ βασιλέως, εἶτα τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ παρειάν. Εἰ δὲ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ
- 20 εὐρίσκεται τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνὶ καὶ ποτεστάτος [p. 235] τῶν ἐν τῷ Γαλατᾷ Γεννουῖτων, εἰσέρχεται καὶ ἀσπάζεται καὶ οὗτος μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν βασιλέα, καθὰ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὡς δεδήλωται, ἥτοι τὸν πόδα, τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν παρειάν αὐτοῦ· ψαλλομένου δὲ ἔτι τοῦ ὄρθρου δίδονται καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς κηροί, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ἀπέρχονται.

three times the *troparion* of the Resurrection, 'Christ is risen from the dead'. Then the cantors succeed him and chant this until the *protopapas* finishes the fixed verses, namely, 'Let God arise' (Ps. 67.1) and the rest.<sup>516</sup> Thereupon, when the archdeacon says the litany of peace,<sup>517</sup> as is the custom, the *protopapas* opens the door by his own hand and enters the church along with the people accompanying him, chanting in a very loud voice, 'It is the day of Resurrection, may the people be made splendid'.<sup>518</sup> While the doors are still closed, one does not [p. 234] say, as is said in many churches, 'Raise the gates, O rulers of yours!' (Ps. 23.7) and the rest.<sup>519</sup>

After the dismissal of matins, the *protopapas* and the archdeacon stand in front of the doors of the sanctuary, the former holding the Gospel, the latter holding the cross. The emperor enters [the church]<sup>520</sup> and kisses first the Gospel, then the *protopapas*, then the cross and the archdeacon. While this is taking place, the imperial throne is being prepared in the *triklinos*. As soon as the emperor comes out of the church and its doors are closed, he sits on the throne, while the *megas domestikos* brings his sword.<sup>521</sup> The liturgy is being chanted softly until the reading of the Apostle, while all the holders of court titles enter, each one down to the humblest, and kiss first the right foot of the emperor, then his right hand, and, after this, his right cheek.<sup>522</sup> If, at that moment, the podestà [p. 235] of the Genoese in Galata<sup>523</sup> also happens to be at the place where the emperor is, he, too, enters and with his companions kisses the emperor, in the manner of the court title holders, as was indicated, namely, his foot, his hand and his cheek. While the matins are being chanted, tapers are given to them as well as to the court title holders. After the kiss, they depart.

<sup>516</sup> 'Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered: let them also that hate him flee before him'; *Le Typicon*, ed. Mateos, II, 82.26–27.

<sup>517</sup> The *eirinika*, at the beginning of the liturgy of the catechumens, so-called because it begins 'In peace, let us pray to the Lord'. See Clugnet, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. συναπτή, 145.

<sup>518</sup> Follieri, *Initia*, I, 103.

<sup>519</sup> 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in'. Ps. 23.7.

<sup>520</sup> The emperor was in his chambers for matins.

<sup>521</sup> See above, 120.3–4.

<sup>522</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the Kiss, a *proskynesis* which took place on Easter Sunday: see *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 187.11 (ἁσπασμός). See also below at n. 527. For kissing in Byzantine ceremonial, see 386–87.

<sup>523</sup> The podestà, a Genoese-elected official, expresses his submission to the Byzantine emperor in the same way as the court title holders. See Oikonomides, 'The Byzantine overlord of Genoese possessions in Romania', 235–8. For Galata, the Genoese quarter in Constantinople from 1267/8, see Pach. I, 225.27–227.10; Greg. I, 97.10–20; Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Galata et la souveraineté de Byzance', 315–27, here 315–7; Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 45–55, here at 50–51 and n. 133.

- Βενέτικοι δὲ οὔτε εἰς τὸ πολυχρόνισμα ἔρχονται οὔτε μὴν εἰς τὸν ἀσπασμόν· ἡ δὲ αἰτία ἐστὶν αὕτη. Ὁ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ τῶν Παλαιολόγων ὁ πρῶτος ἐποίησε μετὰ μὲν τῶν Γεννουϊτῶν ἀγάπην διαιωνίζουσαν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐτάχθη ἡ ὀφειλομένη ἀποδίδοσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ παρ' αὐτῶν τιμή, ἵνα ὅταν
- 5 δηλονότι ποτεστάτος ἔλθῃ ἐκ Γεννούας, ἀρχὴν καὶ μόνον, εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προσκύνησιν γονατίζει δεύτερον, ἅμα τε τῷ εἰσελθεῖν δηλονότι τὴν τοῦ τρικλίνου θύραν καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσέρχεται καὶ ἀσπάζεται τὸν [p. 236] τοῦ βασιλέως πόδα καθημένου ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν Γεννουϊτῶν ἄρχοντες,
- 10 ἐρχόμενοι ἐξ ἀποδημίας, προσκυνοῦντες ἀσπάζονται τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως πόδα καὶ τὴν χεῖρα· ἐρχόμενοι δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν εἰς προσκύνησιν αὐτοῦ, ἀφαιροῦντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν καπούτζια γονατίζουσι δεύτερον· καὶ ὅταν δὲ ἔλθωσι κάτεργα τούτων, εἴτε πολλὰ εἴτε ὀλίγα εἶεν εἴτε καὶ ἓν, εὐφημίζουσι τὸν βασιλέα. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν περὶ τῶν Γεννουϊτῶν.
- 15 Περὶ δέ γε τῶν Βενετῶν, ἐπεὶ ὁ ῥηθεὶς βασιλεὺς ἐβούλετο μετ' ὀλίγον μάχην ποιῆσαι μετ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐποίησε διὰ τοῦτο ἀγάπην τελείαν, ἀλλὰ τρέβαν

The Venetians, however, come neither to the ‘Many Years’<sup>524</sup> nor to the Kiss. The reason is this: the first emperor Michael of the Palaiologoi made a lasting peace with the Genoese, in which the honour to be rendered to the emperor by them was also laid down,<sup>525</sup> so that when, namely, a *podestà* comes from Genoa, in the beginning and only then, when he comes to the *proskynesis* of the emperor, he kneels twice, that is, when he enters the door of the *triklinos* and also in the middle of the *triklinos*. After this he approaches and kisses the [p. 236] foot and the hand of the emperor who is sitting on the throne. Likewise, also the other officials of the Genoese who come from abroad kiss the foot and hand of the emperor when they perform *proskynesis*.<sup>526</sup> When they come daily to perform *proskynesis* they take off their hoods<sup>527</sup> and kneel twice. And whenever their ships arrive, whether they be many or few or only one, they acclaim the emperor.<sup>528</sup> This is the situation with the Genoese.

As for the Venetians, since the said emperor wanted to make war with them after a short time, for this reason he did not make a lasting peace but concluded a truce

<sup>524</sup> The ceremony on Christmas Eve. These acclamations involved *proskynesis* (see above at 150.19 and 442) which the Venetians did not perform. See 184.15–186.8.

<sup>525</sup> Michael VIII issued a chrysobull for the Genoese, the ‘treaty of Nymphaion’, 1261 (Dölger-Wirth, *Regesten*, no. 1890), which refers to the ‘lasting peace’ (*‘pacem perpetuam’*: Manfroni, 792) made with the Genoese but makes no stipulation concerning ‘the honour to be rendered’ to the emperor. These ‘honours’, as described by Pseudo-Kodinos, Pachymeres and Gregoras (see notes 526, 528 below), indicate the emperor’s attempt to remind the Genoese of their subject status within the empire. Balard (*La Romanie génoise*, 51 and n. 134) sees in the *proskynesis* required of the *podestà* and the salute of the Genoese ships (both described below) measures undertaken by Michael VIII when he allowed the Genoese to inhabit Galata ca. 1267/8.

<sup>526</sup> Pachymeres (II, 537.11–13) partly confirms Pseudo-Kodinos’ account when he describes ‘the custom’ of the Genoese, who have newly arrived from Genoa, to ‘go to Blachernai to acclaim the emperor fittingly and to perform *proskynesis* before turning elsewhere’. He mentions this in the context of events of 1275. For the date see Pach. II, 536, n. 2.

<sup>527</sup> That is, when they come for the everyday reception. The court title holders do not remove their hats when they make *proskynesis* to the emperor. Pseudo-Kodinos mentions only two instances of hats being removed: at the moment of coronation (220.12–13) and when the *protovestiarios* removes dirt from the emperor’s clothing (134.8–10). In the 10th century Liudprand complained that the Byzantines were ‘the only people to kiss our emperor with their heads covered’: *Relatio*, ed. Chiesa, §37. 203.590–92. See 324–325.

<sup>528</sup> Gregoras (I, 134.15–18) refers to ‘the usual acclamation (εὐφημίαν) of the emperor’ by the Genoese ships. Tafur (ed. Letts, 146), writing about his second visit to Constantinople in 1438, likewise confirms this procedure: ‘When the ships come to Pera to traffic with the Genoese, they first salute Constantinople and pay tribute ...’ For Tafur’s date of writing, see Vasiliev, ‘Pero Tafur: A Spanish traveler of the fifteenth century’, 96.



μέχρι τινὸς ὀλίγου καιροῦ· ὅθεν καὶ οὐκ ἠκρίβωσε τὰ τούτων ἔθιμα, καθὰ καὶ τῶν Γεννουϊτῶν. Ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ μπαΐουλος, καθ' ἣν μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν προσκυνήσῃν μέλλει, γονατίζει μόνον οὗτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἀσπάζονται δὲ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως πόδα οὐδαμῶς· εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς δὲ ὅταν ἔρχονται, τὰ μὲν

5 καπούτζια μόνον αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλουσιν, οὐ γονατίζουν δέ· καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον οὔτε εἰς τὸ πολυχρόνισμα προσκαρτεροῦσιν [p. 237] οὗτοι, οὔτε εἰς τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ἔρχονται, ὡς δεδήλωται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ τούτων κάτεργα εὐφημίζουσι. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν Φράγγων οὕτω.

Τῆς λειτουργίας δὲ ἡρέμα, ὡς εἴρηται, ψαλλομένης, ὥστε μὴ ἐξακούεσθαι

10 ταύτην ἔνθα ὁ βασιλεὺς κάθηται, μετὰ τὸ τελεσθῆναι τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ἀνίσταται, καὶ αὐτίκα ἀνοίγουσι τὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας θύρας. Καὶ μετὰ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναγινώσκειται ὁ Ἀπόστολος, καὶ καθεξῆς ἐκτελεῖται ἡ θεία λειτουργία, ἥς μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὑπηρετεῖ ὁ τε μέγας δομέστικος, ὁ δομέστικος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, καθὰ προεδηλώθη

15 ἐν τῇ τῶν Χριστουγέννων τε ἑορτῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν Φώτων.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσπερινὴν ὥραν ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τῶν ἐσπερινῶν ὕμνων ἀκούων θυμιᾶται παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου οὗτός τε καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ γίνεται τοῦτο οὕτω μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων, τότε καὶ μόνον. Ἦν μὲν οὖν πάλαι συνήθεια κατὰ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐσπερινὸν

20 εἰσέρχεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα καὶ θυμιᾶν τὴν ἁγίαν τρά[ p. 238] πεζαν, δίδοσθαι τε τοῖς κληρικοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βεστιαρίου κατὰ δωρεὰν χρυσίου λίτρας ἑκατόν, νῦν δὲ οὐ γίνεται τοῦτο.

for a certain short period of time.<sup>529</sup> Whence, he did not specify their customs as he had for the Genoese. Thus, when the baillie comes, on the first day when he is to perform *proskynesis*, both he and his companions kneel only, they do not kiss the emperor's foot at all. Subsequently when they come, they take off their hoods only; they do not kneel. Thus, they do not stay for the 'Many Years' [p. 237] nor do they come to the Kiss,<sup>530</sup> as was mentioned. But neither do their ships acclaim [the emperor]. This is the state of affairs with regard to the Franks.<sup>531</sup>

The liturgy is being chanted softly, as mentioned, so that the emperor does not hear it where he is sitting. At the end of the [ceremony of the] kiss he stands up, and immediately they open the doors of the church. After the *trisagion* hymn, the Apostle is read and the divine liturgy is celebrated after this. After the completion [of the service] the emperor goes to table at which the *megas domestikos*, the *domestikos* and the *epi tes trapezes* serve, as was described earlier<sup>532</sup> for the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany.

At the time of the vespers the emperor goes to the church of Hagia Sophia<sup>533</sup> and while he listens to the hymns at the vespers, he and all the holders of court titles are censured by the patriarch. This [censuring] includes even the most humble, on this occasion only. It was an old custom at this vesper service, for the emperor to enter the holy sanctuary and to cense the holy altar table [p. 238] and to give the clerics a gift of 100 pounds of gold from the *vestiarion*. Now this does not take place.<sup>534</sup>

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<sup>529</sup> The treaty of Nymphaion of 1261 refers to the 'lasting peace' (*pacem perpetuam*) made with the Genoese but not with the Venetians: '*non faciet pacem treugum neque concordium cum ipso comuni Venetiarum*': Manfroni, 792. See above n. 525.

<sup>530</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos conveys the impression that the Venetians are at a disadvantage, that they are not included, as are the Genoese, because the emperor Michael VIII did not have long-term peaceful intentions. However, the more likely reason is that the Venetians are in a superior position to the Genoese; they are not considered subjects of the emperor. See Oikonomides, 'The Byzantine overlord of Genoese possessions in Romania', 235–8, who describes the *podestà's* participation in the ceremony along with Byzantine court title holders, 'as if he was one of them'. For the 'many years' acclamations, see above at 184.1.

<sup>531</sup> 'Franks' refers to all westerners. See at 86.7 where the author mentions Frankish mercenaries.

<sup>532</sup> See 165.2–3.

<sup>533</sup> Hagia Sophia is rarely mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos as the venue for feast day celebrations. The emperor goes to Hagia Sophia only for the feasts of the Holy Spirit (190.5–6), John Chrysostom (n. 561), Dormition of the Virgin (200.1–2). This infrequency is in keeping with earlier centuries. McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 227–8, remarks that in the early Middle Ages the emperor attended services in Hagia Sophia 'little more than half a dozen times per year'.

<sup>534</sup> For the imperial practice of leaving gifts on the altar of Hagia Sophia on prominent feast days, see, e.g., *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, Holy Saturday: 34.2–5; Pentecost: 65.4–5; Hendy, *Studies*, 198–199. The *De ceremoniis* specifies a gift of 100 lb. of gold (*kentenarion*) on Holy Saturday. Reference to an Easter gift is made also by Pachymeres (IV, 311.23–28)

- Καὶ τὴν πέμπτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἥν ὀνομάζουσι διακαινίσμον ἐβδομάδος ἀπέρχεται ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς τὸ παλάτιον μετὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀρχόντων, ἔτι τε τῶν ἀρχιμανδριτῶν καὶ ἡγουμένων· ἀλλάσσει γοῦν καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸν βασιλέα, ἱστάμενον εὐρὼν εἰς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ.
- 5 Ἀρχοντες δὲ τηνικαῦτα οὐ πάρεισιν, ὥστε εἶναι παράστασιν, ἴστανται δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν οἱ τε ἀρχιερεῖς, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄρχοντες μεθ' ὧν ἄλλων εἵπομεν. Θυμιᾷ τοίνυν ὁ πατριάρχης τὸν βασιλέα· εἶτα τὸν μὲν θυμιατὸν δίδωσι τῷ ἀρχidiaκόνῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ προσερχόμενος εὐλογεῖ καὶ ἀσπάζεται τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ στόματι, ἀντασπάζόμενος οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.
- 10 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν πατριάρχης ἵσταται πλησίον αὐτοῦ, οἱ δ' ἀρχιερεῖς ἐρχόμενοι κατὰ δύο, ἀσπάζονται καὶ οὕτοι τὸν βασιλέα, [p. 239] πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα, εἶτα πρὸς τὴν παρειάν. Ἐφεξῆς δὲ πάντες οἱ ῥηθέντες ἄρχοντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀρχιμανδριταὶ τε καὶ ἡγούμενοι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι· τελεσθέντος δὲ τούτου ὁ μὲν πατριάρχης εὐχὴν ἐπειπὼν αὐθις ἀπέρχεται, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
- 15 εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ.

On Thursday of the week called ‘Renewal’,<sup>535</sup> the patriarch goes to the palace<sup>536</sup> with the bishops and the officials of the Church, and also with the archimandrites and the abbots. He vests and comes to the emperor, whom he finds standing at his throne.<sup>537</sup> At that time, there are no holders of court titles present for a reception to take place. Instead of them, as mentioned, the bishops and the officials of the Church take position<sup>538</sup> along with the other [clerics] of whom we spoke. The patriarch censures the emperor.<sup>539</sup> Then he hands the censor to the archdeacon and, approaching the emperor, he blesses him and kisses him on the mouth.<sup>540</sup> In the same way, he, too, is given a kiss in return by the emperor. After this, the patriarch stands next to him, while the bishops come in pairs, and they too kiss the emperor, [p. 239] first on the hand, then on the cheek.<sup>541</sup> Subsequently all the mentioned officials of the Church, archimandrites and abbots, do the same. When this has come to an end, the patriarch says a prayer and departs, in turn, while the emperor enters his chamber.<sup>542</sup>

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in the context of the events of 1299. He mentions the ‘usual *nomismata* of hospitality’, a gift of 1000 *nomismata*, given by the emperor to the patriarch. It is rare for Pseudo-Kodinos to indicate discontinuity in his comparisons of past custom with the present. Given the reference below to the emperor’s presence in the sanctuary and censuring of the altar (232.18–21), it would seem that the change in custom noted by Pseudo-Kodinos here has to do with a lack of funds rather than a loss of privilege.

<sup>535</sup> Easter week.

<sup>536</sup> As in the 10th c.: *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 91–6.

<sup>537</sup> For the emperor, standing at his throne, see 120.2–3, 381. Michael VIII, in his *prostagma* of 1272 for Andronikos II, advises him, with regard to sitting on his throne or standing at times of reception or audience, to ‘do as you wish with regard to men of the Church’: Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzzeit’, 39.57–40.59.

<sup>538</sup> They stand according to their rank, as also the *Book of Ceremonies* specifies for Thursday of Renewal week: ed. Reiske, 94.11–12.

<sup>539</sup> Symeon of Thessalonike (432A) also describes the censuring of the emperor on this day.

<sup>540</sup> Only the patriarch kisses the emperor on the mouth. See 386.

<sup>541</sup> For Thursday of Easter week the *Book of Ceremonies* describes the kiss of the patriarch and that of the clergy of the Great Church: emperor and patriarch embrace (ed. Reiske, 92.5–8); the clergy kiss the knees and hands of the emperor: προσκυνήσας τὰ γόνατα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀσπάζεται αὐτόν: ed. Reiske, 93.15–16. Likewise, Eustathios of Thessalonike (‘The Capture of Thessaloniki’, 24.15–25) refers to the kiss (φίλημα) given to the emperor by the patriarch and other men of the Church at Easter. In 1182 it was postponed until the Friday of Easter week. Symeon of Thessalonike (1416/17–1429) (432CD, 433A) disapproves of newly ordained bishops kissing the emperor on the hand on this day, along with the clerics and the patriarch: ‘the consecrated bishop ... kisses in a servile fashion the worldly and military hands with blessed and sacred lips’. See 386.

<sup>542</sup> In the 10th c. a liturgy and banquet followed.

Ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἑορτῇ φορεῖ πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τε τὸν ἑσπερινὸν καὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀπὸ τῶν φορεμάτων αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς βουλήσεως, ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν· καὶ γίνεται μὲν τράπεζα κατὰ τὴν Κυριακὴν, τοῦ μεγάλου τε δομεστίκου ὑπηρετοῦντος καὶ ὧν εἵπομεν· ἐν δὲ 5 τῇ τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ ὥρᾳ, εἰ μὲν εὐρίσκεται πατριάρχης, ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Σοφίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀκούει παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου εὐχὰς πλησίον τοῦ διακονικοῦ· εἰ δ' οὐκ, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ παρὰ τοῦ πρωτοπαπᾶ.

Ἐν τῇ τῆς Ὑψώσεως τοῦ σταυροῦ ἑορτῇ γίνεται διὰ ξύλων ἀναβάθρα ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ, ἣν καὶ ἐνδύουσι βλατίῳ κοκκίνῳ· ὁ πατριάρχης οὖν ἀνελθὼν 10 ἐπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ ἄρα εὐρίσκεται, ἢ τις τῶν ἐτέρων [p. 240] πατριαρχῶν, ἐὰν ἐνδημῶν ἢ, τὴν τοῦ σταυροῦ ποιεῖ ὕψωσιν· ἐὰν δὲ τούτων οὐδεὶς εὐρίσκεται, ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς ποιεῖ τοῦτο.

Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι κατὰ τὰς τῶν μηνῶν ἐκάστων ἀρχὰς γίνεται ἁγιασμὸς ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, ἅνευ μόνου τοῦ Σεπτεβρίου καὶ τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου· 15 κατὰ γὰρ τούτους, τοῦ μὲν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ, τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ, γίνεται. Γίνεται δὲ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς οὕτως. Τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν παράστασιν ἵσταμένου, ψάλλεται ἕξω περὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τοῦ τρικλίνου τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τοῦ ὄρθρου, εἴτα συνημμένως ἢ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ. Καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἔρχεται ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς, καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων αὐτοῦ ὃ τε

On the feast of the Holy Spirit,<sup>543</sup> the emperor again wears, for vespers and the liturgy, the clothes of his liking, just as the holders of court titles wear theirs. There is a meal on Sunday, with the *megas domestikos* serving together with those we mentioned.<sup>544</sup> At the time of the vespers, if a patriarch is there, the emperor goes to Hagia Sophia<sup>545</sup> and hears from him the prayers of Basil the Great<sup>546</sup> near the *diakonikon*.<sup>547</sup> But if this takes place in the palace, [he hears the prayers] from the *protopapas*.

On the feast of the Elevation of the Cross,<sup>548</sup> a wooden platform, which they dress in red silk, is prepared in the *triklinos*. The patriarch, if he is present, mounts it – or one of the other [p. 240] patriarchs, if residing [in Constantinople] – and performs the Elevation of the Cross.<sup>549</sup> If none of them is there, the *protopapas* does this.

One should know that a blessing is performed in the palace at the beginning of each month, except for September and January. In these months the blessing takes place on the fourteenth,<sup>550</sup> in the former case, and on the fifth,<sup>551</sup> in the latter. The blessing of the palace takes place in the following way. While the emperor is standing at the reception, the remainder of the matins is being chanted outside, at the outer door of the *triklinos*. Then, the office of the blessing follows without any interruption. After the dismissal, the *protopapas* comes and at his side are the archdeacon and the *protopsaltes*, if he is present, or someone else who holds an

<sup>543</sup> Pentecost, a movable feast, commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit, 50 days after Easter. See Mateos, *Le Typicon*, II, 136–39.

<sup>544</sup> See above at 162.16–17: the *domestikos tes trapezes* and the *epi tes trapezes* serve.

<sup>545</sup> See n. 533 above.

<sup>546</sup> For the three ‘kneeling prayers’, see the *Πεντηκοστάριον*, 512–20; trans. 420–26. The prayers are attributed to Basil the Great also by Matthew Blastares, *Syntagma*, ed. Rh-P VI, 241. For the text of the prayers (without attribution) see the 8th c. Euchologion: *L’eucologio Barberini gr.* 336, ed. Parenti and Velkovska, 244–52. Without attribution again, the prayers are mentioned in the 11th c. *Synaxarion* of the Theotokos Evergetis: ed. and trans. Jordan, 660–63.

<sup>547</sup> The *diakonikon*, the space or side chamber to the south of the apse. There is no archaeological or written evidence, apart from Pseudo-Kodinos, for a *prothesis* and *diakonikon* at Hagia Sophia. See 226.22, 228.1. This area was close to the ‘wooden chamber’ of the emperor and his throne. For both see note 660 below.

<sup>548</sup> 14 September. The feast day is not to be confused with the Adoration of the Cross during Lent: see above at n. 461. In the 10th–11th c. the Elevation of the Cross was celebrated in Hagia Sophia. The Cross was elevated on the ambo by the patriarch: *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 124–28, here at 127.4–8. See Flusin, ‘Les cérémonies de l’Exaltation de la Croix’, 61–89 and fig. 1 (Menologion of Basil II: Vat. gr 1613).

<sup>549</sup> An 11th c. manuscript of the Typikon of the Great Church, the Dresdensis A104, also makes provision for the absence of the patriarch, stating that the *protopapas* can take his place: Flusin, ‘Les cérémonies de l’Exaltation de la Croix’, 83.115–116.

<sup>550</sup> On the feast of the Elevation of the Cross. See at n. 548 for this.

<sup>551</sup> On the eve of Epiphany.

- ἀρχιδιάκονος καὶ ὁ πρωτοψάλτης, εἰ πάρεστιν, ἢ ἕτερός τις τῶν ἔχόντων ὀφφίκιον, φέρων ὁ μὲν ἀρχιδιάκονος τὸν σταυρόν, ὁ δὲ σκευὸς τὸ κοινῶς οὕτω καλούμενον οἶνοχεῖον, κωθώνιον ἔχον ἐντὸς μετὰ ἀγιάσματος· καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσυπαντᾷ τούτοις μέχρι καὶ [p. 241] οὐργιῶν δύο ἢ καὶ πλεον. Καὶ λαβὼν
- 5 ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς τὸν σταυρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχidiaκόνου τίθησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λέγει εὐχήν. Εἴτα ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀσπάζεται τὸν σταυρόν, οἱ ἐν τῇ παραστάσει δὲ πάντες βοῶσι τὸ πολυχρόνιον. Ἐπειτα ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς τὸν μὲν σταυρὸν δίδωσι τῷ ἀρχidiaκόνῳ, τὸ κωθώνιον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου λαβὼν καὶ τοῦ ἀγιάσματος διὰ τῶν δακτύλων, ὡς ἔθος, ἀψάμενος, περιχρίει
- 10 τὸ μέτωπον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. Μεταλαμβάνοντος δὲ ἔπειτα ἀγιάσματος ἀπὸ τοῦ κωθωνίου, πάντες αὖθις βοῶσι τὸ πολυχρόνιον· καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἐξέρχονται μὲν οὗτοι τοῦ τρικλίνου, τῆς παραστάσεως δ' ἔτι ἰσταμένης. Προστάγματος εὐεργεσίας ὄντος ἐτοίμου, ὑπογράφει τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς, πάντων αὖθις βοώντων τὸ πολυχρόνιον. Ἐχει δὲ δύναμιν
- 15 τὸ τοιοῦτον πρόσταγμα ἐγγὺς χρυσοβούλλου· οὕτω γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γράφει, *Δωρεῖται ἡ βασιλεία μου τῷ δεῖνι, τὸ δέ τι.*

Καὶ αὗται εἰσὶν αἱ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τελούμεναι ἐορταί.

office. The archdeacon carries the cross, while the other carries a vessel commonly called an *oinocheion*,<sup>552</sup> it has a cup<sup>553</sup> in it with blessed water. The emperor goes to meet them up to [p. 241] a distance of four or more metres.<sup>554</sup> Taking the cross from the archdeacon, the *protopapas* places it on the forehead of the emperor and says a prayer. Then the emperor kisses the cross, and all those in the reception<sup>555</sup> shout 'Many years'. Thereupon the *protopapas* gives the cross to the archdeacon and, taking the cup from the *protopsaltes* and touching the blessed water with his fingers, as is the custom, he anoints the forehead and eyes of the emperor. After the emperor has partaken of the holy water from the cup, everyone immediately shouts 'Many years'. After this has happened, they<sup>556</sup> leave the *triklinos*, while the reception is still taking place. The emperor signs a *prostagma* of benefaction that has been prepared. The *prostagma* has a force close to that of a chrysobull. It begins thus: 'My imperial Majesty grants to so and so, such and such.'<sup>557</sup>

These are the feasts that take place in the palace.

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<sup>552</sup> A wine or water bowl: see above at n. 446. Here the *oinocheion* appears to be in the shape of a bowl since there is a cup 'in it'.

<sup>553</sup> For the *kothonion* see above, n. 423.

<sup>554</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos gives the distance as 'two or more *orguias*'. There were three different *orguias* in use in Byzantium, two were official measures and the third, approximately 1.87 m in length, was for day-to-day use. Two or more *orguias* would be the equivalent of four or more metres. See ODB 3, 1532–1533; Haldon, *Three treatises*, 290; Schilbach, *Die byzantinische Metrologie*, 22–7.

<sup>555</sup> Presumably, all the holders of court title who are assembled for the daily reception.

<sup>556</sup> The *protopapas*, archdeacon and *protopsaltes*.

<sup>557</sup> The *prostagma*, a document that issues privileges, differs from the chrysobull in that it does not have a gold seal or signature but rather a *menologem*, a formula for dating which consists of a month and indiction and serves as a signature. See Dölger and Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, 128; ODB 2, 1341. The 'prostagma of benefaction' is for the Church. See n. 612 below.



[p. 242] Ε' Περὶ ἐτέρων διαφόρων ἐορτῶν ἐν αἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέρχεται, εἰ ἐνδημῶν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει εὐρίσκεται.

Κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην τοῦ Σεπτεβρίου, τοῦ πατριάρχου μετὰ λιτανείας  
 5 καὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων εἰς τὸ πορφυροῦν κιόνιον παραγενομένου, ἐφ' οὗ  
 ὁ σταυρὸς ἵσταται, ὃ πάλαι φόρος ἐκαλεῖτο, ἀπέρχεται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ  
 ἀκούει τὴν κατ' ἔθος ἐκεῖσε ἐκτελουμένην ἀκολουθίαν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν  
 ἀπέρχεται αὐθις εἰς τὸ παλάτιον.

Κατὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν τῶν Γενεσίων τῆς Θεοτόκου ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν σεβασμίαν  
 10 μονὴν τὴν τοῦ Λιβός.

Κατὰ τὴν μνήμην τοῦ μεγάλου Δημητρίου εἰς τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ  
 τιμωμένην σεβασμίαν μονὴν τὴν τῶν Παλαιολόγων.

[p. 242] V. Concerning various other feasts to which the emperor goes if he is residing in Constantinople.

On the first of September, with a litany and the holy icons the patriarch arrives at the Porphyry Column on which the cross stands; of old it was called the Forum. The emperor also comes and listens to the office that is performed there by custom.<sup>558</sup> After the dismissal he goes again to the palace.

On the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God he goes to the venerable monastery of Lips.<sup>559</sup>

For the commemoration of the great Demetrios he goes to the venerable monastery of the Palaiologoi which is honoured with his name.<sup>560</sup>

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<sup>558</sup> The Forum of Constantine, on the Mese or 'Middle' street of Constantinople, still marked today by Constantine's porphyry column, was the site of an office on 1 September, the beginning of the liturgical and indictional year. Celebrations at the forum are recorded in the 10th-c. Typikon of the Great Church, although the emperor did not participate in the 'office of the indiction': Mateos, *Le Typicon*, I, 2–11, esp. 7. Greg. (I, 385.10–13) likewise describes the office (for 1327) 'at the porphyry column', according to an 'old custom', when icons, emperor, patriarch, and bishops gather. It seems that all that was left of the forum was the porphyry column. A document of 1351 from the Patriarchal Register indicates that the 'the so-called Old Forum' was given over to the planting of vineyards: MM I, 313. Ps.-Kod. mentions the cross on the porphyry column. Several crosses are said to have stood at the forum (Preger, *Scriptores*, I, 30–1; II, 160, 205; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 67–9), but the one on top of the column itself was erected by Manuel I. See Mango, 'Constantine's porphyry column and the chapel of St Constantine', 103–110, here 108. Stephen of Novgorod, writing in the mid-14th c., refers to the cross on top of the column of Constantine and states that the patriarch ushered in the new year there. See Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 34, 260–63. See the Introduction, 13–14.

<sup>559</sup> 8 September. The monastery of Lips, founded in the early 10th c. by Constantine Lips and refounded in the 13th c. by the empress Theodora, widow of Michael VIII: see Janin, *Églises*, 307–310. Theodora built also a new church dedicated to St John the Baptist as a place of burial for members of the imperial family. She was buried there (1303: Pach. IV, 413.2–18), as were her two sons, the *porphyrogennetos* Constantine (1304: Pach. IV, 467.2–23) and Andronikos II (1328: Greg. I, 463.17–20), the first wife of Andronikos III (Kant. I, 193.18–194.1) and the first wife of John VIII. On the burials see Marinis, 'Tombs and burials in the monastery *tou Libos* in Constantinople', 162. The late 13th c. *typikon* makes reference to the emperor's presence on the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God: ed. Delehay, 128.6–8; trans. Talbot, in Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine monastic foundation charters*, III, §39, pp. 1254–1286, esp. 1277. For the date of the typikon, written after the completion of the restoration, see Talbot, 'Empress Theodora Palaiologina', 298–99; cf. Gkoutzioukostas, 'Observations on the dating of the *typikon* of the Lips monastery', 79–85. The monastery, today the Fenari Isa Camii, is located to the south of the Holy Apostles, in the Lykos valley, not far from the Constantinian land walls.

<sup>560</sup> 26 October. The monastery of St Demetrios was built in the 12th c. by George Palaiologos and refounded by Michael VIII, the founder's great grandson, after 1261. See Michael VIII's typikon: ed. Grégoire, *de vita sua*, §XII, 463–465; Janin, *Églises*, 92–4.

Κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Χρυσοστόμου μνήμην ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν [p. 243] Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν καὶ ἀκούει μὲν τῶν ἐσπερινῶν ὕμνων, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἀνέρχεται εἰς τὸ κελλίον τοῦ πατριάρχου ἀναπαυόμενος ἐκεῖσε· τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον κατὰ τὸν τῆς θείας λειτουργίας καιρὸν κατέρχεται, καὶ ταύτης τελεσθείσης

5 ἀπέρχεται.

Κατὰ τὴν τῶν Εἰσοδίων τῆς Θεοτόκου μνήμην ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν τῆς Περιβλέπτου σεβασμίαν μονήν.

Κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἀπέρχεται ὡσαύτως εἰς τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ τιμωμένην σεβασμίαν μονήν.

10 Κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ὑπαπαντῆς ἑορτῆς τὸν τῶν Βλαχερνῶν ναόν, ἀκολουθούντων καὶ τῶν Βαράγγων. Καὶ πάντοτε μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως καβαλλικεύοντος

For the commemoration of the great Chrysostom he goes to [p. 243] the church of Hagia Sophia and listens to the vesper hymns.<sup>561</sup> After the dismissal, he goes to the chamber of the patriarch to rest there. On the following day he descends<sup>562</sup> when it is time for the divine liturgy and when it ends, he leaves.

For the commemoration of the Presentation of the Mother of God he goes to the venerable monastery of the Peribleptos.<sup>563</sup>

On the feast of Basil the Great he goes likewise to the venerable monastery honoured with his name.<sup>564</sup>

On the feast of the Hypapante he goes to the church of the Blachernai,<sup>565</sup> with the Varangians accompanying him. They always accompany the emperor when

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The monastery probably became the venue for the celebration of this feast day at the time of its refoundation: Pachymeres (IV, 331.24–27) refers to the emperor Andronikos II's presence there, with the patriarch, on 26 October 1301. It held the relics of John IV, from whom Michael VIII had usurped the throne. See Stephen of Novgorod (ed. Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 38–9); Macrides, 'Saints and sainthood in the early Palaiologan period', 71–73; Shawcross, 'In the name of the true emperor', 226–27. The monastery was located on the Marmara shore at Vlangu, near the Jewish quarter by the former harbour of Theodosius. For the location see Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 267–68.

<sup>561</sup> 13 November. The feast day commemorates the exile of the archbishop of Constantinople John Chrysostom. In the 10th c. Typikon of the Great Church the office took place at the Forum and the church of the Holy Apostles: Mateos, *Le Typicon* I, 98–101.

<sup>562</sup> The main body of the patriarchate appears to have stretched along the south façade of Hagia Sophia, terminating near the southwest corner of the church. The patriarch's quarters and reception rooms were 'considerably above ground', perhaps on a level with the gallery of the church. See Guillard, 'Le Thomaitès et le patriarchat', 17–19; Mango, *The Brazen House*, 52–54.

<sup>563</sup> 21 November. In the 10th c. the celebration took place in the Chalkoprateia: Mateos, *Le Typicon*, I, 110–111. For the Peribleptos, founded by Romanos III (1028–1034), who was also buried there, see Janin, *Églises*, 218–22; Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 276–83; Mango, 'The monastery of St Mary Peribleptos', 473–93. The monastery is in the south-west area of the city. It is probable that the Peribleptos became the venue for the celebration of this feast from the time of its foundation.

<sup>564</sup> 1 January. The *Book of Ceremonies* mentions the church of St Basil in the palace as the site of the celebrations: ed. Reiske, 136–9. For the monastery of St Basil, founded by Basil the Parakoimomenos in the late 10th c., see Janin, *Églises*, 58–60. It had the status of an imperial monastery after Basil II took it over. It is near the Theotokos Kyriotissa, today the Kalenderhane Camii. See Magdalino, *Medieval Constantinople*, 70, 74.

<sup>565</sup> 2 February. The feast of Hypapante or the Purification was celebrated in the Blachernai church, also in the 10th c.: *De cer.* ed. Reiske, I, 147–54. See Mateos, *Le Typicon*, I, 220–24. Pach. (II, 573.21–24) relates that the Church celebrated this feast in a particularly splendid way as it was the day on which the emperor Michael VIII was absolved by the patriarch Joseph in 1267. The church of the Blachernai, dedicated to the Theotokos, is described by Clavijo in the early 15th c. as 'formerly [the] chapel of the imperial palace' (trans. Le Strange, 79–80). See Janin, *Églises*, 161–71.

ἀκολουθοῦσι, φέροντες ἐπ' ὧμων τοὺς πελέκεις αὐτῶν καὶ μέχρι τῶν Ὑψηλῶν [p. 244] ἀπερχόμενοι, κατὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἑορτὴν μέχρι καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀκολουθοῦσιν· οὐ μὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑποστροφὴν, ἀλλ' εὐρίσκονται κατὰ συνήθειαν εἰς τὴν πύλην τῶν Ὑψηλῶν ἐκδεχόμενοι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ

5 ἀκολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ μέχρι καὶ τοῦ πεζεύματος.

Κατὰ τὴν μνήμην τοῦ μεγάλου Γεωργίου εἰς τὴν σεβασμίαν μονὴν τὴν τῶν Μαγγάνων.

Κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ ἁγία τοῦτου σορὸς κεῖται.

10 Κατὰ τὸ Γενέσιον τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου εἰς τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τιμωμένην σεβασμίαν αὐτοῦ μονὴν τὴν τῆς Πέτρας, ἀκολουθοῦντων κἀνταῦθα τῶν Βαράγγων μέχρι [p. 245] καὶ τῆς μονῆς, καθὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν τῶν Βλαχερνῶν ναόν, ὡς δεδήλωται.

Κατὰ τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφύμων Ἀποστόλων ἀπέρχεται

15 πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτῶν τιμώμενον θεῖον ναόν.

Κατὰ τὴν τῆς θείας Μεταμορφώσεως ἑορτὴν ἀπέρχεται ὡσαύτως εἰς τὴν σεβασμίαν μονὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Παντοκράτορος.

he rides on horseback,<sup>566</sup> carrying on their shoulders their axes and going as far as *Ta Hypsela*<sup>567</sup> [p. 244] but on this feast day they accompany him also as far as the church. They do not [accompany him] on his return but rather stay, according to the custom, at the gate of *Ta Hypsela*, await [the emperor], and accompany him as far as the *pezeuma*.<sup>568</sup>

For the commemoration of the great [saint] George he goes to the venerable monastery of the Mangana.<sup>569</sup>

On the feast of Constantine the Great, he goes to the church of the Holy Apostles, where his holy coffin lies.<sup>570</sup>

For the Birth of the worthy Prodomos he goes to the venerable monastery of Petra,<sup>571</sup> honoured with his name, with the Varangians accompanying him there also as far as [p. 245] the monastery, just as they do to the church of the Blachernai, as has been indicated.

For the commemoration of the holy and most renowned Apostles he goes again to the divine church honoured with their name.<sup>572</sup>

For the feast of the divine Transfiguration he goes in like manner to the venerable monastery of Christ the Saviour, the Pantokrator.<sup>573</sup>

<sup>566</sup> For the Varangians, see above, 96.1. Pseudo-Kodinos mentions a Varangian escort all the way to the church only for the occasions when the horseback emperor goes to the Blachernai and to Petra. See below, 200.1–3, 6–8.

<sup>567</sup> See above also, 180.2.

<sup>568</sup> Literally, the place where the emperor sets foot (πεζεῦει) on the ground, a specific place in the courtyard of the palace. See above, 74.

<sup>569</sup> 23 April. For the monastery, founded by Constantine IX Monomachos in the mid-11th c., see Janin, *Églises*, 70–76; Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 366–71; Oikonomides, ‘St George of Mangana’, 239–40. Attaleiates (ed. Bekker, 71.19–72.6; ed. Pérez-Martin, 54.22–55.8) mentions that the founder stipulated that emperors should celebrate the feast day of St George in the monastery. Pach. (II, 519.21–521.15) confirms that this continued to be the case in the late 13th c.

<sup>570</sup> 21 May. The feast of Constantine and Helen was celebrated in the Holy Apostles also in the 10th c.: *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, I, 532–535; Mateos, *Le Typicon*, I, 296. See also Janin, *Églises*, 41–50; Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 299–306. The Fatih Camii is located on the site of the church.

<sup>571</sup> 24 June. For the monastery of St John the Baptist in Petra, founded in the 5th c. and refounded in the late 11th c., see Janin, *Églises*, 421–429; Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 339–45. The monastery had close connections with the imperial family in the later 14th c. On this see Malamut, ‘Le monastère Saint-Jean-Prodomos de Pétra de Constantinople’, 219–33, esp. 226–27. It is located to the south of the Blachernai palace, near the cistern of Aetios.

<sup>572</sup> Either the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, 29 June, or the Twelve Apostles, 30 June. The 10th c. Typikon of the Great Church contains a celebration for these feasts which does not include the participation of the emperor: ed. Mateos, *Le Typicon*, I, 322–27. For the church of the Holy Apostles, see above, n. 570. For the church of Peter and Paul at the *orphanotropheion* on the Acropolis, see Janin, *Églises*, 399–400.

<sup>573</sup> 6 August. For the monastery of Christ the Pantokrator, a 12th c. imperial foundation, see Janin, *Églises*, 515–23; Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 289–95. The Pantokrator, today the

Κατὰ τὴν Κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου αὐθις ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Σοφίαν διανυκτερεύων ἐκεῖσε, ὡς κὰν τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.

Κατὰ τὴν Αποτομὴν τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου πάλιν εἰς τὴν εἰρημένην σεβασμίαν μονὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς Πέτρας, τῶν Βαράγγων ἀκολουθούντων ὡς  
5 καὶ τὸ πρότερον.

[p. 246] Ἀπέρχεται πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν Καταθεσίων τῆς Τιμίας Ἐσθῆτος τῆς Θεοτόκου εἰς τὸν τῶν Βλαχερνῶν ναόν, ἀκολουθούντων τῶν Βαράγγων, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν.

Ἀπέρχεται δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Σοφίαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν Κυριακὴν τῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας,  
10 καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἀναγινώσκεται τὸ συνοδικὸν ἴσταται, τῆς εὐφημίας δὲ λεγομένης κάθηται ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ.

Ἔτι ἀπέρχεται καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀνάστασιν τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ δικαίου Λαζάρου εἰς τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ τιμωμένην σεβασμίαν μονήν.

Ἐν ταῖς δηλωθείσαις οὖν ἀπάσαις ἑορταῖς οὐκ εἰς τοὺς ἑσπερινούς  
15 μόνον ὕμνους ἀπέρχεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς λειτουργίας. Ἔθος δέ ἐστι κατὰ τὰς γινόμενας ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις ἑορτάς, καθὼς εἴρηται, τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τζάγκαν φέροντα τὸ διβέλλιον, πλὴν

On the feast of the Dormition of the most holy Mother of God<sup>574</sup> he goes again to Hagia Sophia to spend the night there, as he does for the commemoration of Chrysostom.

For the Decapitation<sup>575</sup> of the worthy Prodomos he goes again to his venerable monastery of Petra, which was mentioned, with the Varangians accompanying him as also previously.

[p. 246] The emperor again goes to the church of the Blachernai for the feast of the Deposition of the worthy Robe<sup>576</sup> of the Mother of God, with the Varangians accompanying him, as we said earlier.

On the Sunday of Orthodoxy<sup>577</sup> he goes to Hagia Sophia. When the *synodikon* is read, he stands, but when the acclamations are said, he sits on his throne.<sup>578</sup>

Further, for the Resurrection of the holy and righteous Lazaros, he goes to the venerable monastery honoured with his name.<sup>579</sup>

On all the mentioned feast days he goes not only to the vesper hymns but also to the liturgies. On the feast days which take place in monasteries, as mentioned, it is the custom for the emperor's bootmaker<sup>580</sup> to carry the *dibellion*,<sup>581</sup> without the

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Zeyrek Camii, overlooks the Golden Horn at the Zeugma (Unkapanı).

<sup>574</sup> 15 August.

<sup>575</sup> 29 August. In the 10th c. the feast day was celebrated at the Stoudios monastery, where the head and other relics of Prodomos were kept: *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 562.12–13, 563.11–12; Janin, *Églises*, 456; Wortley, 'Relics of "the friends of Jesus" at Constantinople', 149, 153.

<sup>576</sup> 31 August. Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the Virgin's 'garment' (ἔσθής), a relic which was defined variously as 'belt', 'shroud', 'dress' before the 9th c., when it became identified with the veil or robe. See Weyl Carr, 'Threads of authority: the Virgin Mary's veil in the Middle Ages', 59–94, esp. 61–63; Shoemaker, 'The cult of fashion', 53–74. Pseudo-Kodinos has confused two holy days, the deposition of the Robe of the Theotokos, celebrated on 2 July at the Blachernai (*Typicon of the Great Church*, ed. Mateos, I, 328), and the deposition of the Girdle or Belt, celebrated in the Chalkoprateia on 31 August. The *Typicon* of the Great Church stipulates that the feast of the Belt on 31 August is to be celebrated in the same way as the feast of the Robe on 2 July (Mateos, I, 386). This may be the source of Pseudo-Kodinos' confusion. The 10th c. celebration of the deposition of the Robe did not include the emperor: Mateos, I, 386, 328–30.

<sup>577</sup> The first Sunday in Lent. For the *synodikon* of Orthodoxy, not mentioned in the account of the *De cer.* (ed. Reiske, 156–60) see Gouillard, 'Le synodikon de l'orthodoxie', 45–117.

<sup>578</sup> The emperor stands in the presence of the holy and sits for acclamations. See 254.11–12 and n. 749, 381.

<sup>579</sup> The Saturday before Palm Sunday. For the monastery of St Lazaros, on the Bosphoros, between the Great Palace and the Mangana, founded by Leo VI when the relics of Lazaros and Mary Magdalene were translated to Constantinople, see Janin, *Églises*, 298–303; Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 379–81. See map, viii.

<sup>580</sup> Ch. III, 80.1–2.

<sup>581</sup> A spear with two tufts attached: see above at 104.11, 130.3.



σκουταρίου, ἐπὶ τῶν ὥμων [p. 247] πλάγιον, ἀκολουθούντων καὶ τινων τῶν τῆς αὐλῆς, προαπέρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ τῆς οὔσης ἐορτῆς μοναστήριον, καὶ ἀναμένειν τὸν βασιλέα, κατέχειν τε ὁμοίως καὶ λαμπάδα βασιλικήν· ἐρχομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλεῶς ἅπτειν αὐτὴν ἐπάνω τοῦ διβελλίου, κατέχειν τε ὀρθὸν μέχρι τῆς

5 ἀπολύσεως ἐκτὸς τῶν ὡραίων λεγομένων πυλῶν, ἥτοι ἐν τῷ προνάῳ· ὁ δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦ πῶς ὁ τζάγκας φέρει τὸ διβέλλιον καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος ἀγνοεῖται.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν ἐορτῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅτε ἐλέγομεν τὰς ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου ὑπηρεσίας, ἐπηγγειλάμεθα δεῖξαι καὶ τὰς ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ, ἥτοι τὰς εἰς τὸ φωσσάτον, ὥρα καὶ περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν.

shield,<sup>582</sup> on his shoulders, [p. 247] obliquely, with some of the men of the court<sup>583</sup> following. He goes before the emperor to the monastery of the particular feast, and awaits him; likewise he holds a large imperial candle, and when the emperor comes, he lights it above the *dibellion*,<sup>584</sup> and holds it [the *dibellion*] upright until the dismissal, outside the so-called Beautiful Doors,<sup>585</sup> that is, in the narthex. The reason why the bootmaker, and not anyone else, carries the *dibellion* is unknown.

This is what takes place on the feast days. Since, when we spoke about the service of the *megas domestikos* in the palace, we announced that we would indicate also his service outside, that is, in the army, it is time to speak of these as well.<sup>586</sup>

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<sup>582</sup> See above 104.11 and n. 233 for the shield. Instead of the shield, the bootmaker holds a large candle.

<sup>583</sup> It is not clear whether by *aule* Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the title holders (*archontes*) of the court or the guard units in the courtyard of the palace.

<sup>584</sup> The gesture appears to be symbolic of the superiority of the light over the spear. Verpeaux, *Traité*, 247, understands the passage to mean that the bootmaker lights the candle and ‘places it’ above the *dibellion*.

<sup>585</sup> As this passage shows, the Beautiful Doors are in the narthex and open onto the nave. See also below, n. 645.

<sup>586</sup> This statement is a good example of Pseudo-Kodinos’ attempts to unite sections of his text and introduce transitions. Here he leads into ch. VI.

[p. 248] ζ' *Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ φωσσάτῳ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου ὑπηρεσίας.*

- Ἄπαν τὸ φωσσάτον ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου χεῖρα εὐρίσκεται. Διὸ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὸ φωσσάτον εὐρισκομένου, εἰς τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου
- 5 δομεστίκου τένταν σαλπίζουσι τὸ τῆς κινήσεως σήμαντρον. Καὶ ὅποτε ἡ τοῦ φωσσάτου κατάστασις ἔμπροσθεν γίνεται τοῦ βασιλέως, δι' αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου ἐνεργεῖται, ἡγουν τίνες μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τίνες ὀπισθεν, τίνες δ' αὖ ἐκ πλαγίων ὀφείλουσιν εὐρίσκεσθαι· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπικρίνει τὴν τοιαύτην κατάστασιν.
- 10 Τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἅπαντα φλάμουλα πρὸ τοῦ τὰ βασιλικά ἀποτυλιχθῆναι ἐντετυλιγμένα εὐρίσκονται πλησίον τοῦ σκήπτρου, ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστον θήκαις, καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐπ' ἀδείας ταῦτα ἀπλῶσαι πρὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν· ὁ δὲ μέγας δομέστικος ἄδειαν ἔχει ἐξαπλῶσαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτε βούλοιο, καὶ πρὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν.
- 15 Ὅπηνίκα δεήσει πεζεῦσαι τὸ φωσσάτον, προαπέρχεται ὁ ἐπὶ [p. 249] τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκλέγεται ὁ ἂν αὐτὸς διακρίνοι κατουνοτόπιον· ἂν μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ μέγας δομέστικος στέρξῃ τοῦτο, ἤδη καλόν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἔνθα ἂν οὗτος διακρίνοι

[p. 248] VI. Concerning the service of the *megas domestikos* in the army

The entire army is under the control of the *megas domestikos*.<sup>587</sup> For this reason, even when the emperor is with the army, it is at the tent of the *megas domestikos* that they sound the trumpet as the signal to move. Whenever the review of the army takes place before the emperor, it is conducted by the *megas domestikos* himself, that is, [the orders] who should be in front, who behind, and who, in turn, in flank. The emperor inspects this review.

Before the unrolling of the imperial banners [takes place], all the banners<sup>588</sup> of the holders of court titles are wrapped up next to the *skeptron*,<sup>589</sup> each in its own sheath and they do not have license to unfurl them before the imperial ones. But the *megas domestikos* does have the right to roll his out whenever he wishes, even before the imperial ones.

Whenever the army needs to set up camp,<sup>590</sup> the *epi* [p. 249] *tou stratou*<sup>591</sup> goes in advance and chooses the campsite<sup>592</sup> he judges [best]. If the *megas domestikos* accepts it, it is good. If he does not, the army encamps wherever he

<sup>587</sup> Both Akropolites (§46:84.7–9) and Kantakouzenos (I, 498.11–12) consider the *megas domestikos* head of the army. The first speaks specifically of Andronikos Palaiologos in the ‘empire of Nicaea’, while the second makes a general statement. If Pseudo-Kodinos’ assertion appears not to be true for all holders of this title the reason lies in the nature of the surviving evidence. For this argument, see Kyriakidis, ‘The *megas domestikos* in the late Byzantine army’, 241–58. For the holders of this title see Guillard, ‘Le grand domestique’, *Recherches*, I, 405–25.

<sup>588</sup> For the imperial banner and the banners of the court title holders see above, 339–40.

<sup>589</sup> Verpeaux (*Traité*, 248.21) understands the *skeptron* to be a ‘shaft’. It appears, however, from the context in which it is mentioned that the *skeptron* is a type of standard or banner. It is found both in court ceremonial and on the battlefield. See, e.g., the ‘Roman *skeptra*’ and the ‘great *skeptra*’ listed in the *Book of Ceremonies* on ceremonial occasions, together with banners and standards (*phlamoula, labara*): *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, I, 11.18–19, 210.24–25, 591.8–9, 640.18; Haldon, *Three treatises*, 144.785–786, 270–74; Anna Komnene (*Alexiad*, 6.11.1–3) relates that the presence of certain ‘flags and *skeptra*’ at Nicaea deceived the Turks into thinking that the emperor and his troops were present. Here Pseudo-Kodinos refers to only one *skeptron*, implying that it was a special one. It is not clear whether the *skeptron* had a specific device on it or a different shape which distinguished it from the other standards or banners.

<sup>590</sup> Literally, ‘to dismount’. For *πεζεύω* with the meaning ‘to encamp’, see *The Chronicle of the Morea*, ed. Schmitt, P1570, P6167 (quarters, lodging).

<sup>591</sup> This is the only place where the function of the *epi tou stratou* is described: see 94.12–13. The title was a new one in the Palaiologan period. See Guillard, ‘Commandants’, *Recherches* I, 522–34, here 527–8.

<sup>592</sup> Κατονοτόπιον is found in 14th c. contexts, in the paraphrases of Choniates and Anna Komnene: see Trapp, s.v.

στρατοπεδεύει· καὶ [ὅτι<sup>11</sup>] οὐδεὶς πρὸ τοῦ τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ φλαμούλῳ τὸν προσήκοντα δοῦναι τόπον πεζεύει.

- Πρὸ τοῦ πεζεῦσαι τὸ φωσσάτον, ἀπερχόμενος ὁ τῆς βίγλης μέγας δρουγγάριος καθίστησι τὸ λεγόμενον ἡμεροβίγλιον, ὡς παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου  
 5 δομεστικού προσετάχθη. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡμέρας βιγλίσοντες ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὴν βίγλαν αὐτίκα· ἀπέρχεσθαι δὲ συνηθές ἐστι φωσσάτον ἐλαφρόν· λέγεται δὲ οὕτω φωσσάτον ἐλαφρόν διὰ τὸ τόξα φέρειν αὐτούς, οἱ καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατὰ τὴν νύκτα βιγλίζουσι. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς νυκτὸς βιγλίσοντας ἀπερχόμενος οὗτος δὴ ὁ μέγας δρουγγάριος πρὸ τῆς τοῦ δειλινοῦ ὥρας λέγει  
 10 οὕτως· Ἄρχοντες ἐτοιμάσθητε, δειπνήσατε καὶ ταγίσατε τὰ ἄλλα. Καὶ ὅταν ὁ τεταγμένος καὶ πρέπων τῆς βίγλης ἔλθῃ καιρός, ἐκβάλλει τούτους τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Ἐπειτα εἰ μὲν ὁ μέγας δομέστικος ἐθελήσῃ, [p. 250] ἀπέρχεται καὶ ἴσῃσι τούτους δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ὅπου ἂν διακρίνῃ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνατίθησι τῷ μεγάλῳ δρουγγαρίῳ τὸ περὶ τούτου, ὃς καὶ ὑπηρετεῖ τοῦτο ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. Ὀφείλει  
 15 δὲ οὗτος ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν εἰρημένην τῆς νυκτὸς βίγλαν καὶ ἐπιτηρεῖν καὶ ἀνακρίνειν αὐτήν, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐγγύς ἐστι πολεμίων, οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δις· εἰ δ' ἀνέσεως εἴῃ καιρός, ἅπαξ τοῦτο ποιεῖ. Ὁ δὲ μέγας ἀδνουμιαστής τοῦ φωσσάτου ἀδνουμιαζομένου παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστικού πάρεστι μὲν καὶ  
 20 αὐτός· ἔαν δὲ τινες ὥσιν ἀπὸ τούτων στεροῦμενοι ἀλόγων ἢ ἀρμάτων τινῶν, ἀπογραφόμενος οὗτος τὰ λείποντα ἐπιμελεῖται ἀναπληροῦσθαι ταῦτα.

- Πάντες μὲν οὖν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως υἱοί, βιγλίζουσι μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτούς, ὁ δὲ μέγας δομέστικος οὐδαμῶς· ἡ δὲ αἰτία ἐστὶν αὕτη, ὅτι ἐκάστος μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων μέρους φωσσάτου ὄντος, ἄρχοντος τοῦ μεγάλου δὲ  
 25 δομεστικού τοῦ καθόλου, καθὰ εἴρηται, δεῖ παρεῖναι διὰ τοῦτο τοῦτον ἀεὶ ἐν παντὶ τῷ φωσσάτῳ διατάττοντα πάντας, ἵνα μὴ ἐφόδου πολεμίων [p. 251] γενομένης, εἰ τύχοι, χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος τὸ καθόλου στράτευμα εὐρεθῇ· διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδημοῦντος, ὁ μέγας δομέστικος ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ φωσσάτον εὐρίσκεται.

<sup>11</sup> Although accepted by Verpeaux this ὅτι should be eliminated as a mistake.

judges appropriate and no one dismounts before the *megas domestikos* assigns the appropriate place to each banner.<sup>593</sup>

Before the army sets up camp, the *megas droungarios tes vigles*<sup>594</sup> establishes the so-called daytime watch, as has been ordered by the *megas domestikos*. Those who keep guard by day go at once to the watch. It is usual for light troops to go to the watch. It is called a light troop because they carry bows. They never keep watch at night. The *megas droungarios* goes before the evening hour to those who keep night watch and says the following: 'Officers, get ready, dine and feed the horses'. When the appointed and appropriate time of the watch comes, he dispatches them from the camp. Next, if the *megas domestikos* wants, [p. 250] he goes and stations them himself, wherever he judges right. If not, he entrusts this task to the *megas droungarios* who performs the function instead of him. The latter ought to go to the mentioned night watch and observe and inspect it. If enemies are nearby, he does this not once but twice. If it is a time of relaxation [of hostilities], he does this only once.

The *megas adnoumiastes*<sup>595</sup> is also present when the army is inspected by the *megas domestikos*. If some of them lack horses or any weapons, he registers what is missing and takes care that these be supplied.

Everyone, even the very sons of the emperor, keep watch with those soldiers who are under them, but the *megas domestikos* does not. The reason is that each of the court title holders is part of the army, while the *megas domestikos* is in charge of the whole army, as has been said. And so it is necessary for him to be present always with the whole army and to give orders to everyone, so that, if perchance, an attack of the enemy [p. 251] occurs, the army does not find itself completely without a leader. For this reason, in the emperor's absence the *megas domestikos* has the place that the emperor has in the army.

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<sup>593</sup> That is, the campsite is laid out by the planting of the banners. Military treatises of the 10th c. relate that the banner of the army commander must be planted in the ground first; then the banners of the officers are planted and tents are pitched accordingly. See the *Praecepta militaria* of Nikephoros II Phokas, 52.15–18, and the *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos, 134.17–136.20, ed. McGeer, *Sowing the dragon's teeth*.

<sup>594</sup> The service of this official is discussed here only, as Pseudo-Kodinos states at 94.1–2. The *droungarios tes vigles* is mentioned in Constantine VII's military treatise in connection with night patrols. He sets up patrols along the perimeter of the army camp and he obtains a password from the emperor which must be used by those entering and leaving the campsite. He is also in charge of lost property: Haldon, *Three treatises*, 120.420–122.439, 130.573–579, 130.587–590.

<sup>595</sup> The function of this court title holder is discussed only here: see 106.8–9. An anonymous 10th c. treatise states the importance of maintaining accurate muster rolls (*adnoumia* = *ad nomen*): Dennis, *Three Byzantine military treatises*, 320–22. Although Pseudo-Kodinos defines the service of this court title holder as a military one, the official is known from documents of the 13th and 14th c. that have to do with property rights. See Guillard, 'Dignitaires du XIVe et XVe siècles', 594–96.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ κούρσου πρῶτον μὲν δίδοται ἡ πενταμοιρία λόγῳ τοῦ βασιλέως, δεύτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ καθόλου φωσσάτου λόγῳ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου, τρίτον δὲ λόγῳ τῶν μερικῶν κεφαλᾶδων, ἀφ' οὗ μέρους ἕκαστος ἄρχει.

- 5 Ἐάν τινα ἀπὸ τῶν ῥογατόρων στρατιωτῶν ἄπαιδα συμβῇ τελευτῆσαι, τὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἄλογον ἐκείνου καὶ τὰ ἄρματα πρὸς τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον εἰσκομίζονται.

Εἰ δεῖσει διελθεῖν τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον εἰς ἡγεμονίαν τινὸς τῶν ἀρχόντων, τὸ ἐκεῖσε φωσσάτον τοῦτον ἐρωτῶσι, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐαυτῶν κεφαλῆς, τὸ τί δεῖ γενέσθαι.

From the booty, first a fifth is given in the name of the emperor, a second portion on behalf of the entire army for the *megas domestikos*, a third for the division leaders, from the division each commands.<sup>596</sup>

If one of the mercenary soldiers should die childless, his battle horse and his weapons are remitted to the *megas domestikos*.<sup>597</sup>

If it should be necessary for the *megas domestikos* to go to [a position of] command [held by] one of the court title holders, the troops there ask him what ought to be done, even before [they ask] their own leader.

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<sup>596</sup> The emperor, the *megas domestikos* and the commanders of the divisions of the army each received one-fifth of the booty. For the 'division', μέρος, see Dennis and Gamillscheg, *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, 86.13–14. The *megas domestikos* received equal portion to the emperor 'as leader of the whole army'. Kantakouzenos (I, 498.8–13), relating an incident of 1337 (for the date, see Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 249), mentions that it was 'a custom' for the emperor and the *megas domestikos* to receive one-fifth of the booty each. The portion of one-fifth to the state is mentioned in the *Taktika* of Leo VI (ed. Dennis, XX §192:604–605) but it could have its origin in Arab-Islamic practice. See Kyriakidis, 'The division of booty', 165–69; idem., *Warfare in late Byzantium*, 147–48, 150. The Christian kings of Spain likewise took one-fifth of the spoils of any campaign, like the Muslim rulers. See Powers, *A society organized for war*, 172–73. Pseudo-Kodinos does not specify who receives the remaining two-fifths of the booty. Presumably, it was the soldiers.

<sup>597</sup> Oikonomides, 'À propos des armées', 356, infers from this statement that there was a hereditary element to the service of the mercenaries. Confirmation of the role of the *megas domestikos* in collecting arms and horses from mercenaries is found in Pachymeres (IV, 351.3–353.19) who reports that the *megas domestikos*, Alexios Raoul, was ordered (1302) to take away the arms and horses of the Alans who were leaving the emperor's service. Kyriakidis, 'The division of booty', 247–48, links this right of the *megas domestikos* to the *abiotikon*, the right of the fisc to confiscate the property of childless individuals, introduced in the 13th c. in the 'empire of Nicaea' and attested in 14th-c. sources. On the *abiotikon*, see Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 288–89, 302–303.



[p. 252] Ζ' Περὶ στεφηφορίας βασιλέως.

Τοῦ μέλλοντος στεφθήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης  
 5 ἑσπέραν εἰς τὸ μέγα παλάτιον ἐρχομένου μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων οἰκειακῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ διανυκτερεύοντος, διαλαμπύσης ἡμέρας  
 συναθροίζονται ἐκ πρωΐας εὐθὺς οἱ τε ἀξιώματα ἔχοντες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες  
 ἄρχοντες, τὸ φωσσάτον τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπαν πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως πανδημεί.

Περὶ δὲ ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης δευτέραν ἀπέρχεται μὲν  
 ὁ νέος βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν· εἰθισμένον δὲ ὄν τὴν  
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πίστεως ὁμολογίαν οἰκείαις χερσὶν ἐγγράφως  
 παραδιδόναι, ποιεῖ τοῦτο οὕτως· Ὁ δεῖνα ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς

[p. 252] VII. Concerning the coronation of an emperor<sup>598</sup>

The one who is to be crowned comes to the Great Palace<sup>599</sup> on the evening before that [coronation] day<sup>600</sup> with the court title holders and his other familiars,<sup>601</sup> and spends the night there. When day dawns, at first light, those who hold dignities<sup>602</sup> and all the other court title holders, as well as the army and all the rest of the populace of the city gather together in a body.

Around the second hour of the day<sup>603</sup> the new emperor goes to Hagia Sophia,<sup>604</sup> since it is customary for him to present in writing, in his own hand, his profession of faith.<sup>605</sup> He does this in the following manner: 'I, N., in Christ God faithful

<sup>598</sup> The same protocol, with variations, is presented by Kantakouzenos in his *History* (I, 196.8–204.3) when he describes Andronikos III's coronation on 2 February 1325. See 428.

<sup>599</sup> This is the only occasion on which Pseudo-Kodinos mentions the use of the Great Palace in connection with a ceremony. See 368–78.

<sup>600</sup> A feast day of the church was usually chosen for the coronation day. For Andronikos II, 8 November, St Michael's day: Pach. II, 413.15–17; Michael IX and John VI, 21 May, St. Constantine's day (Pach. III, 219.7–10; Greg. II, 788.11); Andronikos III, 2 February, Purification (Kant. I, 196.8–9). According to Gregoras (II, 616.10–11), it was because he was in a hurry to crown John V that the patriarch did not wait for a significant day of the year. See Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 76 and n. 92, for earlier examples.

<sup>601</sup> 'Familiars' (*oikeioi, oikeiakoi*) of the emperor are mentioned here only. A court title holder was an *oikeios*, as this passage indicates, but also others, even those who were not related to the emperor, could be included in the group of familiars. See 299–300.

<sup>602</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, or his source, distinguishes here, as elsewhere, the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar from the court title holders.

<sup>603</sup> The early start to the coronation day events is confirmed by Pachymeres (III, 219.19) in his account of Michael IX's coronation in 1294. People gathered in the Augusteon at dawn. Both Pachymeres and other, later, authors, refer to the hymns sung in Hagia Sophia on the night preceding the coronation. For the 'second hour' midway between dawn and midmorning, see Grumel, *La Chronologie*, 163–64; Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 420; see above n. 314.

<sup>604</sup> In Pseudo-Kodinos, Hagia Sophia is the site of only a few ceremonies. See 447. On the church, see Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*. See the plan of Hagia Sophia, below at 385.

<sup>605</sup> The 'profession of faith' of the new emperor is attested from the reign of Anastasius I (491) (Theoph. 136.5–11; *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, I, 422.15–22; Reiske, II, 478). The last reference to it is by Markos Eugenikos in an address to Constantine XI: Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, I, 124–25. Accounts of this coronation promise, mentioned irregularly in narratives of coronations, explicitly state that it was a document written in the emperor's hand and delivered by the new emperor *before* his coronation. See, e.g., Choniates (457.14–17) on Alexios III. Pseudo-Kodinos' account is the only full description of the document; all other mentions from earlier sources are summary. See Theoph. 289.14–16 (Phokas: 602); DAI, 68.66–72 (Leo IV: 775); Theoph. 493.10–14 and Zon. III, 312.7–11 (Michael I: 811); Theoph. 502.19–25 and Genesios 20.2–7 (Leo V: 813);

- βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ [...] οἰκείᾳ χειρὶ προέταξα. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ  
 στεφόμενος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προτάσσω ὁμολογίας γράφει. Ἄν δὲ υἱὸς αὐτῷ ᾤ, εἰ  
 μὲν ἐνδίδωσιν ὁ πατήρ, γράφει προτάσσω καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως, ἥτοι *Αὐτοκράτωρ*  
*Ῥω[p. 253]μαίων·* εἰ δ' οὖν, *Ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων*  
 5 *ὁ δεῖνα. Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ*  
*γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀορατῶν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ὄρου τῆς πίστεως*  
*μέχρι τέλους. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο· Ἔτι στέργω καὶ βεβαιῶ τὰς ἀποστολικὰς καὶ*  
*θείας παραδόσεις, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς διατάξεις καὶ διατυπώσεις τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ*  
 10 *οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς τοπικῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ προνόμια*  
*καὶ ἔθιμα τῆς ἁγιωτάτης τοῦ Θεοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας. Προσέτι γε μὴν βεβαιῶ*  
*καὶ στέργω ὅσα περ ἐδογμάτισαν καὶ ἐθέσπισαν οἱ κατὰ τόπους ἁγιώτατοι καὶ*  
*θειότατοι πατέρες ἡμῶν ὀρθῶς καὶ κανονικῶς καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτως. Ὡσαύτως*  
*ὑπισχνοῦμαι ἐμμένειν καὶ διηνεκῶς εὐρίσκεσθαι πιστὸς καὶ γνήσιος δοῦλος καὶ*  
 15 *υἱὸς τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας, πρὸς τοῦτοις εἶναι καὶ δεφένσωρ καὶ ἐκδικητὴς αὐτῆς,*  
*καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑπήκοον εὐμενὴς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος κατὰ τὸ εἶκός τε καὶ πρέπον,**

emperor and autokrator of the Romans [...],<sup>606</sup> have ordained, in my own hand'. This is what the one who is to be crowned writes at the beginning of his profession. If he has a son and if the father permits, he also writes at the beginning as follows, either 'autokrator of the Romans' [p. 253] or otherwise, he writes, 'in Christ God faithful emperor of the Romans, N'.<sup>607</sup> 'I believe in one God, Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible' and the rest of the definition of faith<sup>608</sup> until the end. And after this, 'Further, I accept and confirm the apostolic and divine traditions, and also the ordinances and regulations of the seven ecumenical councils<sup>609</sup> and of the local ones convened from time to time, but also the privileges and customs of the most holy Great Church of God.'<sup>610</sup> Furthermore, I confirm and accept all things that our most holy and divine fathers have declared locally and instituted rightly and canonically and irrevocably. Likewise I promise to remain and to be continually and lastingly a faithful and true servant and son of the holy Church and in addition to be its defender<sup>611</sup> and

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Chon. 457. 14–17 (Alexios III:1195), Pach. II, 415.6–8 and Greg. I, 109.10–12 (Andronikos II: 1272). See 416–18.

<sup>606</sup> Mss. A, C, D, L leave a space here for the name of the emperor.

<sup>607</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos says in a roundabout way that the father emperor of a son being crowned can give permission for his son to be known as '*basileus* and *autokrator*'. Verpeaux, *Traité*, 27 and n. 3, interprets the passage in this way. Pseudo-Kodinos is distinguishing between the case of a man who is crowned after the death of his father and one who is crowned while his father is alive. It is only upon coronation that an emperor (*basileus*) becomes *autokrator*, and this only with his father's permission. See 421–29.

<sup>608</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos gives only the beginning of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. The rest of the profession of faith that he relates is an assurance that the emperor will abide by church doctrine and canon law (that of the seven ecumenical councils, local councils and church fathers), he will maintain the privileges of the Great Church, and he will be benevolent and just, abstaining from shedding the blood of his subjects. These undertakings are repeated, albeit in a paraphrased manner, in the narrative sources (see n. 605 above) that mention the profession of faith.

<sup>609</sup> The phrase 'seven ecumenical councils' can only have been part of the emperor's profession of faith from the 9th c. when the number of councils was fixed at seven. See 417 and n. 135.

<sup>610</sup> Among the possible examples of the emperor's respect for the 'privileges and customs' of the Great Church is the caution John V exercised in 1367 when he wished to alienate property which he had donated to the church. See Smyrlis, 'The state, the land, and private property', 62–3.

<sup>611</sup> An ecclesiastical title originally, the *defensor (ecclesiae)* was the equivalent of the *ekklesiekdikos*, whose duties were defined in Justinian's novels. See Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 323–24; Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 280, 294. A synodal document of 1380 addressed to John V defines the emperor's rights and duties in the church. If a member of the senate acts against canon law, the matter can be referred to the emperor who will correct the wrong, 'since he is catholic defender of the church and its canons': Laurent, 'Les droits de l'empereur en matière ecclésiastique', 16.38–39; also Symeon of Thessalonike, 440B. Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 411–413, sees in the words 'servant and son', 'defender and

- καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι φόνων, ἀκρωτηριασμῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων [p. 254] αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, κατανεύειν τε εἰς πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. Καὶ ὅσα ἀπεβάλλοντο καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες, ἀποβάλλομαι καὶ ἀναθεματίζω καὶ αὐτός, καὶ πιστεύω ὅλη μου γνώμη καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ καρδίᾳ τῷ προειρημένῳ ἁγίῳ συμβόλῳ. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ὑπισχνοῦμαι φυλάττειν ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Κατὰ μῆνα τόνδε, εἰς τὰς τόσας, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἰνδικτιῶνι τῇδε, τοῦδε τοῦ ἔτους. Ὁ δὲ προτάσσω, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πάλιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῆς πίστεως ἐκθεσιν ὑποτάσσω γράφει, ἡγουν τὸ Ὁ δεῖνα ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ἡ
- 5 προειρημένῳ ἁγίῳ συμβόλῳ. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ὑπισχνοῦμαι φυλάττειν ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Κατὰ μῆνα τόνδε, εἰς τὰς τόσας, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἰνδικτιῶνι τῇδε, τοῦδε τοῦ ἔτους. Ὁ δὲ προτάσσω, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πάλιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῆς πίστεως ἐκθεσιν ὑποτάσσω γράφει, ἡγουν τὸ Ὁ δεῖνα ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ἡ
- 10 βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων ὁ [...] οἰκείᾳ χειρὶ ὑποτάξας παραδίδωμι τῷ παναγιωτάτῳ μου δεσπότῃ τῷ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῃ κυρῷ [...] καὶ τῇ μετ' αὐτοῦ θείᾳ καὶ ἱερᾷ συνόδῳ.

- Μετὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν ἀνέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸν τρίκλινον τὸν λεγόμενον Θωμαίτην, πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστεῶνα ἀφορῶντα, ὅπου τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαν [p. 255] ἵσταται μετὰ τοῦ φωσσάτου. Πρὸ τοῦ φανῆναι οὖν αὐτόν, διὰ τινος τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ὃ ἂν ἐπιτάξοι ὁ βασιλεὺς, ρίπτονται εἰς τὸν λαὸν ἅ λέγουσιν ἐπικόμβια. Ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτον τμήματα ἐκ πανίων κόπτοντες, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τμήματι νομίσματα χρυσᾷ μὲν τρία, ἀργυρᾷ δὲ τοσαῦτα, καὶ τρία ἐξ ὀβολῶν περιδήσαντες, ρίπτουσιν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος. Ῥίπτουσιν δὲ
- 15 255] ἵσταται μετὰ τοῦ φωσσάτου. Πρὸ τοῦ φανῆναι οὖν αὐτόν, διὰ τινος τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ὃ ἂν ἐπιτάξοι ὁ βασιλεὺς, ρίπτονται εἰς τὸν λαὸν ἅ λέγουσιν ἐπικόμβια. Ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτον τμήματα ἐκ πανίων κόπτοντες, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τμήματι νομίσματα χρυσᾷ μὲν τρία, ἀργυρᾷ δὲ τοσαῦτα, καὶ τρία ἐξ ὀβολῶν περιδήσαντες, ρίπτουσιν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος. Ῥίπτουσιν δὲ

vindicator, and to be benevolent and loving to my subjects, as is fitting and right, and to abstain from murders, mutilations and the like, [p. 254] as far as possible, and to incline toward all truth and justice. All things that the holy fathers rejected and anathematized, I too reject and anathematize, and I believe with my entire mind and soul and heart the aforementioned holy Creed. All these things I promise to observe before the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God. In the such-and-such month, on the such-and-such day [of the month], on the such-and-such day [of the week] and in the such-and-such indiction, of the such-and-such year.<sup>612</sup> He writes again at the end, after the exposition of faith, the same thing that he wrote at the beginning, namely, 'I, N. in Christ God faithful emperor and autokrator of the Romans', or 'emperor of the Romans, [...]'<sup>613</sup> signing with my own hand, present this to my most holy lord and ecumenical patriarch, lord N., and with him to the divine and holy synod.'

After this he goes up to the *triklinos* called the Thomaites<sup>614</sup> which faces the Augusteon,<sup>615</sup> where the whole populace [p. 255] is present together with the army. Before he appears, *epikombia*,<sup>616</sup> as they are called, are thrown to the people by one of the senators,<sup>617</sup> whomever the emperor might command. The procedure is this: they cut up pieces of cloth and tie in each piece three gold coins, the same

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vindicator', a new addition to the profession of faith dating from the first half of the 14th c., after the second patriarchate of Athanasios I (1303–1310). See 417 and n. 134.

<sup>612</sup> The *menologion* or menologem, a formula of dating by month and indiction for certain types of acts, served as a signature. In the mid 14th c., the calendar day was added to the formula to introduce more clarity to the dating method. In 1382 Manuel II ordained that the world year should appear also in the *menologion to prostagmata*. See Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, 110–111.

<sup>613</sup> As above at n. 606, mss. A, C, D, L leave a space for the emperor's name.

<sup>614</sup> The *triklinos* called the Thomaites, named after the patriarch Thomas I (607–610), extended along the eastern side of the Augusteon, the courtyard of Hagia Sophia, and communicated with the east end of the south gallery of Hagia Sophia. See Janin, 'Le palais patriarchal de Constantinople byzantine', 144–49; Guiland, 'Le Thomaïtes et le Patriarcat', 29–32; Mango, *The Brazen House*, 52, 95 and n. 104. The raising on the shield described later takes place in the Thomaites. See at 216.5.

<sup>615</sup> The open space south of Hagia Sophia, a courtyard of restricted access: Mango, *The Brazen House*, 42–7; Guiland, 'L'Augoustéon', 40–54, esp. 42–7.

<sup>616</sup> For the practice of distributing or scattering coins to the people on festive occasions, such as coronation, promotion, baptism, see Theoph. (400.15–17, 444.6–8, 474.11: ῥίψασα ὑπατεῖαν), *De cer.: apokombion* (ed. Reiske, 606–607); Hendy, *Studies*, 196–197. For late Byzantine *epikombia* or *apodesmoi*, purses of money, see Pach. II, 383.4: Palm Sunday 1266; Pach. III, 221.14–15: Michael IX's coronation. Coins are scattered also after the coronation ceremony: Ps.-Kod. 238.6–8.

<sup>617</sup> The 'senators' are mentioned also at 238.7–8, 242.1, 266.11. They are the court title holders. See 296–297.

τοιούτους ἀποδέσμους ἀριθμὸν χιλιάδων ὅσον ἂν προστάξοι ὁ βασιλεὺς. Εἰθισμένον δέ ἐστι ρίπτειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπικόμβια ἐν τοῖς προαυλίοις τοῦ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας ναοῦ, ἡγουν ἐν ᾧ εἴρηται Αὐγουστεῶνι, ἵσταμένου τοῦ ρίπτοντος ἐπάνω τῶν τοῦ Αὐγουστεῶνος βαθμίδων.

- 5 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ νέος βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ σκουταρίου καθεσθεὶς ἐπαίρεται εἰς ὕψος καὶ φαίνεται πᾶσι τοῖς κάτωθεν ἵσταμένοις πλήθεσι. [p. 256] Κατέχουσι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἀσπίδος αὐτός τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πατήρ τοῦ ἀναγορευμένου, ἐάνπερ ζῶν ᾗ, καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης, τὰ δ' ἐκ πλαγίων καὶ ὀπισθεν οἱ ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ὑπερέχοντες, ἡγουν δεσπότες, σεβαστοκράτορες,
- 10 <καίσαρες<sup>12</sup>>, ἐὰν ᾧσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οἱ κρείττονες καὶ εὐγενέστεροι τῶν ἀρχόντων. Εἰ δ' οὐκ ἔστι πατήρ, τὰ μὲν τῆς ἀσπίδος ἔμπροσθεν ὁ ἐντιμότερος τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν ἢ τῶν ἀρχόντων μετὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου, τὰ δὲ γε ὀπισθεν οὓς εἵπομεν.

- Ἐπευφημίσαντος δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ φωσσάτου παντός,
- 15 κατέρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σκουταρίου, ἄγεται δὲ εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας ναόν, ὅπου δεῖ αὐτὸν καὶ στεφθῆσθαι. Ὑπάρχει δὲ ἐκεῖσε προκατεσκευασμένον ξύλινον οἶκημα μικρὸν ἕνεκα τῆς χρείας ταύτης,

<sup>12</sup> Not in the manuscripts but added by Verpeaux on the basis of the description of the promotion of the patriarch at 252.12.

quantity of silver, and three obols,<sup>618</sup> and throw them to the populace. They throw as many thousands of these bags as the emperor orders. It is customary to throw these *epikombia* in the forecourt of the Great Church, that is, in the Augusteon, as it is called; he who throws them stands on the steps of the Augusteon.<sup>619</sup>

After this, the new emperor, having been seated on a shield,<sup>620</sup> is lifted high and appears to all the crowd standing below.<sup>621</sup> [p. 256] The emperor and father of the one who is being proclaimed,<sup>622</sup> if he is alive, and the patriarch, hold the front part of the shield. The side and back parts are held by the most exalted dignitaries, that is, despots, *sebastokratores*, [caesars],<sup>623</sup> if there are any; if not, those who are the highest and most noble among the court title holders. If there is no father, the most honoured of the dignitaries or court title holders holds the front part of the shield together with the patriarch, while those we mentioned hold the back.<sup>624</sup>

After the people and the entire army acclaim him, he descends from the shield and is led to the church of Hagia Sophia<sup>625</sup> where he must be crowned. There

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<sup>618</sup> An archaizing term that refers to coins of small denomination, probably copper. See Morisson, 'Les noms de monnaies sous les Paléologues', 155. Kantakouzenos (I, 203.9–10) specifies 'obols of copper' in his version of this coronation ritual. See the Introduction, 5, on the common source of Pseudo-Kodinos and Kantakouzenos.

<sup>619</sup> The 'steps of the Augusteon' are the steps of the column of Justinian I in the Augusteon: Guiland, 'L'Augoustéon', 42–3.

<sup>620</sup> A late Roman custom, the raising on the shield appears to fall out of practice after Phokas, in the 7th c., until it is revived for Theodore II in 1254. There are, however, indications that this ceremony had a continuous history. See 418–21. From the 13th c. on, descriptions of the ceremony refer to the new emperor as 'seated' on the shield: Akrop. §53: 105.20–21 (Theodore II); §77: 159.13–15 (Michael VIII); Pach. I, 137.12–16 (Michael VIII); Pach. III, 221.3–5 (Michael IX). In earlier practice the emperor-to-be stood on the shield. See Walter, 'Raising on a shield in Byzantine iconography', 133–75, esp. 160 n. 96.

<sup>621</sup> In his description of Michael IX's elevation on a shield in 1294, Pachymeres (III, 219.19–221.5) explains that balustrades were removed from the long gallery of the Thomaites, called the Makron, to give people in the Augusteon below an unimpeded view of the raising in the air of the new emperor. For the relationship of these spaces see Chon. 237.75–77.

<sup>622</sup> See below at 220.1 and n. 633.

<sup>623</sup> Although the appointment of a caesar was rare in the 14th c. and none are attested for John VI's reign, Verpeaux has supplied the word to the text since, in Pseudo-Kodinos, caesars are always mentioned in the company of *sebastokratores*. However, in his version of this protocol which serves as an account of Andronikos III's coronation, Kantakouzenos (I, 196.22–23) does not include caesars.

<sup>624</sup> The patriarch's participation in the raising of the shield appears to be a new element, not known from narrative accounts of proclamations or coronations, nor from Symeon of Thessalonike (352D) who mentions only the 'dignitaries' (*axiomatikoi*) in the raising of the shield. See 420.

<sup>625</sup> An elevated walkway joined the Chalke to the southeast corner of Hagia Sophia. The new emperor could have entered the church without descending from the Thomaites.



εἰς ὃ ξύλινον οἶκημα εἰσάγοντες τὸν νέον βασιλέα ἐνδύουσι τὸν σάκκον καὶ τὸ διάδημα, εὐλογούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ οὐ νενομισμένον τι φορεῖ, ἀλλ' ἢ στέφανον ἢ ἕτερον ὃ τι ἂν δόξοι. Τούτων δὲ [p. 257] γινομένων τελεῖται ἡ λειτουργία.

- 5 Πλησίον δὲ οὗ εἶπομεν ξυλίνου οἰκήματος κατασκευάζεται ἐκ ξύλων ὁμοίως καὶ ἀναβάθρα, καὶ ἐνδύουσι ταύτην πάντοθεν διὰ βλατίων κοκκίνων· ἐπάνω δὲ ταύτης τίθενται κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βασιλέων θρόνοι χρυσοῖ· οὐ τοιοῦτοι δὲ ὅποιοί εἰσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι θρόνοι τῶν βασιλέων, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ὑψηλοὶ ὥστε ἔχειν βαθμίδας τέσσαρας ἢ καὶ πέντε· ἐφ' οὓς
- 10 ἐξερχόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ξυλίνου οἰκήματος οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ εἷς, καθὼς εἶπομεν, ἀλλὰ πλείους ὧσι, καθίζουσιν. Ἀναβαίνουνσι δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ δέσποιναί, αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, καὶ καθίζουσι καὶ αὐταὶ ἐφ' ἐτέρους θρόνους, παρισταμένων ἄνωθεν τῶν τε δεσποτῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλισσῶν, ἢ

is a small wooden chamber<sup>626</sup> there, constructed in advance for this purpose. Leading him to this wooden chamber, they clothe the new emperor in the *sakkos*<sup>627</sup> and the diadem<sup>628</sup> that have been blessed by the bishops. On his head he does not wear anything prescribed, rather [he wears] either a *stephanos*<sup>629</sup> or anything else he might think fit. While these things are happening the liturgy is celebrated.

Near the wooden chamber that we have mentioned a platform is constructed, similarly of wood, and they cover it all over with red silks. On this are placed gold thrones, according to the number of emperors; these are not like the other thrones of the emperors but are four or even five steps high.<sup>630</sup> The emperors, if there is not a single one but more,<sup>631</sup> as we said, come out from the wooden chamber and sit on these. The empresses, their wives, ascend with them and they also sit on other thrones, with the despots and the *basilissai*<sup>632</sup> positioned above. The mother of

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See Mango, *The Brazen House*, 87–90.

<sup>626</sup> ‘The small wooden chamber’ has the same function as the *metatorion* mentioned in the *De cerimoniis*. In the latter, the *metatorion* is part of a complex of places reserved for the emperor at the eastern end of the south aisle and including the imperial loge with the throne. Pseudo-Kodinos does not reveal the location of the wooden chamber that was used to change the emperor’s clothing but he states that the wooden platform with the thrones was next to it: see at 218.5–7. Ignatios of Smolensk locates it ‘under the galleries on the right’ (Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 106–107). The similarity of function and the proximity of the thrones to the structure indicate that the ‘small wooden chamber’ is the *metatorion* by another name. For differing opinions on the location of the *metatorion* and the throne platform see Mathews, *Early churches*, 134 and plates 87, 88; ODB 2, 1353; cf. Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 422–23 and n. 39. See the plan of Hagia Sophia, 385.

<sup>627</sup> See above, 136.6–7, where Pseudo-Kodinos says that the emperor must wear the *sakkos* and diadem when he wears the *stemma*. He wears this combination at his coronation but also on Palm Sunday and for promotions, and possibly at the Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis*: Ps.-Kod. 170.22–23, 242.7–8. The *sakkos* is a tunic whose colour is said to be black: Ps.-Kod. 140.4. See 355–56.

<sup>628</sup> The ‘diadem’ is described above at 134.17, as a ‘belt’. Parani, *The reality of images*, 22–23, identifies it with a simplified *loros*. Hendy, *Catalogue* IV/1, 153–154, indicates that on coin designs the simplified *loros* takes over from the original *loros* in the 9th c. ‘Diadem’ to signify a belt is late Byzantine usage. See n. 353.

<sup>629</sup> On the *stephanos*, see n. 372. On the wearing of headgear in Hagia Sophia see 325.

<sup>630</sup> See below at 250.18 where a similar throne is placed in the *triklinos* of the palace for the promotion of the patriarch. Gregoras (I, 567. 1–4), in describing the *triklinos* says that the end where the throne of the emperor is situated is up to three spans higher than the rest of the floor. The thrones set up in Hagia Sophia for the coronation were, it seems, higher than the emperor’s throne in the palace: ‘these are not like the other thrones of the emperor but are four or even five steps high.’ For the location of the platform with the thrones next to the ‘wooden chamber’ see n. 626 above.

<sup>631</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos has referred above to the possibility that the new emperor’s father is alive.

<sup>632</sup> The wives of the despots. See also at 266.20.

μὲν οὖν προεστεμμένη καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ ἀναγορευομένου φοροῦσα καὶ τὸ ἑαυτῆς στέμμα, ἢ δὲ νέα βασιλὶς φοροῦσα στέφανον.

- Τῆς οὖν θείας, ὡς εἵπομεν, τελουμένης λειτουργίας, πρὸ τοῦ τρισαγίου ὕμνου ἐξερχόμενος ὁ πατριάρχης τοῦ βήματος ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα, καὶ
- 5 μετ' αὐτοῦ [p. 258] οἱ ἐντιμότεροι τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὰς ἱερὰς αὐτῶν φοροῦντες στολάς. Σιωπῆς δὲ μεγάλης καὶ ἡρεμίας γινομένης ἐν τῷ ναῷ, πέμπων ὁ πατριάρχης προσκαλεῖται τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οἵτινες καὶ ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα, ὅπου ὁ πατριάρχης ἐστίν. Ἐλθόντων δὲ ἀναγινώσκει οὗτος τὰς ἐπὶ χρίσει βασιλέων συντεθειμένας εὐχάς, τὰς μὲν μυστικῶς, τὰς
- 10 δὲ καὶ ἐκφωνῶν· ἱκετεύει τε καὶ εὐμενίζει τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρισθήσεσθαι βασιλέως. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπαίρει μὲν ὁ νέος βασιλεὺς ὃ τι ἂν φορῇ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ πάντες ὅσοι εὐρίσκονται ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἀποκαλύπτουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἴστανται· ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης χρίει σταυροειδῶς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ θείῳ μύρῳ, ἐπιλέγων μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ τὸ
- 15 ἄγιος, οἱ δὲ ὄντες ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι πάντες περὶ τὸν πατριάρχην διαδεχόμενοι

the one who is being proclaimed,<sup>633</sup> who has already been crowned,<sup>634</sup> wears her crown, while the new empress wears a *stephanos*.

While, as we said, the divine liturgy is being celebrated, before the *trisagion*<sup>635</sup> hymn, the patriarch comes out from the sanctuary and ascends the ambo,<sup>636</sup> and with him the more honourable officials of the church, wearing their priestly robes. When great silence and stillness falls in the nave, the patriarch [p. 258] sends and summons the emperors who come to the ambo where the patriarch is. When they have come, he reads the prayers that were composed for the unction of emperors,<sup>637</sup> some in a low voice, others out loud, and he supplicates and propitiates God on behalf of the emperor who is about to be anointed. After this the new emperor removes what he is wearing on his head and immediately all those who are present in the church uncover their heads<sup>638</sup> and stand up.<sup>639</sup> The patriarch anoints the head of the emperor with holy chrism<sup>640</sup> in the form of a cross, saying in a loud voice, 'Holy'. All those on the ambo around the patriarch follow on in sequence

<sup>633</sup> Above, at 216.7–8, the same expression is used with regard to the raising on the shield. As the 'raising on the shield' was traditionally a ceremony of proclamation, the expression does not surprise. In this passage, one would expect 'the one who is being crowned', as at 210.3 above. On the use of ἀναγόμενσις as a synonym for στέφανις in 13th c. texts, see 424.

<sup>634</sup> That is, the mother of the man who is being crowned. Pseudo-Kodinos distinguishes between the already crowned mother of a new emperor and the new emperor's uncrowned wife.

<sup>635</sup> That is, before the Little Entrance with the Gospel. Taft, 'The Byzantine imperial communion ritual', 3, compares the coronation's position in the liturgy, at the Little Entrance, with the ordination of minor clerics to lesser ministries before the beginning of the Divine Liturgy, also outside the sanctuary. For the *trisagion* hymn see at 176.8.

<sup>636</sup> The ambo had a double staircase, connected on one side to the solea, and on the other projecting into the nave. See Mathews, *Early churches*, 110, 178. See floor plan, 385.

<sup>637</sup> For the prayers, see the description of Manuel II's coronation: ed. Verpeaux, 353.17–354.21; ed. Schreiner, 76.8–77.22; Goar, *Euchologion*, 726–27.

<sup>638</sup> It appears from this statement that hats were worn in church, in contrast with western practice. For an example from the reign of Leo V, see Genesios (ed. Lachmann 25.1–4; ed. Lesmueller-Werner and Thurn, 18.60–63). See n. 527 and below, 324.

<sup>639</sup> This statement suggests that the laity gathered in the church was either kneeling or sitting on the floor of the church. See Mango ('Discontinuity with the classical past in Byzantium', 52) who suggests that churches, like mosques, were carpeted. He cites 8th and 10th c. sources that refer to 'prayer rugs'. See Theoph. Cont. 319.14–17.

<sup>640</sup> The date of introduction to the coronation ritual of the anointing of an emperor is a contested subject. Both the 12th and 13th c. have been proposed. For the view that unction was introduced after 1204, see Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 267–76; Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 384–92. For a summary of the various arguments presented see Macrides, 'Demetrios Chomatenos and novel 131', 187–96. In the 1220s Chomatenos, archbishop of Ohrid, and Germanos, patriarch at Nicaea, argue over the correct substance to use, oil or *myron* (chrism); all descriptions of coronations from Michael IX on explicitly mention the use of *myron*. On this see Nicol, 'Kaisersalbung', 37–52. See below, 424–25.

τὴν φωνὴν λέγουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τρίτου τὸ ἅγιος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ λαοῦ πλῆθος ἐκ τρίτου λέγει τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον.

[p. 259] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰ καὶ τινες λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγίας τραπέζης κεῖται τὸ στέμμα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτον· ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἀγίου βήματος κρατούμενον ὑπὸ διακόνων τὰς ἱερὰς φοροῦντων στολὰς ἄγεται ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα.

Εἰ οὖν, ὥς προείπομεν, πάρεστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης λαβόντες τὸ στέμμα ἐπιτιθέασιν τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ νέου βασιλέως, καὶ ἐκφωνεῖ ὁ πατριάρχης τὸ *ἄξιος*· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἔστι πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, 10 ποιεῖ τοῦτο μόνος ὁ πατριάρχης. Ὡς περ δὲ πρότερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ μύρου τῷ *ἅγιος* διαδεχόμενοι, ὁμοίως καὶ ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ λαοῦ πλῆθος βοῶσιν ἐκ τρίτου τὸ *ἄξιος*. Εἴτα ἀναγινώσκει πάλιν ὁ πατριάρχης εὐχάς, καὶ κατέρχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἄμβωνος, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους μέντοι οὐπὲρ ἀνῆλθεν, ἥγουν τοῦ πρὸς τὰς ὠραίας πύλας [p. 260] 15 ὁρῶντος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν σωλῆαν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα.

Ἐὰν οὖν συμβῇ μὴ ἔχειν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον γυναῖκα τὸν βασιλέα, εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸ κατελθεῖν τοῦ ἄμβωνος ἀνέρχεται πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀναβάθραν καὶ καθίζει ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου· εἰ δὲ ἔχει γυναῖκα, πᾶσά ἐστιν ἀνάγκη στεφθῆναι τότε καὶ ταύτην. Γίνεται οὖν καὶ τοῦτο 20 οὕτως. Ἡ μὲν προεστεμμένη καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ νέου βασιλέως, ζῶντος μὲν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ βασιλέως, τοῦ πατρὸς δηλονότι τοῦ νέου βασιλέως, ἵσταται στεφηφοροῦσα, κατέχουσα τῇ χειρὶ βᾶϊον χρυσοῦν,

from his utterance and say 'Holy' three times.<sup>641</sup> Likewise the crowd of people says the same word three times.<sup>642</sup>

[p. 259] After this, even if some people say that the crown of the emperor lies on the holy altar table, this is not so.<sup>643</sup> It is held in the holy sanctuary by deacons who wear their holy robes and it is brought to the ambo.

If then, as we said before, the emperor, his father, is present, both he and the patriarch take up the crown and place it on the head of the new emperor.<sup>644</sup> The patriarch utters the word 'Worthy'. But if his father is not present, the patriarch performs this alone. As in the case of the word 'holy' in the chrism, those on the ambo and the remaining crowd of people likewise follow on in sequence from this utterance and shout the word 'Worthy' three times. Then the patriarch reads prayers again and the emperor descends from the ambo, not from the side by which he came, that is, the side [p. 260] facing the Beautiful Doors,<sup>645</sup> but from the other side that faces the solea<sup>646</sup> and the holy sanctuary.

If it should happen that the emperor has no wife at that time, immediately after his descent from the ambo he again mounts the platform and sits on the throne. If he does have a wife,<sup>647</sup> it is by all means necessary that she also be crowned then. This occurs in the following manner. The previously crowned mother of the new emperor stands wearing a crown and holding in her hand a gold *baion*<sup>648</sup> which

<sup>641</sup> See Manuel II's coronation: ed. Verpeaux, 354.22–355.5; ed. Schreiner, 77.23–29.

<sup>642</sup> When the emperor is crowned the people cry 'holy' three times also in the protocol of the *Book of Ceremonies*: ed. Reiske, 193.3–5.

<sup>643</sup> This statement is a possible reference to a written or oral source. See Introduction, 10–11. Verpeaux, *Traité*, 259 n. 1, suggests that Pseudo-Kodinos is alluding to the *Book of Ceremonies* (ed. Reiske, 194.5–6). However, the latter refers to the portable altar on the ambo as the site of the crowns, not the sanctuary.

<sup>644</sup> Also Pachymeres describes the coronations of Andronikos II and of Michael IX as a joint action of patriarch and emperor (II, 413.15–17; III, 221.11–12), whereas the *Book of Ceremonies* (ed. Reiske, 194.11–14) and the anonymous account of the 1392 coronation of Manuel II (Verpeaux, 355.7–14; ed. Schreiner, 77.32–33) have the father alone perform the coronation. See Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 76.

<sup>645</sup> The 'Beautiful Doors' (also at 202.5) open onto the central nave from the narthex. Verpeaux, *Traité*, 259 n. 2, mistakenly identifies them with the central door of the *iconostasis/templon* screen. However, Ps.-Kod. is clearly describing the opposite direction.

<sup>646</sup> A balustraded processional pathway leading from the sanctuary to the ambo. See Xydis, 'The chancel barrier, solea, and ambo of Hagia Sophia', 12–15; figs. 32, 33; Matthew, *Early churches*, 32, 37, 54. See the plan of Hagia Sophia, 385.

<sup>647</sup> The emperor's wife is mentioned here and once again at 230.18. The mother of the emperor is mentioned here and above at 220.1.

<sup>648</sup> A gold staff, decorated with pearls and gems, which imitates at its tip the shape of a palm branch. It appears on some coin issues of the 13th c. (Thessalonike); the emperor, the despot or St Constantine carries it. See Bertelé, 'L'imperatore con una palma', 82–9; Hendy, *Catalogue* IV/1, 171 and n. 115; Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v. βαῖον. However, the *baion* can also be found earlier, in the middle Byzantine period, in representations of empresses

- ἔχον τε ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς καὶ κάτωθεν ὅσον σπιθαμιαῖον μῆκος μαργαριτάρια καὶ λιθάρια ἐμπεπηγμένα κυκλόθεν· εἰ δὲ τύχοι οὐσα χήρα, τὸ μὲν βάλιον κατέχει [p. 261] καὶ ἱσταμένη καὶ καθημένη, φορεῖ δὲ ἔνδυμα μέλαν λεγόμενον ἱμάτιον καὶ μανδύαν ὀξύν. Ἡ δὲ νέα βασιλὶς ἱσταμένη καὶ αὐτῇ,
- 5 καὶ κατεχομένη ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν μερῶν ὑπὸ δύο συγγενῶν τῶν γνησιωτάτων, ἢ εἰ μὴ ἔχει γνησίους, ὑπ' εὐνούχων δύο, κατέρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναβάθρας, καὶ ἐρχομένη ἵσταται πρὸ τοῦ σωλέου. Κατερχόμενος οὖν τοῦ ἄμβωνος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, λαμβάνει ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ πατριάρχου χειρὸς τὸ στέμμα εὐλογηθὲν πρότερον παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτίθησι τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικός,
- 10 οὐχ ὁμοιον τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι σχῆμα, προητοιμασμένον ὑπάρχον, καὶ βασταζόμενον καὶ αὐτὸ ἢ ὑπὸ γνησίων, ὡς εἴρηται, συγγενῶν αὐτῆς, ἢ ὑπὸ δύο εὐνούχων· ἢ δέ, ἐπιτεθέντος τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτῆς τοῦ στέμματος παρὰ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς χειρὸς, εὐθὺς προσκυνεῖ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἄνδρα αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ὁμολογοῦσα διὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως ὑπ' αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ
- 15 ὑποτετάχθαι αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ πα[p. 262]τριάρχης πλησίον τοῦ σωλέου ἱστάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναγινώσκει ἐτέραν αὐθις εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ὑπηκόου λαοῦ.

has pearls and gems embedded around it, from the top down a span in length. She does this if her husband, that is the father of the new emperor, is alive. If she should happen to be a widow, she holds the *baion* [p. 261] both when she is standing and when she is sitting, and she wears a black<sup>649</sup> garment which is called a *himation* and a violet mantle.<sup>650</sup> The new empress, also standing and held on each side by two of her closest relatives, or if she does not have close relatives, by two eunuchs,<sup>651</sup> descends from the platform and goes to stand before the solea. The emperor, her husband, descending from the ambo, takes from the patriarch's hand the crown, which was blessed earlier by him, and puts it on the head of his wife. This crown is not like that of the emperor, but has a different shape<sup>652</sup> and it too has been prepared in advance and is carried either by relatives or by the two eunuchs, as mentioned. After the crown has been put on her head by the emperor,<sup>653</sup> her husband, she at once makes her *proskynesis* to the emperor, her husband, as if to acknowledge by this *proskynesis* that she is subordinate to him and that she has been subjected to him.<sup>654</sup> The patriarch, [p. 262] who is also standing near the solea, reads again another prayer on behalf of the emperor and the empress and all his subject people.

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and emperors on coins, in manuscripts and on enamels: Grierson, *Catalogue*, III/1, 141, Table 15E (the 'trifid' sceptre). In a novel of Constantine IX Monomachos, reference is made to the *baion* that the *nomophylax* receives. Balsamon thinks it was made of gold or silver. See Zepos, *Jus*, I, 623; Rh-P IV, 523–26; Oikonomides, 'Title and income at the Byzantine court', 203. For the Palaiologan period, see the coin of Anne of Savoy and John V (1341–1347): Pl. 12.

<sup>649</sup> For 'black' see above at 140.4; below, ch. XI and n.775; 353–54.

<sup>650</sup> For the *himation*, a tunic, see below at 238.11. For the *mandyas*, see below at n. 661.

<sup>651</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos implies that the eunuchs, as trusted and loyal servants, stand in for an empress who does not have close relatives, as might be the case for a foreign empress. Eunuchs are also found in the retinue of John VI. They held the large candles, kneeling on the *prokypsis* platform, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter, Theodora, to Orhan in 1346. Kant. II, 588.8–9; Gaul, 'Eunuchs in the late Byzantine empire', 199–219, esp. 204–205.

<sup>652</sup> This passage indicates that *stemma* is a generic word for the coronation headgear, the crown, and does not specify a particular shape. Representations of Palaiologan empresses show them in tall, cylindrical-shaped crowns with flaring sides and pinnacles along the upper rim. The crown rests on a veil or net that covers the hair and upper part of the shoulders. See Parani, *The reality of images*, 30 and pl. 28 (crown of Anne of Savoy, wife of Andronikos III), pl. 32e.

<sup>653</sup> In this protocol, unlike that of the *Book of Ceremonies*, the coronation of the empress takes place in Hagia Sophia at the same time as her husband's coronation. For other coronations of empresses in the 14th c., see Kant. II, 564.18–19; III, 29.1–7 (John VI and Eirene); III, 30.17–21 (John V and Helen).

<sup>654</sup> This passage constitutes a rare example of the explanation of the significance of a symbolic gesture by Pseudo-Kodinos. See also above, 184–186, and 379–92.



Καὶ οὕτω μὲν στεφόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς στέφει καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα· εἰ δὲ συμβῇ προεστεμμένον εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα, στέφεται ἡ βασιλὶς παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνδρὸς καὶ βασιλέως ὁμοίως, ὅταν ἀγαγόμενος αὐτὴν εἰς γυναῖκα ἐπιτελῇ τὴν ἐπιγάμιον τελετὴν.

- 5 Ἄν δέ, ὡς προείπομεν, γένηται, μετὰ τὸ στέψαι μὲν τὸν νέον βασιλέα τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα καὶ βασιλίδα, ἐκείνην δέ, ὡς εἴρηται, προσκυνῆσαι, ἀναβάντες καὶ οἱ δύο εἰς τὴν ἀναβάθραν κάθηνται αὐθις ἐπὶ τῶν θρόνων, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς κατέχων σταυρόν, ἡ δὲ νέα βασιλὶς βῆλον, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον. Καὶ τῆς μὲν ἄλλης μυσταγωγίας γινομένης κάθηνται οἱ βασιλεῖς· τοῦ
- 10 τρισαγίου δὲ ὕμνου ᾄδομένου ἢ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν γραφῶν ἢ τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων ἀναγινωσκομένων, ἀνίστανται καὶ αὐτοί. Ἐξ ἑκατέρων δὲ μερῶν τοῦ ναοῦ ξυλίνων [p. 263] οὐσῶν ἀναβαθρῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένων, ἰστάμενοι ἐπάνω οἱ τε πρωτοψάλται καὶ οἱ δομέστικοι καὶ οἱ ἀναγνώσται, οὓς ἐξ ἔθους παλαιοῦ κράκτας ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὀνομάζουσι πανηγύρεσί τε καὶ
- 15 τελεταῖς, ψάλλουσιν ᾠσματὰ τινα συνελοῦντα καὶ ἡρμοσμένα εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα· κατέχουσι δὲ ἐξ ἑκατέρων μερῶν ἀνὰ τρία κοντάρια, ἔχοντα ἕκαστον γύρους ἐκ ξύλων, ἐκκρεμαμένας ἔχοντα κυκλόθεν μετάξας κοκκίνας καὶ ἄσπρας, ὅσον δισπιθάμας, ἃ καὶ μετὰ τὸ τελεσθῆναι τὴν λειτουργίαν προηγούνται τοῦ βασιλέως, τῶν κατεχόντων αὐτὰ προϊόντων καὶ ψαλλόντων, μέχρι καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου· τίνι δὲ τρόπῳ γίνεται τοῦτο ὁ λόγος ζητεῖται.
- 20 Ἀρχομένου δὲ ψάλλεσθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ Εἰσόδῳ ὕμνου, ἐρχόμενοι οἱ ἐντιμότεροι τῶν διακόνων τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσκαλοῦνται τὸν βασιλέα· ὁ δὲ ἔρχεται μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην πρόθεσιν, ἔνθα κείνται τὰ ἅγια.

Thus does the crowned emperor crown also his wife. If it should happen that the emperor is crowned already, the empress is crowned by her own husband, the emperor, in a similar fashion when he celebrates the wedding ritual, taking her as his wife.<sup>655</sup>

If this takes place as we have described, after the new emperor crowns his own wife, the empress, and after she makes *proskynesis*, both of them mount the platform and sit again on their thrones, the emperor holding a cross<sup>656</sup> and the new empress holding a *baion*,<sup>657</sup> as has been said. While the rest of the service is taking place, the emperors sit, but when the *trisagion* hymn is being sung or the epistles or the Holy Gospels are being read, they too stand. [p. 263] The *protopsaltai*, the *domestikoi*, and the *anagnostai* who, according to an old custom, were called *kraktai*<sup>658</sup> in these festivities and celebrations, stand on platforms made of wood that have been erected on both sides of the nave for this purpose and chant some hymns composed for and suited to these kinds of occasions. On each side they hold three lances, which have wooden rings; each has hanging from it all around red and white silks,<sup>659</sup> two spans in length. After the liturgy has ended, these precede the emperor, while those who hold them lead the way, chanting as far as the Great Palace. As to why this happens, the reason is wanting.

When the chanting of the hymn of the Great Entrance begins, the most honourable among the deacons of the church come and summon the emperor. He goes with them to the so-called *prothesis*,<sup>660</sup> where the holy things are kept.

<sup>655</sup> See, for example, the marriage of John V Palaiologos and Helen Kantakouzene which took place seven days after his coronation: Greg. II, 791.16–21.

<sup>656</sup> See at 228.2–3 where Pseudo-Kodinos states that when the emperor wears his crown it is usual for him to hold the cross also.

<sup>657</sup> See above, n. 648. The anonymous description of Manuel II's coronation also has the new empress holding the gold *baion*: ed. Verpeaux, 355.23–25; Schreiner, 77.37.

<sup>658</sup> '*Kraktai*' sing at the emperor's coronation in the 10th c. (ed. Reiske, 194–196). They are representatives of the factions who chant responses and acclamations and play a prominent role in the ceremonies described in the *De cer.* At coronation they alternate with the people: see Vogt, Commentary, I, 80. Philotheos refers to *psaltai*, churchmen, who sing at the imperial banquets on feast days. Like the singers here, they are divided into two groups: ed. Oikonomides, 187.1–14. For the words of their chants, see the anonymous description of Manuel II's coronation: ed. Schreiner, 78.44–52; 79.85–91. See also Ignatios of Smolensk who describes the singers at the coronation and refers to two groups (Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 104–107; 421–22).

<sup>659</sup> Representations of lances show a great variety of point shapes: Parani, *The reality of images*, 139–40. Some have a knob between the blade and the socket: Parani, plate 123. This is perhaps the 'wooden circle' of Pseudo-Kodinos' description. Streamers of different colours, attached to the shaft below the point of the lance, can be seen in the Madrid Skylitzes. See Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, fig. 95, fol. 43r; fig. 215, fol. 87v.

<sup>660</sup> The holy gifts are prepared in the *prothesis* before the beginning of the Eucharist. Mathews (*The early churches of Constantinople*, 94–5) has argued that Hagia Sophia and other early (pre-Iconoclastic) churches in Constantinople did not have *pastophoria*, or side

- [p. 264] Ἔτι δὲ ἔξω τῆς προθέσεως ἱστάμενος ἐνδύεται ἐπάνω τοῦ σάκκου καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος μανδύαν χρυσοῦν· καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ κατέχει τὸν σταυρόν, ὃν συνηθὲς ἐστὶ κρατεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ὅταν καὶ τὸ στέμμα φορῇ, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ κατέχει νάρθηκα. Ἐπέχει
- 5 γοῦν τότε τάξιν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἣν καλοῦσι τοῦ δεποτάτου. Κρατῶν οὖν ἀμφοτέρω ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἡγουν τὸν σταυρόν καὶ τὸν νάρθηκα,

[p. 264] While still standing outside the *prothesis* he puts on a golden mantle<sup>661</sup> over the *sakkos* and the diadem. In the right hand he holds the cross that is customary for the emperor to hold when he also wears his crown<sup>662</sup> but in the left hand he holds a *narthex*.<sup>663</sup> Indeed, he occupies then the ecclesiastical rank that they call ‘*depotatos*’.<sup>664</sup> Holding, then, both of these things, namely the cross and the *narthex*,

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chambers, to the north and south of the apse, known as the *prothesis* and the *diakonikon*. In the case of Hagia Sophia, the *skeuphylakion*, a separate building to the northeast of the church, was used instead. See Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 181–203, who summarises Mathew’s arguments but adds to the discussion Pseudo-Kodinos who indicates, both in this passage and at 226.22, that a *prothesis* and a *diakonikon* did exist at Hagia Sophia. There appears to be no evidence, however, to indicate how and when the sanctuary area was divided to accommodate the two chambers. For Pseudo-Kodinos’ mention of the *diakonikon*, see at 190.7.

<sup>661</sup> For the *mandyas* or mantle, see also 224.4 for the mother of the newly crowned emperor and below 260.1 for the bishop’s mantle. See also the anonymous description of Manuel II’s coronation for the gold mantle and *narthex*: ed. Verpeaux, 358.13–15; ed. Schreiner, 78.74. Symeon of Thessalonike (d.1428) (356B) corroborates that the emperor wears the mantle as *depotatos*. At the coronation of Baldwin I in Constantinople in 1204 the new Latin emperor was dressed in a ‘very rich cloak’ (Robert of Clari, ed. and trans. Noble, §95: 114). Hendy (*Catalogue*, IV/1, 151–52) identifies Baldwin’s cloak and Pseudo-Kodinos’ *mandyas* or ‘mantle’, with the *chlamys* but this identification is unlikely. The ‘mantle’ was not mentioned earlier when Pseudo-Kodinos listed the items of the imperial attire at 134–140. The *chlamys* disappears almost completely in the late Byzantine period: Parani, ‘Cultural identity and dress’, 15–16, 105–106. There are no surviving portraits of late Byzantine emperors wearing one. In Pseudo-Kodinos only the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar wear the *tamparion* which can be securely identified with the *chlamys*. See the commentary at n. 20.

<sup>662</sup> See above at 170. 20–23.

<sup>663</sup> Both the ‘golden mantle’ and the rod or staff denoted the emperor’s ecclesiastical rank of *depotatos*. The appearance of the *narthex* is unknown. This is the only context in which ‘narthex’ is used of a staff, otherwise known as a *dikanikion* in this text (see ch. II). See Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 171. Symeon of Thessalonike (356 BC) comments that the staff (*rhabdos*) of the *depotatos* is soft and light and that is used to maintain good order. See also Darrouzès, *Recherches*, 270 n.6; 284 n.4.

<sup>664</sup> It is not known from what time the emperor was a *depotatos*. The office is one of low ecclesiastical rank: Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 215–216; 231 n. 4, 272, 284 n. 4, 552, 569; Goar, *Euchologion*, 198, 230. Symeon of Thessalonike (352 CD) refers to the emperor as *depotatos* in the context of his receiving communion like deacons. Here, the emperor leads the Great Entrance as *depotatos*. Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 280–81, remarks on the ‘downgrading’ of the emperor’s position. For a different view see Taft, ‘The Byzantine imperial communion ritual’, 4–5.

- προηγείται τῆς Εισόδου πάσης· ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν μερῶν συμπαρακολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ οἱ τε Βάραγγοι πάντες πελεκυφόροι, καὶ νέοι εὐγενεῖς ἑνοπλοὶ περὶ ἑκατόν. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀκολουθοῦσιν ἐκ πλαγίων, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐχόμενα δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, εὐθὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ἔρχονται οἱ τε διάκονοι
- 5 καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, σκευὴ τε ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν κρατοῦντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ [p. 265] ἅγια· περιελθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τὸν ναὸν ἔρχονται μέχρι τοῦ σωλέου. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἴστανται ἐκτός, μόνος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς διερχόμενος τὸν σωλέαν εὐρίσκει τὸν πατριάρχην ἰστάμενον εἰς τὰ ἅγια θύρια. Τὰς οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀμφοτέροι κεφαλὰς, ὁ μὲν πατριάρχης ἔσωθεν,
- 10 ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ ἔξωθεν, εἰς σχῆμα δῆθεν χαιρετισμοῦ κλίναντες ἴστανται· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔρχεται ὁ δευτερεύων τῶν διακόνων, τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ κατέχων θυμιατόν, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τὸ λεγόμενον ὠμοφόριον τοῦ πατριάρχου.
- Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν εἶχε καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀρχιδιάκονον, νῦν δὲ οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἔχει τοῦτον ὁ κληρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως· ἡ δ' αἰτία ζητεῖται. Ὡσαύτως οὐδὲ
- 15 πρωτοψάλτην ἔχει ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀλλὰ δομέστικον, ὁ δὲ βασιλικὸς κληρὸς καὶ ἀμφοτέρους· καὶ ὁ μὲν πρωτοψάλτης τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἑξαρχος κλήρου, ὁ δὲ γε δομέστικος τοῦ δεσποινικοῦ· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν [p. 266] ἔχει καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἕτερον δομέστικον παρὰ τὸν δεσποινικόν, ποτὲ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς κλήροις ὑπηρετεῖ, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ὁ προτοπαπᾶς. Ἐχει μὲν γάρ ὁ βασιλεὺς
- 20 πρωτοπαπᾶν εἰς τὸν κληρὸν αὐτοῦ, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία· ἔστι δ' ὅτε ὁ αὐτὸς εὐρίσκεται καὶ εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς κλήρους. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὕτως.

he leads the entire Entrance.<sup>665</sup> All the axe-bearing Varangians<sup>666</sup> and young armed noblemen,<sup>667</sup> about a hundred in number, follow along with him on both sides. They accompany on either side, as has been said, near the emperor. Immediately after him come the deacons and priests carrying other holy vessels and also the [p. 265] holy things themselves.<sup>668</sup> Going around the nave, according to the custom, they come to the solea. All the others stand outside; only the emperor traverses the solea and meets the patriarch who is standing at the Holy Doors.<sup>669</sup> Both of them, the patriarch from within and the emperor from without, stand, bowing their heads in greeting. After this, the second deacon<sup>670</sup> comes holding in his right hand a censer and in the other the so-called *omophorion*<sup>671</sup> of the patriarch.

Of old the Church also had an archdeacon but now it does not, whereas the clergy of the emperor do have one. The reason is wanting. In the same way, the Church does not have a *protopsaltes* although it does have a *domestikos*, while the imperial clergy have both. The *protopsaltes* is the exarch<sup>672</sup> of the imperial clergy, while the *domestikos* is the exarch [of the clergy] of the empress.<sup>673</sup> Sometimes [p. 266] the Church has a *domestikos*, in addition to the empress' one, at other times the same person serves both clergies, as does also the *protopapas*. The emperor has a *protopapas* in his clergy, as does the Church. There are times when the same man is to be found in both clergies. This is how things are in these matters.<sup>674</sup>

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<sup>665</sup> Ignatios of Smolensk likewise refers to the emperor leading the offertory procession of the Great Entrance: Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 110–111. See Walter, *Art and ritual*, 190, for a discussion of the development of the *prothesis* rite.

<sup>666</sup> The 'axe-bearing Varangians' guard the doors of the emperor's room in the palace and at the *triklinos* (see above, 96) and accompany the emperor on his way to monasteries and churches on certain feast days: above 196–198, 200. See Greg. I, 303.21–23; 398.20–21. Freshfield, 'On Byzantine churches', 390–91, points to the parallel between the emperor leading the Great Entrance, surrounded by the Varangians, and the words of the Cherubic hymn which marks the Great Entrance: τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑποδεξόμενοι, ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφορούμενον τάξεσιν ('We are about to receive the King of all invisibly escorted by the angelic hosts').

<sup>667</sup> Perhaps *archontopoula*.

<sup>668</sup> A reference to the Holy Gifts.

<sup>669</sup> These doors open onto the sanctuary. See above at 222.14–15 and n. 645.

<sup>670</sup> The *deutereuon* of the deacons assists the bishop: Rhalles, 'Περὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος', 440–43; Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 569.31.

<sup>671</sup> A long scarf worn over the chasuble. Made of white wool, linen or silk and decorated with embroidery, it was worn from the beginning of the liturgy until the end of the epistles. See Bernadakis, 'Les ornements liturgiques', 133–34; ODB 2, 1526.

<sup>672</sup> The word is used in a non-technical sense of the clergyman in charge: ODB 2, 767.

<sup>673</sup> The empress has her own staff, including clergy, known from other sources, documents and narrative accounts. See 318, 353.

<sup>674</sup> The whole passage 230.13–21 is a footnote on the ecclesiastical officials who were mentioned above.

Ὁ δευτερεύων δὲ τῶν διακόνων θυμιᾷ τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ κλίναντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν βοᾷ μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ τὸ *Μνησθεῖη κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ κράτους τῆς βασιλείας σας, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*. Εἴτα ἐπιλέγει τὸ *Ἀμήν*· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πάντες οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐρχόμενοι λέγουσι διάκονοί τε καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ἱερεῖς. Λέγουσι δὲ πάντες οὗτοι τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην, εἰσερχόμενοι εἰς τὸ βῆμα, ἥτοι *Μνησθεῖη κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης σου, πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*.

- Τούτου [p. 267] δὲ τελεσθέντος, αὐθις τὸν πατριάρχην ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 10 προσαγορευσας ἀποδύεται ὥνπερ εἵπομεν χρυσοῦν μανδύαν· ἐπαίρειν δὲ αὐτὸν σύνηθες τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ραιφερενδάριον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πάλιν ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὴν ἀναβάθραν κάθεται, ἀνιστάμενος μόνον ἐν τε τῇ ἀναγνώσει τοῦ ἁγίου Συμβόλου, ἐν τῇ τοῦ *Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* προσευχῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑψώσει τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ καὶ ἁγίου σώματος. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς  
 15 ὑψώσεως, εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς κοινωνίαν ἔτοιμος, κάθεται ἐπὶ θρόνου μέχρι τέλους τῆς θείας λειτουργίας· εἰ δὲ παρεσκευασμένος ἐστὶν εἰς τοῦτο, προσκαλοῦνται τοῦτον αὐθις οἱ προρρηθέντες διάκονοι.

- Εἰσέρχεται οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα καὶ λαμβάνων θυμιατὸν θυμιᾷ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν σταυροειδῶς, πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ  
 20 ἀνατολάς, εἴτα πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἔπειτα πρὸς ἐσπέραν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς μεσημβρίαν. Εἴτα πάλιν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς θυμιῶν θυμιᾷ καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην· αὐτὸς δὲ [p. 268] προσαγορευσας καὶ λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως χειρῶν τὸν θυμιατὸν, ἀντιθυμιᾷ τὸν βασιλέα. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκβαλὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς τὸ στέμμα ἐγχειρίζει τοῖς διακόνοις.  
 25 Ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης, μετὰ τὸ κοινωνῆσαι τοῦ τιμίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος, δίδωσι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας μερίδα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος, οὗ καὶ μετασχὼν κοινωνεῖ ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ αἵματος· κοινωνεῖ δὲ τοῦ μὲν πατριάρχου τὸν ἅγιον κρατῆρα κατέχοντος, αὐτὸς δὲ προσάγων τῷ

The second deacon censens the emperor who bows his head, and he cries in a loud voice: 'May the Lord God remember in his kingdom the reign of your Majesty, always, now and forever and unto the ages of ages'. Then he adds, 'Amen'. Likewise, all those who come after him, the deacons and after them the priests, say the same thing. All of them say this also to the patriarch, when entering the sanctuary, namely: 'May the Lord God remember your high priesthood always, now and forever and unto the ages of ages.' After this [p. 267] is finished, the emperor greets the patriarch again and takes off the golden mantle that we mentioned.<sup>675</sup> It is customary for the *referendarios*<sup>676</sup> of the church to remove it. The emperor goes again to the platform and sits down, getting up only for the reading of the Holy Creed, for the prayer, 'Our Father who art in Heaven' and for the elevation of the Lord's holy body.<sup>677</sup> After the elevation has taken place, if the emperor is not prepared for communion, he sits on his throne until the end of the divine liturgy. If he is prepared for this, the forementioned deacons summon him again.

The emperor enters the holy sanctuary with them and, taking up the censer, censens<sup>678</sup> the holy altar in the form of a cross, first to the east, then to the north, then to the west, and after this to the south. Then again censening to the east, he censens also the patriarch. He [p. 268] greets him and, taking the censer from the hands of the emperor, he in turn censens the emperor. After this the emperor, removing the crown from his head,<sup>679</sup> hands it to the deacons. The patriarch, after having received the precious body and blood, places a portion of the Lord's body in the hands of the emperor also. After partaking of this, he also receives in a similar fashion the life-giving blood. While the patriarch holds the holy chalice, he communicates, as do the priests, bringing his mouth to the chalice.<sup>680</sup> After

<sup>675</sup> Above at n. 661.

<sup>676</sup> This ecclesiastical official transmits messages from the patriarch to the emperor. See *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 9.3–5; ed. Vogt, Commentary, I, 40–41; Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 373–74.

<sup>677</sup> Elevation of the Host.

<sup>678</sup> Ignatios of Smolensk also describes Manuel II censening before taking holy communion at his coronation in 1392: Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 110–111. See Balsamon's commentary on canon 69 of the council of Trullo about the right of the emperor to enter the sanctuary to cense: Rh-P II, 466–7; Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 358–59. The emperor remains in the sanctuary to receive communion.

<sup>679</sup> See below, 325 and n. 44.

<sup>680</sup> For the emperor's communion after coronation, see 425–26. The manner of receiving communion in the hand and from the chalice was reserved for emperors and for the clergy, as Pseudo-Kodinos and Symeon of Thessalonike (352CD) state, and as Choniates (272.70–75) shows in describing Andronikos I's communion. While the clergy and emperors continued to receive communion under both species, in the hand and from the chalice, the laity were given communion with a spoon from a chalice with the consecrated bread mixed with the consecrated wine. The date at which this change came is debated. The practice appears not to have been widespread in the late 12th c., at the time of Balsamon's writing. In his commentary on canon 101 of Trullo (Rh-P II, 548) he refers to the practice



κρατῆρι τὸ στόμα, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ κοινωνῆσαι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, περιθέμενος αὐθις τὸ στέμμα τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐξέρχεται τοῦ ἁγίου βήματος.

- Καὶ τελεσθείσης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, καὶ τοῦ διαδιδομένου τῷ λαῷ  
 5 ἁγιάσματος, ὃ φαμεν ἀντίδωρον, αὐθις μετασχών, καὶ εὐλογηθεὶς παρὰ τε τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀρχιερέων, καὶ κατασπασάμενος τὰς αὐτῶν χεῖρας, [p. 269] ἀνέρχεται εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα κατηχούμενα. Ξυλίνης δὲ κάκεῖσε ἀναβάθρας μετρίας οὔσης προκατεσκευασμένης, καὶ θρόνων τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν συνήθων ἐπικειμένων, ἀνέρχονται ὃ τε νέος βασιλεὺς  
 10 καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ γυνὴ καὶ βασιλὶς μετὰ τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πατρός καὶ τῆς δεσποίνης καὶ μητρός, συμπαρόντων καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων πρωτοψαλτῶν καὶ δομεστίκων· χρυσῶν δὲ βηλοθύρων τὴν ἀναβάθραν σκεπόντων ὥστε μὴ ὀρᾶσθαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οἱ ψάλλται ἄδουσι τὸ *Ἀνατεῖλατε, ἀνατεῖλατε*. Αἰρομένων οὖν εὐθὺς τῶν βηλοθύρων, εὐφημοῦνται οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν

partaking of the divine mysteries, he puts the crown on his head again<sup>681</sup> and comes out of the holy sanctuary.

After the holy liturgy has come to an end and he has partaken also of the blessed bread which is distributed to the people and which we call *antidoron*,<sup>682</sup> and he has been blessed by the patriarch and the bishops who are present and has kissed their hands, [p. 269] he goes up to the so-called ‘catechumens’.<sup>683</sup> There a wooden platform of medium height has been prepared in advance and thrones of the customary type for daily use<sup>684</sup> have been placed. The new emperor and his wife, the empress, go up onto it along with the emperor, his father, and the empress, his mother, while the *protopsaltai* and the *domestikoi* who have been mentioned, are also present with them.<sup>685</sup> While gold curtains cover the platform in such a way that the emperors remain unseen, the cantors sing, ‘Rise, rise’.<sup>686</sup> As soon as the curtains are raised,<sup>687</sup> the emperors are acclaimed by all those who are

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‘in some churches’. Cf. Parani, Pitarakis, Spieser, ‘Un exemple d’inventaire d’objets liturgiques’, 151, for the view that the use of eucharistic spoons was already widespread in the 11th c. See Taft, ‘Byzantine communion spoons’, 209–238, esp. 226, 228; Caseau, ‘L’abandon de la communion dans la main (IVe–XIIe siècles)’, 79–94. Rochette, *Le Ciel et le sang*, 68–9, argues that the communion of the emperor in the sanctuary could be normal practice, and not linked only to the coronation.

<sup>681</sup> On the wearing of headgear in Hagia Sophia, see 325.

<sup>682</sup> Bread that has been blessed but not consecrated. See also above at 132.3.

<sup>683</sup> The ‘catechumens’ refers to the gallery, the place assigned in the early church to the catechumens, Christian converts before baptism. Middle Byzantine authors mention the gallery in connection with imperial uses. Mathews, *Early churches*, 128–33. Although Pseudo-Kodinos does not specify whether the emperors went up to the north, south or west gallery, it seems likely that the south gallery was the place where the platform and thrones were set up. This part of the gallery is associated with emperors; a walkway connects the palace to the southeast corner of the church. See Mango, *Brazen House*, 88–91. It was from the gallery that Andronikos II listened to the all-night hymns on the eve of his son’s coronation: Pach. III, 219.18. Clavijo in the early 15th c. refers to the upper gallery of Hagia Sophia, overlooking the central nave, as a place where ‘you may listen to and hear the Mass and the Hours’ (trans. Le Strange, 73).

<sup>684</sup> See at n. 630 above where the ‘gold thrones’ on the platform in the nave are said to be ‘not like the other thrones of the emperors but ... four or even five steps high’. Presumably the thrones in the gallery were not as high. On the different types of thrones in Pseudo-Kodinos, see 253 n. 740 and n. 630. For a study of thrones in the *De cerimoniis*, see Dagron, ‘Trônes’, 179–203.

<sup>685</sup> For this appearance from the gallery, see 426–27.

<sup>686</sup> This chant is reminiscent of the one that greets the emperor’s appearance in the *kathisma*. See 408.

<sup>687</sup> See at ch. IV 144.6: the curtains of the *prokypsis* ‘open’ (ἀνοιγῆναι); here they are ‘raised’. The difference is significant. In the *prokypsis* only the emperor appears at first. This would not be possible if the curtains were raised, as here.

τοῖς κατηγουμένοις ὄντων ἀπάντων. Γενομένου δὲ καὶ τούτου, κατέρχονται οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀπέρχονται μετὰ τῶν δεσποινῶν εἰς τὸ μέγα παλάτιον στεφηφοροῦντες, οὗτοι μὲν ἔφιπποι μόνοι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες πεζῇ, ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου μέχρι καὶ τοῦ μικροτέρου.

- 5 [p. 270] Ἦν δὲ πρότερον μὲν συνήθεια φορεῖν τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἵππον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πανηγύρει περὶ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ ὀπισθεν τῆς σέλλας ἐπάνω τῶν καπουλίων, ἅπερ ὠνομάζοντο χαιώματα, ἐκ μαργάρων καὶ λίθων συγκείμενα, μικρὸν δ' ἄνωθεν τῶν ἀστραγάλων περιδεδεμένας μετάξας κοκκίνας, αἵπερ ὠνομάζονται τούβια. Νῦν οὖν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ τῶν τουβίων
- 10 γίνεται. Τραπέζης δ' ἐκεῖ προητοιμασμένης οὔσης, καθήμενοι εὐωχοῦνται στεφηφοροῦντες· ὑπηρετεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ μέγας δομέστικος. Ἄν δὲ μὴ ὑπάρχη μέγας δομέστικος, ὑπηρετεῖ ὁ δεσπότης ἢ τις τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὁ

in the catechumens.<sup>688</sup> When this has taken place the emperors descend and depart along with the empresses to the Great Palace, wearing their crowns. They alone are on horseback;<sup>689</sup> all the rest go on foot, from the despot to the most humble [court title holder].

[p. 270] It was formerly the custom in this celebration for the emperor's horse to wear around its neck and behind the saddle on the croup, what are called *chaiomata*,<sup>690</sup> composed of pearls and stones, while, a little above their fetlocks were tied red silks, called *toubia*.<sup>691</sup> Now, however, the former are no longer but the *toubia* are used.

The table having been prepared there<sup>692</sup> in advance, they sit and feast wearing their crowns. The *megas domestikos* serves<sup>693</sup> them. If there is no *megas domestikos*, the despot or one of the dignitaries<sup>694</sup> serves them, and if not, the most honourable

<sup>688</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos does not specify who is in the gallery (see n. 683), apart from the imperial party. Ignatios of Smolensk, describing the coronation of 1392, mentions women in the gallery (Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 104–105) but he does not describe the emperor's appearance from the gallery. See n. 426. The sudden appearance of the emperor and his family from a height, accompanied by the chanting, are elements associated with the *prokypsis* performed on Christmas Eve and Epiphany. See above at 132–146. However, neither Pseudo-Kodinos nor any other author calls the newly crowned emperor's appearance from a height a *prokypsis*, nor does the *prokypsis*, as described by Pseudo-Kodinos, include the empress or other member of the imperial family apart from the despots. See 406.

<sup>689</sup> The 'dignitaries go on foot' also in the anonymous description of Manuel II's coronation, ed. Schreiner, 78.81–79.84.

<sup>690</sup> *Chaiomata* (*chiomata*), cloths or coverings decorated with gems for the horses' hindquarters and neck, are mentioned also in the *De cerimoniis* and the military treatises of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos. See Haldon, *Three treatises*, 279; Ebersolt, *Mélanges*, 44. Gregoras I, 349.21 refers to the front of the horse as the χαίτη. See the decoration of the horse of the Magus who is said to be modelled on John VIII Palaiologos in the painting of the Magi's procession (1459) by Gozzoli in Florence: Cole Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, 92 and n. 80; figs. 105, 106, 108.

<sup>691</sup> *Toubia* is an example of a word whose meaning changed. It refers to 'leggings' in the military treatises of Constantine VII and in *Digenis Akritis* (ed. Jeffreys, G 4, 80.226), and other texts earlier than Pseudo-Kodinos. See Haldon, *Three treatises*, 221; Grotowski, *Arms and armour*, 203, 207–208. *De cer.* (ed. Reiske, 81.1–2) calls the silk ribbons tied to the feet of the emperor's horse during the Easter Monday celebrations πρᾶνδοι. Red silk ribbons are prominent on the horse of the emperor represented in the Bamberg silk. For a colour reproduction see *To Βυζάντιο ως οικουμένη*, fig. 23, p. 73.

<sup>692</sup> In contrast to the banquets specified below (see at n. 703) which take place in the Blachernai palace and include the court title holders as guests, this feast is in the Great Palace and only for the emperor and empress, and imperial family.

<sup>693</sup> See above also, at 172.19 for the *megas domestikos*' table service. His high position is indicated by the fact that a despot or another dignitary can take his place. He is himself a guest at the later feasts in the Blachernai palace. See at n. 706.

<sup>694</sup> The dignitaries, the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, are contrasted with the 'court title holders' here. See 294–97.

έντιμότερος παρισταμένων πάντων ἀρχόντων μετὰ τῶν ἐαυτῶν φορεμάτων· οὐ μὴν δὲ δίδονται πρὸς αὐτοὺς τότε μίνσοι.

- [p. 271] Ταύτην οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖσε μένοντες, τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔρχονται παλατίοις, ὅπου καὶ αὖθις ρίπτονται ἐπικόμβια παρὰ μὲν  
 5 συγκλητικῷ τῷ λαῷ. Ὁ δέ γε βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξέρχεται μὲν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἢ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάλου μάρτυρος Γεωργίου, ἴσταται δὲ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ὁ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἄρχων βεστιαρίου καὶ ἔχει ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ νομίσματα χρυσᾶ κεχυμένα πολλά, ὧν καὶ δραττόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς σκορπίζει εἰς τοὺς περιεστῶτας ἄρχοντάς τε  
 10 καὶ ἀρχοντόπουλα, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν δοκεῖ τοῦτο. Αἴτιον δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης τῶν νομισμάτων διαδόσεως ἐστὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα συνευφραίνεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄρχοντάς τε πάντας καὶ ἀρχοντόπουλα καὶ τὸ φωσσάτον καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἐσθίωντάς τε καὶ πίνοντας ἐξ ἀναλωμάτων βασιλικῶν.

Δέκα δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας ἢ πλείους ἢ ἐγγὺς ἐλάττους τούτων (οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστι νενομισμένος ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸς, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν βούλοιτο ὁ βασιλεὺς)

one, while all the holders of court titles stand by in their attire. No dishes<sup>695</sup> are given to them at this time.

[p. 271] They stay there that day but on the next day they go to the other palace,<sup>696</sup> where again *epikombia* are thrown to the people by a senator.<sup>697</sup> The emperor himself also goes out on that day into the courtyard, at the place where the icon of the great martyr George<sup>698</sup> is. The head of the imperial *vestiarion*<sup>699</sup> stands next to him and has inside his *himation*<sup>700</sup> many loose gold coins. Taking handfuls of them, the emperor scatters them, for as long as he thinks fit, to the holders of court titles who are around him, and to the sons of the court title holders.<sup>701</sup> The reason for this distribution of coins is the wish of the emperor that all court title holders, sons of court title holders, the army and the people should rejoice together with him, both eating and drinking at imperial expense.

For ten consecutive days – more or slightly fewer than this, for the number of days has not been determined, but it is as the emperor wishes –

<sup>695</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos shows that the title holders do not dine at all on this occasion. Neither are they given plates nor are they served food. See 391–93.

<sup>696</sup> Palace is rendered in the plural, here and elsewhere in this text, and also by other authors, although only one palace is meant (and specified), ‘the other palace’, the Blachernai. Pseudo-Kodinos never mentions the Blachernai by name as the site of the ceremonies. See 30.38–39 and 367–78.

<sup>697</sup> Pachymeres (III, 221.14–15, 221.24–223.2) relates that *epikombia* were distributed after the coronation of Michael IX and before arriving at the Great Palace, as the procession advanced. He likewise refers to distribution of purses of money on the processional route from the Great Palace to the Blachernai on the following day. See above, at 214.15–19, where again, before the coronation, a senator throws bags of money to the people at the Augusteon.

<sup>698</sup> From this passage and above at 174.14, where the icon is first mentioned, it is clear that the icon of St George was at the chapel of the Theotokos Nikopoios which faced the courtyard of the Blachernai palace. These two passages help to identify the palace as the Blachernai. See 369.

<sup>699</sup> That is, the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou*; see at 110.12–13. The anonymous account of Manuel II’s coronation identifies the distributor of the *epikombia* as the *protovestiaros*: ed. Verpeaux, 360.20, ed. Schreiner, 79.97. It is, however, the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou* who was head of the treasury. See above at n. 253. Another indication that it is the *prokathemenos* who is meant can be found in Kantakouzenos (I, 203.18). In his version of the coronation protocol he refers to ‘he who presides over the imperial treasury’ (*tameio*). See 428, for discussion of the authors’ use of the same protocol.

<sup>700</sup> The *himation* is traditionally defined as a mantle, an outer garment worn over a tunic: ODB 2, 932. However, above at 224.3–4, the mother of the new emperor is said to wear a *himation* and a mantle (*mandyas*). It therefore seems that in Pseudo-Kodinos the *himation* is a synonym for the *kabbadion* which court title holders, including the *protovestiaros*, wore. See note at 104.9–10.

<sup>701</sup> Here, after the coronation, the emperor himself, not a senator, distributes loose gold coins, not to the people but to his court title holders and their sons (*archontopoula*). For these hierarchical considerations, see 393.

- [p. 272] ἐορτάζουσι πολυτελῶς, τὰς συνήθεις καθημερινὰς στολὰς λαμπρὰς καὶ πολυτελεῖς οὖσας φοροῦντες. Γίνονται οὖν κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας, ᾧς εἵπομεν, εὐωχίαι καὶ δεῖπνα πολυτελῆ, καὶ καθήμενοι οἱ τῆς συγκλήτου πάντες εὐωχοῦνται εὐφραινόμενοι ἔμπροσθεν τῶν βασιλέων, εὐωχουμένων
- 5 καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν τραπέζῃ. Ὑπηρετεῖ δὲ τότε αὐτοῖς ὁ δομέστικος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης· εἰ δ' οὖν, τῶν ἐκ γένους τις τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσκεπής, ᾧ ἂν ἐπιτάξοι ὁ βασιλεὺς. Ὁ δὲ μέγας δομέστικος ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι αὐτῷ τόπῳ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν ἀνακείμενος καὶ αὐτὸς εὐωχεῖται. Ἡ τοιαύτη δὲ τάξις ἀπαρallάκτως γίνεται καὶ ἐν τοῖς γάμοις τῶν βασιλέων.

[p. 272] they celebrate lavishly, wearing their customary daily attire which is bright and luxurious. On the days that we mentioned, feasts and lavish meals take place, and all members of the senate<sup>702</sup> feast, enjoying themselves, seated before the emperors who are themselves feasting at their own table.<sup>703</sup> On that occasion the *domestikos*<sup>704</sup> and the *epi tes trapezes* serve them. If not, someone bareheaded who is from the family of the emperor serves them,<sup>705</sup> whomever the emperor might command. But the *megas domestikos*, reclining [at table]<sup>706</sup> at the place appropriate to him, also feasts with the other senators. This arrangement holds in the very same way also for the weddings of the emperors.<sup>707</sup>

<sup>702</sup> By 'members of the senate' Pseudo-Kodinos means the holders of titles. See 269–97.

<sup>703</sup> The *De cer.* (ed. Reiske, 70.4–7) uses the word ἀποκοπή to refer to the emperor's table when he dines apart and alone. In Pseudo-Kodinos, the emperor always seems to dine alone, not only at his own table but also without the company of the court title holders who take their plates and leave the *triklinos*. Here, Pseudo-Kodinos indicates that the title holders eat in the same room with the emperor. See 391–93. The emperor's dining apart, with all the *archontes* eating 'in front of' him, is mentioned also in the anonymous description of Manuel II's coronation: ed. Verpeaux, 361.10–12; ed. Schreiner, 79.101–104. Pseudo-Kodinos uses the plural, emperors, an indication that the protocol is taken from a time when there was more than one emperor on the throne.

<sup>704</sup> The '*domestikos (tes trapezes)*' is always associated with the *epi tes trapezes* and the *megas domestikos* in Pseudo-Kodinos (92.7–8). At Christmas and Easter the three are mentioned as serving the emperor at table (150.10–11, 154.13–14, 186.13–14). The attire of the *domestikos* of the table is similar to that of the *epi tes trapezes* (56.24–58.2).

<sup>705</sup> At the coronation of John VI Kantakouzenos his nephew, the *epi tes trapezes* served him, as did the brothers of the empress, John and Manuel Asan: Kant. II, 166.22–167.3. For the bareheaded kin of the emperor, see above at n. 368.

<sup>706</sup> The *megas domestikos* was mentioned above at n. 693 as serving the emperor at the Great Palace at the banquet after the coronation. Here, presumably in the Blachernai palace (see n. 692), he is himself a guest, along with other title holders. It is only of him and only in this passage that the verb 'to recline' is used in connection with eating. The others, including the emperor, are said to sit. The reclining of the *megas domestikos* may be another one of the special privileges assigned to him. The Roman custom of reclining at meals was a tradition maintained in the Great Palace in the *Triklinos* of the Nineteen Couches on certain occasions. In the 11th c., Michael Psellos complained about the cramped conditions when eating reclined: ed. Littlewood, 46.84–92. It is not known how long this Roman tradition was maintained. It is also possible, however, that 'reclining' is not intended to be understood literally.

<sup>707</sup> These banquets differ from the meals described above in ch. IV for Christmas, Epiphany. In those cases the emperor appears to dine alone, while for coronations and weddings the title holders also dine with the emperor, albeit at a separate table. See n. 703.



Ἰστέον δ' ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ εὐλογίῃ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ φορεῖ στέμμα, εἰ προεστεμμένος ἐστί· κάθηται δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάθρᾳ οὕτως ὥς ἐν τῇ στεφηφορίᾳ προεΐρηται.

- [p. 273] Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὀπηνίκα φορεῖ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ  
 5 στέμμα ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἢ ἐν προβλήσει πατριάρχου ἢ δεσπότη, ἢ καθ' οἷαν δὴ τινα χρεῖαν ἄλλην, συνήθειά ἐστι παρίστασθαι τούτῳ τέσσαρας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντιμοτέρων ἀρχόντων τῆς πολιτείας, ἀνὰ δύο ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους, φοροῦντας μὲν ἐπιλούρικα χρυσᾶ καὶ σκαράνικα κόκκινα, κατέχοντας δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἕκαστον ἀσπίδα στρογγύλην γεγραμμένον τὸν βασιλέα ἔχουσιν  
 10 ἔφιππον, καὶ κοντάριον κεχρυσωμένον ἔχον τὸ ξύλον· τὰ μὲν οὖν κοντάρια ταῦτα ὀνομάζονται ῥομφαῖαι, οἱ δὲ κατέχοντες ῥομφαιοκράτορες.

This also should be known, namely that during the blessing<sup>708</sup> the emperor wears his crown, if he has been crowned already. He is seated on the platform in the way that has been mentioned above for the coronation.

[p. 273] This too should be known. When the emperor wears his crown, whether at the promotion of a patriarch or a despot or on any other similar occasion, it is customary for four of the most eminent court title holders of the state to stand by him, two on each side, wearing gold *epilourika* and red *skaranika*,<sup>709</sup> each holding in his hands a round shield depicting the emperor on horseback,<sup>710</sup> and a lance which has gilded wood. These lances are called *rhomphaiai*<sup>711</sup> and the men who hold them *rhomphaiokratores*.<sup>712</sup>

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<sup>708</sup> This passage and 242.7–14 are two notes that relate to the emperor's wearing of the crown. See 423 n. 176. They are appended to the description of the coronation, although they have to do with other occasions on which the emperor wears his crown. It is most likely that by the 'blessing' Ps.-Kod. refers to the *hagiasmos* that takes place every month in the palace on the first of the month in the *triklinos* (190.13–192.16).

<sup>709</sup> The usual combination is caftan with *skaranikon*. However, some court officials, those in the hierarchy above the *megas droungarios tes vigles*, can choose to wear either the caftan and *skaranikon* or the *epilourikon* with the turban: see note at 58.18. The combination of *epilourikon* with *skaranikon* appears to be unique to the four men who flank the emperor. The *epilourikon* is a garment worn over armour (see n. 86 above) and therefore appropriate for the honorary guard of the emperor which these four officials constitute. They display the well known gold-red combination.

<sup>710</sup> See Parani, *The reality of images*, 128–30, for examples of small flat round decorated shields from various Palaiologan artistic contexts. In the Chora mosaic, Cyrenius' bodyguard holds a decorated round shield and lance. Pl. 17 The horseback emperor motif appears on banners and on the *skaranika* of certain court title holders. See 334, 351.

<sup>711</sup> The more common meaning of *rhomphaia* as sword is well attested: Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. Renauld, I, 103 (where they are contrasted with lances); Bryennios, ed. Gautier, 273.25; Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 1.5.7. See Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 133, 191 n. 38, 212 and n.143. For *rhomphaiai* as lances/spears see Souda, ed. Adler, IV, 299.226; 'Acta S. Theodori Ducis', 362.2–3.

<sup>712</sup> The word is otherwise not attested. See Gaul, 'The partridge's purple stockings', 86 and n. 66.

[p. 274] Η' Περὶ προβλήσεως δεσπότης.

- Ποιοῦσιν ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ, ἔνθα ὁ βασιλικὸς ἵσταται θρόνος, διάφραγμα  
 5 διὰ βλατίων χρυσῶν τὸν τε θρόνον διαχωρίζον καὶ τὴν παράστασιν. Καὶ τῶν  
 μὲν ἄρχόντων τὰ οἰκεῖα φοροῦντων παράσημα, τὰ τε σκαράνικα δηλονότι καὶ  
 τὰ λοιπά, ὑποδύουσι τὸν δεσπότην ἄρχοντες, πρὸς οὓς ἂν ὀρίσοι ὁ βασιλεὺς,  
 ἐντὸς τοῦ τρικλίνου περὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τὰ τε διβολέα πέδιλα καὶ καββάδιον ὃξὺ  
 ἢ κόκκινον μαργαριταρεῖνον· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς φορῶν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ αὐτοῦ τό τε  
 10 στέμμα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔρχεται ὅπου ἐστὶν ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ.
- Τοῦ γοῦν διαφράγματος ἀνοιγέντος, πολυχρονίζουσι πάντες. Εἴτα τῶν  
 ἐντιμοτέρων ἄρχοντες δύο φέρουσι τὸν ὑπόψηφον δεσπότην, καὶ ἱστᾶσιν  
 ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἱστάμενος οὕτως,  
*Ἡ βασιλεία μου προβάλλεται σε δεσπότην.* Καὶ αὐτίκα πάλιν πολυχρονίζουσι  
 πάντες.
- 15 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οὐχ ὅτε μόνον προβάλλεται δεσπότην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἵσταται,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀπηνίκα τῶν [p. 275] ὀφικίων ποιήσει τι, κἂν ἐλάχιστον ἦ,  
 ἱστάμενος τοῦτο ποιεῖ.
- Ὁ δὲ γε δεσπότης τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως κύψας ἀσπάζεται πόδα. Ἀναστάντος  
 20 οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς περιτίθῃσιν οἰκειοχείρως τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ στέφανον  
 διὰ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων, ἔχοντα καμάρας μικρὰς τέσσαρας ἔμπροσθέν  
 τε καὶ ὀπισθεν καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων, εἰ ἄρα ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς βασιλέως υἱὸς  
 ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ γαμβρὸς τύχοι ὦν, ἔμπροσθεν μόνον· ὃς δὴ στέφανος

## [p. 274] VIII. Concerning the promotion of a despot

They set up in the *triklinos*, where the imperial throne stands, a partition made of golden silk<sup>713</sup> that separates the throne from the audience. The holders of court titles wear their own distinctive insignia, that is, the *skaranika* and the rest.<sup>714</sup> Those holders of court titles whom the emperor might enjoin dress<sup>715</sup> the despot in the *triklinos*, at its [opposite] end,<sup>716</sup> in two-coloured shoes<sup>717</sup> and a violet or red caftan<sup>718</sup> adorned with pearls. The emperor puts on the crown and the rest of his clothing<sup>719</sup> in his chamber, and comes to the place where his throne is. After the opening of the partition everyone wishes 'Many years'. Then, two of the pre-eminent court title holders usher in the candidate-despot and position him in front of the emperor. The emperor, standing, says to him the following: 'My imperial Majesty promotes you despot.' Immediately everyone wishes again 'Many years'.

One should know that the emperor stands not only when he promotes the despot but also whenever [p. 275] he confers any of the offices; even if it is the most inferior one, he does this standing.<sup>720</sup>

The despot bends forward to kiss the emperor's foot.<sup>721</sup> When he stands up, the emperor places by his own hand, on his head, a *stephanos* with precious stones and pearls which has four small arches, [one] on the front, on the back, and on the sides, if the person being invested is the emperor's son. If the person happens to be the emperor's relation-in-law, however, there is only one in front.<sup>722</sup> This

<sup>713</sup> On silk partitions in Byzantium, see Fulghum, 'Under wraps', 13–33.

<sup>714</sup> See above, 35–69, for the dress of the court title holders, alternately referred to as 'insignia' and 'attire'. The *skaranikon* is the headpiece for feast days.

<sup>715</sup> In the *Book of Ceremonies* (ed. Reiske, 220.5–7; 227.19) and Philotheos (ed. Oikonomides, 97.13) the clothing is given by the emperor to the candidate during the promotion ceremony itself. See 319–320.

<sup>716</sup> For space in the *triklinos*, see 375–76.

<sup>717</sup> The colours are violet and white: see above, 36.3–38.9, and Failler, 'Les insignes et la signature du despote', 177–78.

<sup>718</sup> Above, at 42.1–2, the colour of his *kabbadion* is likewise described as violet or red, according to the despot's wish.

<sup>719</sup> See 136.6–7, 170.23 where it is specified that when the emperor wears his crown he also wears the *sakkos* and the diadem (*loros*). At 242.7–14, Pseudo-Kodinos states that when the emperor wears his crown for the promotion of a despot he is surrounded by four holders of court titles who hold a round shield and gilded spear.

<sup>720</sup> See 381, for 'standing'.

<sup>721</sup> The despot does not kneel but bends down to kiss the foot of the emperor whose throne is elevated on a platform. For kissing, and the differing postures and parts of the body this involves, see 386–87.

<sup>722</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos speaks only of the despot son and the despot relations-in-law here and omits reference to despot brothers specified at ch. I and ch. XI. The *stephanos*, but also the *skiadion* (42.4–5), of the despot relations-in-law differs from that of the other despots.

καλεῖται καὶ στεμματογύριον· καὶ πολυχρονίζουσιν αὐτοῖς. Ἐπειτα κλεισθέντος τοῦ διαφράγματος, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ, ὁ δέ γε δεσπότης εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὀσπήτιον οὕτω μετὰ τῶν ῥηθέντων φορεμάτων αὐτοῦ, πάντων ἀρχόντων ἐφίππων ἀκολουθούντων αὐτῷ, ἐκάστων τὰ ἑαυτῶν φορούντων φορέματα, καθὰ προεῖρηται.

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*stephanos* is also called a *stematogyron*.<sup>723</sup> Again they wish ‘Many years’. Then the partition is closed and the emperor retires to his chamber. The despot goes to his house with the attire<sup>724</sup> which has been mentioned, while all court title holders follow him on horseback, each of them wearing his own attire, as was described earlier.

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<sup>723</sup> For the despot’s crown, see 431–32.

<sup>724</sup> See above at notes 717, 718. The *Book of Ceremonies* likewise makes reference to the departure of the promoted official to his home after the ceremony, accompanied by others: ed. Reiske, 236.6–12; 244.1–2; 251.12–13. This passage indicates that the despot lived outside the palace. See ch. IX n. 732 also.

[p. 276] Θ' Περὶ προβλήσεως σεβαστοκράτορος καὶ καίσαρος.

Ἡ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος καὶ τοῦ καίσαρος πρόβλησις ἀπαραλλάκτως ὡς καὶ ἡ τοῦ δεσπότου γίνεται, πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς φορεμάτων. Ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ  
 5 μὲν παλαιὰ ζητεῖται. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Καντακουζηνὸς τοὺς γυναικαδέλφους αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην καὶ Μανουῆλ τοὺς Ἀσανίους τιμήσας σεβαστοκράτορας, ἐφόρεσε καὶ στεφάνους διὰ λίθων ἡερανέων καὶ μαργάρων, ἔχοντας ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἀνὰ μίαν καὶ μόνην καμάραν.

Συναπέρχονται δὲ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν ὀσπήτια πάντες ἄρχοντες  
 10 μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτῶν φορεμάτων, καθὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου.

[p. 276] IX. Concerning the promotion of a *sebastokrator* and a caesar

The promotion of the *sebastokrator*<sup>725</sup> and the caesar<sup>726</sup> takes place in exactly the same way as for the despot,<sup>727</sup> except for the headdress. The headdress used of old is sought.<sup>728</sup> When the emperor Kantakouzenos, honoured the brothers of his wife, John and Manuel Asan, as *sebastokratores*,<sup>729</sup> he placed on them *stephanoi* of blue stones<sup>730</sup> and pearls; each *stephanos* had one and only one arch in front.<sup>731</sup>

All the holders of court titles depart together with them to their houses,<sup>732</sup> wearing their attire, just as for the despot.

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<sup>725</sup> Alexios I Komnenos devised the title of *sebastokrator* for his brother Isaac in 1081, making the *sebastokrator* higher in rank than the caesar. Thus, the *sebastokrator* was ‘a second emperor’: Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 3.4.1–2.

<sup>726</sup> The title of caesar was rarely conferred in the 14th c. Andronikos II bestowed it on his nephew John (Greg. I, 374.6–10) and on Roger de Flor. Andronikos’ successors appear not to have granted the title. Muntaner’s (§212: 42.14–16) comment on the promotion of Roger de Flor, even if incorrect, underlines the rarity of the title: ‘for four hundred years there had been no caesar in the empire’. See Guillard, *Recherches*, II, 25–43, here at 34–35. See n. 623.

<sup>727</sup> See ch. VIII.

<sup>728</sup> The same remark is made above at ch. II on the *skaranikon* of the *sebastokrator* and caesar. It seems that the appearance of their headgear was unknown because *sebastokratores* and caesars were few and rarely seen in Constantinople.

<sup>729</sup> The empress Eirene’s brothers, John and Manuel Asan (PLP 1499, 1506), were promoted in 1347. See Greg. II, 797.2–4.

<sup>730</sup> For blue in the insignia of the *sebastokrator* and caesar, see above, 44, 46 and below at 248.

<sup>731</sup> See Gregoras (II, 797.2–6) for the promotion of the empress Eirene’s brothers. Pseudo-Kodinos implies that the *stephanos* John VI bestowed in the promotion was not the headdress ‘used of old’. Cf. Hendy, Catalogue, IV/1, 167. On the crowns of the *sebastokratores* and caesars, see 432–33.

<sup>732</sup> See ch. VIII where it is said of the despot that he retires to his residence after his promotion. Members of the court lived in their own homes. See the comment by Magdalino, ‘Court society and aristocracy’, 214.



[p. 277] Ἰ' Περὶ προβλήσεως πατριάρχου.

- Συνάγονται οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀρχιερεῖς, εἰ μὲν καὶ πλείους τύχοιεν ὄντες· εἰ δ' οὖν, δώδεκα, ἔτι τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων
- 5 ἐκκλησιῶν μετακεκλημένοι· ἢ εἰ μήτε ἐπιδημοῦντες τύχοιεν μήτε ἐν ταῖς πλησιοχώροις ἐκκλησίαις ὧσιν ἀρχιερεῖς δώδεκα, κάθηνται ἐν τῷ ψηφηφορείῳ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὅσοι ἂν εὐρεθῶσι καὶ ἐκλέγονται εἰς πατριάρχην πρόσωπα τρία, οὓς ἂν ὁ Θεὸς χορηγήσῃ εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτῶν· ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα διακομίζουσιν ἐγγράφως τῷ βασιλεῖ οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς ἐκκλησίας
- 10 ἔκκριτοι, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκλέγεται ἀπὸ τούτων ὃν ἂν ὁ Θεὸς ἐμβατεύσῃ εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ. Εἴτα ἀποστέλλονται ἄρχοντες παρ' [p. 278] αὐτῷ οὓς ἂν διακρίνοι καὶ οἱ δηλωθέντες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄρχοντες, καὶ διακομίζουσι τὸ μήνυμα πρὸς τὸν ψηφισθέντα καὶ ἐκλεγέντα ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τε καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. Καὶ μὲν δέξεται τοῦτο, ἤδη καλόν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὸν
- 15 ἕτερον· εἰ δ' οὐχ οὗτος, εἰς τὸν λοιπόν· εἰ δ' ἴσως οὐδ' οὗτος, γίνονται αὐθις ψῆφοι ὡς ἐξ ἄλλης ἀρχῆς, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δέξασθαι τὸν ψηφισθέντα τὸ μήνυμα προβάλλεται τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὕτω.

Γενομένης ἀναβάθρας διὰ ξύλων εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ τρικλίνου, περισκεπομένης διὰ βλατίου κοκκίνου, ἐφ' ἧς ἴσταται θρόνος βασιλικὸς ὁποῖος

[p. 277] X. Concerning the promotion of a patriarch

The bishops residing in Constantinople convene, more if they should happen to be present, if not, twelve<sup>733</sup> of them, even if those from the neighbouring churches have to be summoned. Or if there are neither twelve bishops residing [in Constantinople] nor available in the neighbouring churches,<sup>734</sup> as many bishops as can be found sit, by necessity, in session for the vote and select three persons<sup>735</sup> for patriarch, whomever God might bring to their attention. The select officials of the Church bring to the emperor in writing the names of the three and the emperor chooses<sup>736</sup> from among these the one whom God brings to his attention. Then those holders of court titles [p. 278] whom the emperor might determine, as well as the mentioned ecclesiastical officials, are sent by him and they bring the notification<sup>737</sup> to the one who has been elected and chosen, as by the Church and the emperor.<sup>738</sup> If he should accept, it is good. If not, they go to the next one. If he does not accept, they go to the remaining one. If, in like manner, neither he accepts, then a vote takes place again from the very beginning. After the elected one accepts the notification, the emperor promotes him in the following manner.

A wooden platform entirely covered with red silk is prepared at the entrance to the *triklinos*.<sup>739</sup> On this stands an imperial throne, of the kind that has been

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<sup>733</sup> The *De cer.* ed. Reiske (564.4) and a late Byzantine formula for an imperial *prostagma* directed at the metropolitans (Sathas, MB VI, 653), state that the emperor initiates the process. Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol does not address the question. See 433. 'The bishops residing in Constantinople' constitute the *synodos endemousa*. There are no canonical regulations concerning the number of bishops who must be present for the vote.

<sup>734</sup> The 'neighbouring churches' are those in Thrace. In 1354 Kantakouzenos (III, 270.8–9) sent for the bishops from the towns of Thrace to convene with the bishops present in Constantinople for the reappointment of Kallistos as patriarch.

<sup>735</sup> For 'three', see *De cer.* (ed. Reiske, 564.5); Pach. (III, 157.5): 'three, the usual [number]'. The number three is specified in novel 123 of Justinian: Schöll and Kroll, *Corpus iuris civilis*, III, 594.4.

<sup>736</sup> The emperor's right to choose the candidate of his liking is known from many cases in Byzantine history and specifically stated in the *De cer.* protocol (564.12–13), as well as by Pseudo-Kodinos.

<sup>737</sup> The notification or μήνυμα is the technical term for the summons of the candidate-elect to his promotion in the palace by the emperor. See Pach. III, 207.10–11; III, 156–157 notes 92, 93 (Failler).

<sup>738</sup> By using the phrase, 'as by the Church and the emperor,' the author indicates here, as he has above, that the election is truly by God who works through the church and the emperor.

<sup>739</sup> Gregoras (I, 566.23–564.6) states that the floor of the *triklinos* was higher at both ends of the room. Pseudo-Kodinos indicates that the throne was placed at the entrance on the other side of the room from the usual site of the throne. See 375–76 for a discussion of the use of space in the *triklinos*.

ἐν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως στεφηφορία εἴρηται, ὁ μὲν τρίκλινός ἐστι διαπεφραγμένος  
 βλατίοις, καθὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ δεσπότητος προβλήσει δεδήλωται, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς  
 τό τε στέμμα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φορῶν, ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ καθίζει ἐπὶ  
 5 τοῦ θρόνου, πάντων ἀρχόντων παρισταμένων ἔξω τοῦ διαφράγματος μετὰ  
 τῶν παρασήμων καὶ φορεμάτων αὐτῶν. Καὶ θρόνου ἡερανέου τεθέντος  
 κατὰ τὸ τοῦ τρικλίνου τρίτον [p. 279] μέρος ἀπὸ τοίχου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα,  
 περισκεπομένου διὰ βλατίου χρυσοῦ, ἔρχεται ὁ ὑπόψηφος πατριάρχης  
 (ὑπόψηφος γὰρ μέχρι τότε λέγεται) καὶ καθίζει ἐπ' αὐτοῦ. Εἶτα τῶν βλατίων  
 10 τοῦ διαφράγματος αἰρομένων ἀνίστανται καὶ ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ πάντες αὐτίκα  
 πολυχρονίζουσι.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν τις, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡ δεσπότης ἢ  
 σεβαστοκράτωρ ἢ καίσαρ, φέρει τὸν ὑπόψηφον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδημοῦσιν οὗτοι ταῖς  
 τῶν πατριαρχῶν προβλήσεσι, τῇ αἰτίᾳ, ὅτι τοῦ πατριάρχου καθημένου ἀνοικεῖον  
 ἐστὶν ἴστασθαι τούτους· πάλιν δὲ τῆς τῶν βασιλέων εὐφημίας γινομένης,

mentioned in the coronation of the emperor.<sup>740</sup> The *triklinos* is partitioned with silks in the fashion described for the promotion of the despot.<sup>741</sup> The emperor comes from his chamber wearing his crown and the rest,<sup>742</sup> and sits on his throne, while all the holders of court titles stand by, outside the partition, with their insignia and attire.<sup>743</sup> A blue<sup>744</sup> throne entirely covered with golden silk is placed in the third [p. 279] part of the *triklinos* from the wall,<sup>745</sup> facing the emperor. The candidate-patriarch arrives – he is called ‘candidate’ until then<sup>746</sup> – and sits on it. Then, after the silk of the partition is raised, both of them stand up<sup>747</sup> and immediately everyone wishes them ‘Many years’.

Thereupon, [someone presents the candidate-patriarch but] it is not one of the dignitaries, that is, a despot or a *sebastokrator* or a caesar who presents the candidate-patriarch; for they do not attend the promotions of patriarchs, the reason being that it is inappropriate for them to be standing while the patriarch is sitting. On the other hand, while the acclamation of the emperors<sup>748</sup> takes place,

<sup>740</sup> Above at ch. VII n. 630, Pseudo-Kodinos says that the thrones at the coronation are ‘not like the other thrones of the emperors but are four or even five steps high’. Thus, he implies that the throne on this occasion is higher than ‘the other thrones’.

<sup>741</sup> For the despot’s promotion (244.3–4) a partition is made of gold silk which divides the throne from the reception audience. See 434 on the comparison made with the despot’s promotion.

<sup>742</sup> For ‘the rest’, the *sakkos* and the *loros* (diadem), see above, n. 355.

<sup>743</sup> Here the author refers to both ‘insignia’ and ‘attire’ as if they are two different things. However, above (244.5) and below (256.3) he mentions only ‘insignia’ although he is clearly referring to articles of clothing. The two terms are therefore interchangeable. See 320 n. 4 on attire.

<sup>744</sup> See Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 173–77, for a discussion of the significance of the colour blue for patriarchal vestments. He considers the preponderance of surviving blue *sakkoi* an indication that the Church had adopted the colour symbolism of the imperial court. Blue was associated with the *sebastokrator*: see commentary at Ps.-Kod. 44.4, 7, 10, 12; 248.7. Both Gregoras (II, 697.9–11) and Kantakouzenos (II, 218.15–16) remark on the patriarch John Kalekas’ (1334–1347) use of blue (ὑακινθίνω/ἡερανέω) ink in his signature, a usage which was a breach in custom.

<sup>745</sup> See also above at 84.9 for reference to two-thirds inside the *triklinos* and at 116.11 and 184.7, for the middle of the *triklinos*; also 375.

<sup>746</sup> For the designation ‘candidate’, see Syropoulos, ed. Laurent, XII §7:554. Makarios of Ankyra denies this status, saying, ‘he is called patriarch as soon as he receives the notification’ (Laurent, ‘Le rituel de l’investiture du patriarche’, 231). According to Makarios, the patriarch comes to the palace wearing the mantle with the rivers. For this mantle, see below, 260.1–2. Symeon of Thessalonike (440D) also denies that the emperor ‘makes the patriarch’.

<sup>747</sup> That is, the emperor and the patriarch. See below at 254.11–12 where they sit for the acclamation.

<sup>748</sup> Until this point in the description of the promotion of the patriarch only one emperor was mentioned. The plural is used also in reference to the commemoration of the emperors at Christmas *prokypsis* (146.3–4: ‘emperors and empresses’), on Easter Monday (180.3)

- οὐκ ἐφεῖται τούτους καθῆσθαι· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οὐ πάρεισιν· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὁ κρείττων καὶ διαφορώτερος ἐπαίρων διὰ χειρὸς φέρει τοῦτον ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἀναβάθρας. Τοῦ οὖν πατριαρχικοῦ δικανικίου ἐκεῖσε ἐν τῷ ῥηθέντι διαφράγματι εὕρισκομένου, λαβὼν τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τινος
- 5 τῶν μὴ φορούντων σκιάδια εὐγενῶν, ἵσταμένου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ [p. 280] υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἶπερ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖσε, μεγάλη φωνῇ λέγει οὕτως, *Ἡ ἀγία Τριάς, ἡ τὴν βασιλείαν δωρησαμένη ἡμῖν, προβάλλεται σε ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, νέας Ρώμης, καὶ οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην*. Καὶ οὕτως αὐτίκα πολυχρονίζουσι πάντες. Εἶτα ὁ πατριάρχης ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβάθρας
- 10 ἀνελθὼν λαμβάνει τὸ δικανίκιον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως χειρὸς, καὶ εὐλογῶν αὐτὸν εὐθὺς κατέρχεται. Καθεσθέντων οὖν ἑκατέρων ἐπὶ τῶν θρόνων αὐτῶν, γίνεται ἡ εὐφημία τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου· καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐφημίαν κλεισθέντος τοῦ διαφράγματος, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης ἀπέρχεται ἱππότης εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν,

they are not permitted to sit.<sup>749</sup> For this reason they are not present. But it is the most high ranking and distinguished court title holder<sup>750</sup> who takes him by the hand and brings him before the platform. The emperor takes the patriarch's staff<sup>751</sup> – which is [to be] found there, in [the area behind] the mentioned partition – from one of the noblemen who does not wear a *skiadion*.<sup>752</sup> With the emperor standing and also his [p. 280] son, if he is present there, the former says in a loud voice: 'The Holy Trinity who gave us the Imperial Majesty promotes you archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and ecumenical patriarch'.<sup>753</sup> Immediately all wish 'Many years'. Then the patriarch comes onto the platform<sup>754</sup> and takes the staff from the emperor's hand<sup>755</sup> and, blessing the emperor,<sup>756</sup> he again descends. After each of them has sat on his throne, the acclamation of the emperor and the patriarch takes place. The partition is closed after the acclamation and the emperor returns to his chamber while the patriarch goes on horseback to Hagia Sophia.

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and at the coronation (240.11). These passages may indicate that the protocols derive from ceremonies performed when more than one emperor was on the throne.

<sup>749</sup> When present, these dignitaries stand on the raised end of the *triklinos*, the platform on which the throne is situated. Gregoras (I, 566.23–567.9) states that only the emperor and his close relatives are allowed to stand on the platform. These dignitaries cannot stand when the patriarch is sitting because this posture would indicate that the patriarch is above them in status. They cannot sit when both emperor and patriarch are sitting (to receive acclamations), since they would normally stand when the emperor is being acclaimed. For sitting and standing, see 379–84 also 253 n. 747.

<sup>750</sup> The fact that the *megas domestikos* is not named as the most distinguished title holder could be an indication that the protocol dates from before the promotion of John Kantakouzenos as *megas domestikos* under Andronikos II and Andronikos III, when the hierarchical position of the *megas domestikos* was raised. See 26.18–28.5.

<sup>751</sup> For a representation of the patriarch's staff, see the miniature in Paris. gr. 1242 showing John VI Kantakouzenos and churchmen. The figure to the emperor's right, who has been identified as the patriarch, holds a staff: Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 72. See Pl. 2 The inventory of Hagia Sophia from 1396 lists four patriarchal staffs: MM II, 569.3. On patriarchal insignia see 435.

<sup>752</sup> Young men do not wear *skiadia* or headgear of any kind. It is likely that Pseudo-Kodinos refers to an *archontopoulon* here, although he does not use the designation. See above at 140.14.

<sup>753</sup> The title of the patriarch in this form was first used in a signature of the patriarch Manuel I in 1222. For the history of the title, see Laurent, 'Le titre de patriarche oecuménique et la signature patriarcale', 24–5. Dagron sees significance in the formula used here: the Holy Trinity alone promotes the patriarch and not the Holy Trinity and the emperor together, as in the *Book of Ceremonies* (ed. Reiske, 565.1–3): Dagron, 'Empires royaux, royautés impériales', 92.

<sup>754</sup> See n. 739.

<sup>755</sup> Likewise Pach. III, 207.26–27; Symeon of Thessalonike, 441 CD; Makarios of Ankyra, in Laurent, 'Le rituel de l'investiture du patriarche', 232.

<sup>756</sup> See above, 242.4–6, for another blessing.

[p. 281] τοῦ ἵππου αὐτοῦ περισκεπομένου σαγίσματι ἐκ πανίου λευκοῦ μέχρι καὶ κεφαλῆς. Συναπέρχονται δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες μετ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐνδεδυμένοι παράσημα.

- 5 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ὑπόψηφος ἔτι ὢν καὶ ἐρχόμενος προβληθῆναι, ἔξω τῆς τοῦ παλατίου αὐλῆς πεζεύει, μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρόβλησιν ἐντός· σκεπάζουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ σαγίσματι, καθὼς εἴρηται.

Ἀπελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν μετὰ τὸ προβληθῆναι, ὡς δεδήλωται, εὐωχεῖται μετὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

- 10 Ἐν δὲ τῷ τῆς αὐτοῦ χειροτονίας καιρῷ ἔρχεται μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν συνήθη φορῶν στολὴν· χειροτονεῖται δὲ ὁ παριάρχης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλείας, ἐπεὶ τῆς Ἡρακλείας ἐπισκοπὴ ἦν τὸ Βυζάντιον.

- Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀρχιερεῖς χειροτονοῦνται [p. 282] σφραγιζόμενοι ἐκ δευτέρου (τὴν μὲν πρώτην σφραγίδα καλοῦσι μικράν, τὴν 15 δὲ δευτέραν μεγάλην, ἣτις ἐστὶ χειροντονία), ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης χειροτονεῖται μόνον, ἐπεὶ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως πρόβλησις ἀντὶ τῆς μικρᾶς λογίζεται σφραγίδος.

[p. 281] His horse is covered with a saddlecloth of white linen<sup>757</sup> as far as its head. The holders of court titles accompany him wearing their insignia.<sup>758</sup>

One should know that when the patriarch is still a candidate and comes to be promoted, he dismounts outside the palace courtyard, but after his promotion [he dismounts] inside the courtyard.<sup>759</sup> They cover his horse with a saddle-cloth, as was said.

He goes to Hagia Sophia after his promotion, as was described, and feasts with the bishops and the officials of the Church.

At the time of his ordination the emperor comes to Hagia Sophia wearing his customary daily attire. The patriarch is ordained by the metropolitan of Herakleia because Byzantion was a bishopric of Herakleia.<sup>760</sup>

One should know that<sup>761</sup> the other bishops are ordained [p. 282] with double consecration – the first consecration is called the ‘little one’, the second the ‘great one’ – but the patriarch is ordained only once, because the promotion by the emperor is considered to be in place of the ‘little consecration’.<sup>762</sup>

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<sup>757</sup> For the saddle-cloth, the *sagisma*, see also above at 76.8; Haldon, *Three treatises*, 197. Nicholas Mesarites, metropolitan of Ephesos, refers (1214) to the white linen cloth that covered his mule ‘up to his breast in front’: ed. Heisenberg, ‘Der Bericht des Nikolaos Mesarites’, 21.2–5. Syropoulos (§37:238.21–2) states that the patriarch Joseph’s white horse was covered with a new linen cloth from head to foot when he went to greet the pope for the first time in Ferrara in 1438.

<sup>758</sup> Also on the occasion of the promotion of a despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, the court title holders accompany them to their homes. See Ps.-Kod. 246. Symeon of Thessalonike, 441D, also describes the patriarch going forth on horseback through the courtyard of the (Blachernai) palace, down the public street to the patriarchate, followed by the entire senate. However, he adds that a groom leads the horse out of the courtyard. See Angelov, ‘The Donation of Constantine and the Church in late Byzantium’, 91–157, here at 116. Pachymeres (III, 163.9–12, 21) specifies, in the case of the ascetic Athanasios, that after his promotion (1284), he went on foot to Hagia Sophia from the Great Palace, where Andronikos II had held the ceremony instead of the Blachernai, to spare the patriarch fatigue.

<sup>759</sup> See Kantakouzenos (II, 103.20–104.2) who refers to the patriarch’s right to enter the courtyard on horseback. This honour was accorded to few, including the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar. Symeon of Thessalonike (see n. 758 above) speaks of the patriarch riding through the courtyard of the palace on his way to Hagia Sophia, thereby confirming the patriarch’s right to mount and dismount inside the courtyard. See 389–90, on the dismounting areas within the courtyard.

<sup>760</sup> For the consecration of the patriarch of Constantinople by the metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia, see Balsamon, commentary on canon 3 of the council of Constantinople: Rh-P II, 175–6; Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale*, 418–9, 446.

<sup>761</sup> From here to the end of the section Pseudo-Kodinos adds a series of notes.

<sup>762</sup> For the prayers for the ordination of a bishop, see Goar, *Euchologion*, 249–52. The formulation, ‘The holy grace of God ... ordains you bishop’ (250) is similar to the emperor’s statement when he promotes the patriarch. See n. 753.



Ὅμοίως καὶ ἀπαρallάκτως γίνεται καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐτέρων πατριαρχῶν πρόβλησις, τοῦ τε Ἀλεξανδρείας, τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας καὶ τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς Ἀχρίδος καὶ πάσης Βουλγαρίας, ἐπεὶ δευτέρα Ἰουστινιανή ἐστὶν ἡ Κύπρος, καὶ τρίτη ἡ Καρχηδών.

5 Οἱ μέντοι γε ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τὰς ψήφους αὐτῶν χειροτονούμενοι παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου, μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς τῆς χειροτονίας αὐτῶν, ποιῶν εὐχὴν ἕκαστος ὑπὲρ τε τῶν κρατούντων καὶ τοῦ ὑπηκόου, ἀπέρχεται προσκυνῶν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἀναγινώσκει αὐτὴν τῆς παραστάσεως ἵσταμένης.

10 Οἱ δέ γε ἀρχιμανδρίται καὶ πρωτοσύγκελλοι, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ καθηγούμενοι τῶν ἐντίμων μοναστηρίων, μετὰ τὸ τὴν σφραγίδα [p. 283] παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου λαβεῖν ἀπέρχονται καὶ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ οὗτοι, καὶ λαμβάνουσι τὸ δικανίκιον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως χειρός. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀρχιερεῖς εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐρχόμενοι

The promotion of the other patriarchs, namely of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, but also of the archbishop of Justiniana Prima, Ohrid and all Bulgaria (for Cyprus is Justiniana Secunda and Carthage is Justiniana Tertia)<sup>763</sup> takes place similarly and indistinguishably.<sup>764</sup>

The patriarch ordains the bishops after their election. Some days after his ordination each bishop prays on behalf of the rulers and the subject people. He comes to perform *proskynesis* to the emperor and reads the prayer while the reception is taking place.<sup>765</sup>

After receiving consecration [p. 283] by the patriarch, the archimandrites and the *protosynkelloi*, as well as the abbots of the venerable monasteries come and perform *proskynesis*, and receive their staffs from the emperor's hand.<sup>766</sup> The bishops who come to perform *proskynesis* to the emperor, as was mentioned,

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<sup>763</sup> Justiniana Prima was identified with the archbishopric of Bulgaria at Ohrid for the first time in the late 11th–12th c. Cyprus was named Justiniana Secunda also from the 12th c. While the equal rights of the bishop of Carthage, Carthago Justiniana, with Justiniana Prima and Cyprus were acknowledged in novel 131 of Justinian and repeated in the 12th c. by Balsamon (Rh-P III, 450–51), the title Justiniana Tertia does not appear in association with Carthage before Pseudo-Kodinos. See Prinzing, 'Entstehung und Rezeption der Justiniana-Prima Theorie im Mittelalter', 269–287, here at 279–280, 284–85; idem., 'Das Bild Justinians I', 65 n. 233; Markus, 'Carthage – Prima Justiniana – Ravenna', 277–302; Macrides, 'Demetrios Chomatenos and novel 131', 192–94.

<sup>764</sup> Makarios of Ankyra disagrees that the emperor promotes the other patriarchs. See Laurent, 'Le rituel de l'investiture du patriarce', 232.

<sup>765</sup> Symeon of Thessalonike (429C–433A) likewise relates that the newly ordained bishop says prayers for the people and is present at a reception where he prays for the emperor. He mentions the *proskynesis* and also the kissing of the emperor's hand of which he disapproves.

<sup>766</sup> Abbots of imperial monasteries receive staffs from the emperor's hand. See the chrysobull of Andronikos II (*anno* 1319) for the monastery of the Hodegetria tou Brontocheiou: '[the abbot] will have given to him by my Majesty the staff, also according to the prevailing custom, this being a symbol that the imperial monastery is included with the other imperial monasteries': Zepos, *Jus*, I, 677–81, here 681.19–24; also Krausmüller, 'Abbots and monks in eleventh-century Stoudios', 256–58. The custom was revived at Stoudios in the 11th c.

μετὰ τῶν ἐχόντων μανδύων αὐτῶν ποταμοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτόν, οἱ δέ γε τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄρχοντες πάντες μετὰ τῶν ἐπιρριπταρίων καὶ ἱματίων.

make *proskynesis* wearing their mantles that have the river [decoration].<sup>767</sup> All the officials of the Church come wearing their *epirriptaria* and *himatia*.<sup>768</sup>

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<sup>767</sup> The mantle, *mandyas*, signifies for the bishop his dignity and function: Pach. II, 355.26–27; Clugnet, *Dictionnaire*, 94. See Syropoulos (252.27–254.11) for an incident which illustrates that the mantle was the bishop's symbol of office. The emperor is said above at 228.2, 232.10 to wear a gold *mandyas* at his coronation. See also 224.4 where the mother of the new emperor wears a 'violet mantle'. The *potamoi*, literally 'rivers', are embroidered vertical bands that run from the top to the bottom of the mantle. See Symeon of Thessalonike, 257A; ODB 2, 1282; Johnstone, *Church embroidery*, 14, 18; Manaphes, Σινᾶ, fig. 19, p. 256.

<sup>768</sup> Members of the church as well as laymen wear *himatia*, tunics. See 104.10, 116.12, 224.4, 238.11. For the *himatia* of the churchmen, see Symeon of Thessalonike, 396B; cf ODB 2, 932. For *epirriptaria*, always mentioned in Pseudo-Kodinos with *himatia*, see above at 116.12.

[p. 284] ΙΑ΄ Περί πενθίμων βασιλικῶν φορεμάτων.

- Πατὴρ βασιλέως ἀποθανόντος ἢ μητὴρ ἢ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ἢ μὴν  
 υἱοῦ καὶ ἐγγόνου βασιλέων ὄντων, ὁ κρατῶν λευκὰ ἐνδύματα φορεῖ  
 5 μέχρι καιροῦ ὅσον ἂν βούλοιοτο, εἴτα κίτρινα ἄνευ μαργελλίων, ἔπειτα  
 τὰ αὐτὰ πάλιν μετὰ μαργελλίων, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λαμπροφορεῖ· εἰ δὲ  
 θεῖος ἢ θεία πρὸς πατρός, ἢ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, δεσπότης ὢν εἴτε καὶ μή,  
 ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἢ υἱός, κίτρινα μὲν καὶ τότε, χωρὶς δὲ μαργελλίων, εἴτα μετὰ  
 μαργελλίων. Καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς λευχειμονεῖ, ὥς εἴρηται, διὰ  
 10 τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ γνησίους, πάντες μελανειμονοῦσιν, οὐκ ἄρχοντες μόνον,

## [p. 284] XI. Concerning imperial mourning attire

When an emperor's father or mother or wife dies, or a son or grandson, if they are emperors, the ruler wears white clothes<sup>769</sup> for as long a time as he wishes, then he puts on yellow<sup>770</sup> clothes without borders,<sup>771</sup> then he wears the same with borders, and afterwards he wears bright<sup>772</sup> clothing. If an uncle or an aunt from his father's side, or a brother, regardless whether he is a despot<sup>773</sup> or not, or a sister or a son<sup>774</sup> dies, then he wears yellow clothes without borders, and afterwards with borders. During the period when the emperor wears white on account of his close relatives, as was mentioned, everyone wears black,<sup>775</sup> not only the holders of court titles

<sup>769</sup> Sources from the time of John VI Kantakouzenos' reign and shortly after state that white was the colour of mourning for the emperor: 'white garments, the sign of emperors in mourning' (Kant. II, 167.6–12). John VI Kantakouzenos wore white in mourning for Andronikos III, from the day after his proclamation in Didymoteichon in 1341 until he entered Constantinople as emperor in 1347: Greg. II, 612. 5–11. Panaretos (73.20–23) reports too that in 1361 Alexios III of Trebizond wore white, 'as was the custom for kings', because of his sorrow at the death of his *meḡas doux*. There is no evidence for white as the colour of mourning before Kantakouzenos. Ibn Battuta (ed. Gibb, 502) who visited Constantinople in 1332/34, describes the brother of the Byzantine princess he accompanied, an offspring of Andronikos III, as wearing white. Earlier also, in the time of the *Book of Ceremonies*, white was worn on feast days: ed. Reiske, 142.16–21; 184.14, 23; 188.1. It was the colour of high rank, equivalent to red. See Koutava-Delivoria, 'Hiérarchie des couleurs', 242–243. By 1400–1401 when Manuel II made his journey to England and France, white no longer signified mourning. See the *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys*, II, 756–57: 'habitum imperialem ex albo serico'; Adam Usk, ed. and trans. Given-Wilson, 118. See 353–56.

<sup>770</sup> Yellow is next to white in the colour scale of 10th c. Souda (ed. Adler, IV, 709). See 353–54.

<sup>771</sup> For *margellia*, see ch. II. That clothing trimmed in gold (*chrysopasta*) is not appropriate to mourning is also stated by Kantakouzenos (II 167.7).

<sup>772</sup> Gregoras (I, 482.1–6) relates that Andronikos III, who was in mourning for the death of his grandfather, wore 'brighter clothing' upon the birth of his son. The reference to 'brightness' indicates that the Byzantines described colour in terms of light. On this see James, *Light and colour in Byzantine art*, 79, 99, 139 and *passim*. Although white and yellow are at the light end of the scale they do not have the radiance of imperial garments trimmed with gold, gems and pearls. See 354–55.

<sup>773</sup> Despot brothers are rare. Michael VIII conferred the dignity on his brother John Palaiologos. For this see ch. VIII. Michael IX made his brother John despot, after his own coronation, together with his father Andronikos II: Pach. III, 221.18–24.

<sup>774</sup> Above, the author has already referred to sons or grandsons of the emperor, 'if they are emperors'. Below he mentions nephews. Therefore, it seems that here 'son' indicates not the son of the emperor's brother or sister, that is, a nephew of the emperor, but rather the emperor's own son, one who is not, however, an emperor.

<sup>775</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos uses two words for 'black', μαύρος (58.3: baton; 100.9: shoes) and μέλας. Pach. II, 631.9 indicates that even the emperor Michael VIII's son, Constantine,

ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τοῦ λαοῦ. Οἱ δὲ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος γνήσιοι, τοῦ βασιλέως κίτρινα φοροῦντος, μέλανα οὗτοι ἐνδύονται ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἕως ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡερά[p. 285]νεα μέχρις ἂν ἀλλάξοι ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τότε λαμπροφοροῦσι καὶ οὗτοι.

- 5 Ἄνευ δὲ ὧν εἴρηται, εἰ συμβῇ τινὰ ἕτερον τῶν καθ' αἷμα συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ τελευτῆσαι, οὐδαμῶς φορεῖ κίτρινα ὁ βασιλεὺς. Ἄν δέ τις τῶν γνησίων αὐτοῦ ἢ θείου ἢ ἀνεψιοῦ ἢ ἐξαδέλφου γυνὴ τελευτήσῃ ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἢ υἱός, ὁ τὸν τεθνεῶτα ἀποβαλὼν διαβιβάζει ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὀσπητίῳ τὰς τεταγμένας πενθίμους ἡμέρας, ἥτοι μέχρι καὶ τῶν νενομισμένων ἐνάτων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
- 10 ἔρχεται νυκτὸς καὶ προσκυνεῖ τὸν βασιλέα μελανειμονῶν, καὶ ἔκτοτε ἐκτὸς μὲν ἐνδεδυμένος ἐστὶ μέλανα, τὸν βασιλέα δὲ προσκυνῶν φορεῖ ἡεράνεα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδεδομένον ἐστὶ μελανειμονεῖν τινὰ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ.

but also the people.<sup>776</sup> When the emperor wears yellow, the close relatives of the deceased dress in black, when they are in his presence, for forty days, and afterwards they wear blue<sup>777</sup> [p. 285] until the emperor changes his attire. Then they also wear bright clothing.

If it happens that another of the emperor's relatives by blood, apart from those mentioned, dies, the emperor does not wear yellow at all. If a wife, a brother, or a son of one of his close relatives dies, be this relative an uncle, nephew or cousin, the person who has lost the deceased person passes the days prescribed for mourning in his house, that is, until the customary ninth day,<sup>778</sup> and afterwards comes at night dressed in black and performs *proskynesis* to the emperor. From that time on he wears black outside, but when he performs *proskynesis* to the emperor he wears blue. For it is not permitted to anyone to wear black in the palace.<sup>779</sup>

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wore black upon the death of his brother's wife. The wearing of black does not include black shoes for the title holders. See 174.4–6 and n. 487 above. On *melas*, see 356.

<sup>776</sup> A rare reference to the 'people' which shows that the inhabitants of the city also wear black when an imperial relation dies.

<sup>777</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos uses the same word (ἡεράνεος) for the blue of the patriarch's throne in the *triklinos* at the time of his appointment. See ch. X: 252.5.

<sup>778</sup> For the nine days of mourning, 'according to custom', see Greg. I, 463.19–20. Kant. (II, 14.1–8; 14.13–15) relates that Andronikos III's widow Anne mourned for nine days in the palace and was visited every day by members of the senate and army.

<sup>779</sup> After the ninth day of mourning relatives of the deceased wear black when they come at night to the palace to perform *proskynesis* to the emperor. It is not permitted to wear black in the palace in the daytime, it seems. See 356, for black in the palace.



[p. 286] IB' Περὶ μελλονύμφης δεσποίνης.

Χρὴ καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκειν, ὅτι δεσποίνης νύμφης ἐρχομένης ἔξωθεν ἢ διὰ  
 5 ξηρᾶς ἢ διὰ θαλάσσης, κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν μέλλει ἀποσωθῆναι εἰς τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐγνωσμένην οὖσαν, προσυπαντᾷ ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς  
 ὁ νεόνυμφος μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, εἰ περίεστιν· εἰ δ' οὐκ,  
 αὐτὸς μόνος· καὶ εἰ μὲν διὰ ξηρᾶς ἔρχεται, πεζεύειν αὐτὴν εἴθισται περὶ τὴν  
 Πηγὴν· εἰ δὲ μετὰ κατέργων, πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν ἔξω τῆς  
 πόλεως, ὅπου ἂν τύχοι εἶναι ἐπιτήδειον.

10 Προκαταλαμβάνουσαι τοίνυν τὴν καταγωγὴν ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐκεῖ αἱ τῶν  
 ἀξιωματικῶν καὶ συγκλητικῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρχόντων γυναῖκες αἱ  
 κρείττους καὶ εὐγενέστεραι ὑποδέχονται τὴν δέσποιναν καὶ νεονύμφην  
 ἐρχομένην, φιλοφρονούμεναι βασιλικῶς αὐτὴν καὶ θεραπεύουσαι,  
 15 προσυπαντώντων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων, ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων, ἢ τοῦ νεονύμφου καὶ  
 μόνου, ἂν μὴ καὶ [p. 287] πατὴρ ἢ, καθάπερ εἴρηται.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν μετὰ κατέργων ἔρχεται, προσυπαντᾷ αὐτῇ περὶ τὴν  
 Ἀκρόπολιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Εὐγενίου πύλην ἔφιππος ὣν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ  
 τῶν ἀρχόντων· εἰ δ' ἀπὸ ξηρᾶς, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ εἴρηται.  
 20 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖς ἢ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέρχεται καταλιμπάνων  
 αὐτὴν ἐκεῖσε, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀρχοντισσῶν ὑποδοῦσιν  
 αὐτὴν τὰ κόκκινα ἢ βασιλίσσαι, ἐὰν ὦσιν, ἢ σεβαστοκρατόρισσαι ἢ

## [p. 286] XII. Concerning an imperial bride-to-be

One should know also the following. When an imperial bride arrives from abroad, either by land or by sea, the emperor, her husband and bridegroom, along with the emperor, his father, if the latter is alive, meet her (but if not, the former meets her alone) on the day when it is known that she will arrive safely in the city. If she arrives by land, it is customary that she dismount at Pege.<sup>780</sup> If she arrives with ships she comes ashore near the church of the Blachernai, outside the city,<sup>781</sup> wherever it might be suitable. The most distinguished and noble wives of the dignitaries, senators and other court title holders<sup>782</sup> come in advance to the place of arrival, whether it is the former or the latter, and receive the imperial bride. They treat her in an imperial manner and take care of her, while the emperors meet her as well, either both of them, or only the bridegroom, if his [p. 287] father is no longer alive, as was mentioned.

If she comes with ships, the emperor meets her on horseback along with the court title holders, near the Acropolis at the Eugenios Gate.<sup>783</sup> If she comes over land, he meets her outside the city, just as mentioned. After this the emperors, or the emperor, retire and leave her there, while from among the mentioned wives of the court title holders,<sup>784</sup> either *basilissai*, if there are any, or *sebastokratorissai* or the *kaisarissai* or the noblest among the others, put red shoes on her, there

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<sup>780</sup> The gate of Pege (Silivri Gate), near a holy spring (Baloukli) and the monastery of the Virgin of the Spring. Janin, *Églises*, 223–28; van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 75–8; Efthymiadis, ‘Le monastère de la Source à Constantinople’, 283–309. John VI Kantakouzenos’ daughter, arriving from Adrianople in 1347 to marry John V, was greeted by the emperors and the court title holders ‘before the city, at the church of the Mother of God where there is a spring’: Kant. III, 11.15–21. See the map of Constantinople, viii.

<sup>781</sup> For the church of the Virgin at the Blachernai: Ps.-Kod. 196; Janin, *Églises*, 161–71. Rita-Maria of Armenia, disembarked at the ‘end of the Horn at Kosmidion’ when she arrived in 1295 to marry Michael IX: Pach. III, 233.3–7. This would be a ‘suitable’ place, outside the walls of the city.

<sup>782</sup> Absent from this group of women is the empress mother-in-law. See n. 436.

<sup>783</sup> The Eugenios Gate, the main point of disembarkation for visitors arriving at Constantinople in the 4th c., was close to the head of the promontory or Acropolis. See van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 227; Mango, ‘The triumphal way of Constantinople’, 178–79. Above, Pseudo-Kodinos has already stipulated that the bride who travels by sea disembarks near the Blachernai church, outside the city. Now he gives a different disembarkation place. Magdalino, ‘Pseudo-Kodinos’ Constantinople’, 11–13, argues that the author records two different procedures that had been followed on different occasions. See 435–37. For the significance of the Eugenios Gate in 12th c. ceremonial, see Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 240–42.

<sup>784</sup> The wives of dignitaries (despots, *sebastokratores* and caesars) and of the other court title holders were designated by their husbands’ titles. See 318. Pseudo-Kodinos gives the feminine form of the titles of the *sebastokratores* and caesars, and the title of the despot’s wife, *basilissa*.

καισάρισσαι ἢ αἱ εὐγενέστεραι τῶν λοιπῶν, ὄντων δὲ προητοιμασμένων καὶ φορεμάτων βασιλικῶν. Σταλεῖσα βασιλικῶς καὶ προπεμπομένη ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ παλάτιον ἔφιππος, τελουμένων μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν γαμικῶν τελετῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ.

- 5 Ἰστέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ παρδοβάγιοι, ὀπηνίκα φέρουσι τοὺς πάρδους, ἵππῳ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὸ παλάτιον καὶ ἵππῳ ὁμοίως ἐξέρχονται· ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ τὰ κρυοτήρια φέροντες παροινοχόοι ἔφιπποι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ παλατίου εἰσέρχονται.

being prepared in advance imperial clothing.<sup>785</sup> Sent forth in imperial fashion, she goes, escorted, on horseback to the palace. After this the wedding ceremonies are carried out on a specified day.

One should know this also. When the pard trainers bring the pards,<sup>786</sup> they enter the palace on horseback and leave it similarly on horseback. In like fashion the helpers of the wine suppliers<sup>787</sup> who deliver the cooling containers<sup>788</sup> also enter the palace riding a horse.

<sup>785</sup> The dressing of the bride-to-be is known from the poem and the illustrations for the reception of a foreign bride in Constantinople preserved in Vat. gr. 1851. See Spatharakis, *The portrait*, 223.1–224.20; fig. 167 (f. 3v). For ‘red’, see 354; for the manuscript, see 364–65.

<sup>786</sup> The interjection here about the ‘pard trainers’ and the ‘helpers of the wine suppliers’ appears abrupt and random, unless both references are understood in connection with the wedding celebrations. Maguire, ‘Images of the court’, 191, interprets the reference to the pards as gifts of the foreign bride. It seems more likely, however, that the animals were already in Constantinople and have to do with the wedding entertainments. Pards were not unknown in Palaiologan Constantinople. The pard or cheetah features in *An entertaining tale of quadrupeds* (ca. 1364): eds. Nicholas and Baloglou, 860, 868; 333 (commentary); Nicholas, ‘A conondrum of cats’, 253–98, esp. 260–67. For Comnenian Constantinople see Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Adler, 21; Ševčenko, ‘Wild animals in the Byzantine park’, 69–86, esp. 79; Maguire and Maguire, *Other icons*, 84. They were symbols of status and wealth both in Byzantium and the Islamic East: Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 186, p. 264. The term παρδοβάγιοι is a hapax, composed of the vernacular *pardos*, and *baioulos*, of Latin origin, meaning ‘carer’ or ‘trainer’. See Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v. βαίουλος. According to Constantine Pantechnes’ *ekphrasis* of a ‘cheetah hunt’, the animal could be trained to spring up onto the hindquarters of his trainer’s horse and ride with him. See Nicholas, ‘A conondrum of cats’, 295. A horse-riding cheetah is depicted on the Clephane horn, an 11th c. ivory horn from southern Italy (Pl. 16) and on 12th c. ceramic bowls from Greece (see Maguire and Maguire, *Other icons*, figs. 79, 80, pp. 83, 84; Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, 264) but also in Gozzoli’s painting of the Magi’s procession (1459) in the chapel of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence (Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, 106). Pl. 6. Thus, entrance into the palace on horseback, normally restricted to a few dignitaries (see 389–90), is a practical measure in the case of the horse-riding pards, as also in that of the transporters of the ‘cooling containers’.

<sup>787</sup> Demetrakos, s.v. παρτονοχός, interprets this hapax to mean those who assist the *oinochooi*, the wine pourers or suppliers.

<sup>788</sup> The κρυο(ν)τήρια are containers, jugs or ewers, that keep drinks cool. They are listed in inventories of household property. See, e.g., *Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 49.30 (a. 1384) (p. 264); Oikonomides, ‘The contents of the Byzantine house’, 211. Their shape is known from archaeological finds. For pottery examples (these pottery jugs imitate the shape of more luxurious metal vessels) see the vessels found in Bulgaria, dating from the 12th to the 14th c.: Bakirtzes, *Βυζαντινά τσουκαλολάγνα*, 100–105, esp. 102–103 and n. 24; fig. 3, p. 27. Another source for the identification and appearance of the containers are the verses and images in the work ‘on the 12 months’ in cod. Constantinopolitanus Serail 35, dating to 1461. The month of July shows a man drinking cool (ὑπόδροσον) wine from a jug described as a *kryonterin*: Eideneier, ‘Ein byzantinisches Kalendergedicht in der Volkssprache’, 401–402.

## APPENDIX

After σεβαστοκράτωρ V and W add

[p. 133] ιστέον δὲ [δὲ om. V] ὅτι μέχρι τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ τὸ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος ἀξίωμα οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα πρῶτον πάντων ἦν τὸ τοῦ καίσαρος· οὗτος δέ, ἐπεὶ τὸν Μελισσηνὸν Νικηφόρον τῷ τοῦ καίσαρος ἀξιώματι προφθάσας τετίμηκε, ἦν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρῶτος κατὰ χρόνον ὁ Κομνηνὸς Ἰσαάκιος, ἐχρῆν δὲ τοῦτον μείζονι τιμηθῆναι ἀξιώματι, ἕτερον δ' ἀξίωμα οὐκ ἦν, ὡς ἔφθηνεν [ἔφθηνεν V] εἰπόντες, πλὴν τοῦ καίσαρος, ὠνοματοποίησε νέον ἀξίωμα· συνθεῖς αὐτὸ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἐφηρμόσατο τὰδελφῶ, τὸ σεβαστοκράτωρ δηλαδή, δεῦτερον οἰοῖ βασιλέα τοῦτον πεποικώς, καὶ ὑπεβίβασε τοῦτον τὸν καίσαρα, καὶ τρίτον ἐν ταῖς εὐφημίαις, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καίσαρα, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εὐφημίαν ἀναγορεύεσθαι ἀπηριθμήσατο.

After καίσαρ V and W list

μέγας δομέστικος,

[p. 134] πανυπερσεβαστος· καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα μὴ ὄν, ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξιος πρῶτος ἐπινενόηκε [ἐπενόησε V]· θέλων γὰρ ὡσαύτως τιμῆσαι καὶ τὸν ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ [ἀδελφῇ V] γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ Μιχαῆλ τὸν Ταρωνίτην, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἕτερόν τι ἀξίωμα ὑπὲρ τὸ τοῦ καίσαρος ἀναβιβάσαι, ὠνοματοποίησε καὶ συντέθεικε καὶ ἕτερον νέον ἀξίωμα ὑπὲρ τὸ τοῦ καίσαρος ἢ τὸ τοῦ πανυπερσεβάστου, ᾧ καὶ τετίμηκε [p. 135] τὸν εἰρημένον Ταρωνίτην, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ἰσοστάσιον καὶ σύνθρονον τῷ καίσαρι, μήτε ὑποβιβάσας αὐτὸν τοῦτου [τοῦ τόπου V], μήτε ἀναβιβάσας· ὁ καὶ μέχρι τινὸς οὕτως ἐπικρατήσαν, ὕστερον ὑπεβιβάσθη καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τὸν καίσαρα. Καὶ ἐπεκράτησεν οὕτως μέχρι τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς – ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ τιμήσας τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν Ἰωάννην, ὃς ἐγεγόνει καὶ βασιλεὺς ὕστερον, μέγαν δομέστικον – πρῶτον μὲν ἰσοστάσιον τῷ πανυπερσεβάστῳ τοῦτον ἐποίησεν, ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ ὑπεβίβασε τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ πανυπερσεβάστου, καὶ ἔταξεν αὐτὸ εἶναι ὑπὸ τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον, ἀναβιβάσας τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστικού ἀξίωμα [ἀξίωμα δομεστικού W]. Ἰστέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι παρεχρήσατο τῇ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ ἁξία ὁ Κομνηνὸς Ἀλέξιος τῇ συνθέσει τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων· σεβαστοὶ γὰρ ἀνέκαθεν ἐπιθετικῶς οἱ βασιλεῖς ὀνομάζοντο, καὶ ἦν ἐξιδιαιζόντως [ἐξιδιαιζόντος VW] εἰς βασιλέα λεγόμενον τὸ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ ὄνομα, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ κοινότερον πρῶτος [πρῶτος om. V] κατήνεγκε τὴν τοιαύτην ἁξίαν· ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καινοτομεῖν καὶ πράγματα καὶ ὀνόματα ἀκωλύτως, καὶ ἀναβιβάζειν ὡς βούλονται·

πρωτοβεστιάριος· σημειωτέον δ' ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Μιχαῆλ τῶν Παλαιολόγων ὁ πρῶτος, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοσεβάστου [σεβάστου V] τὰ πράσινα φορέματα ἀφελών, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀξίωμα γ', ἐφόρεσε ταῦτα εἰς τὸν ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ Μιχαῆλ τὸν [p. 136] Ταρχανειώτην, τιμήσας πρωτοβεστιάριον· ὃν καὶ ὑπερέχοντα πάντων, τοῦ τε μεγάλου δομεστικού καὶ τοῦ πανυπερσεβάστου, ἐποίησε

δηλαδὴ μετὰ τὸν καίσαρα· ὑπεβίβασε δὲ πάλιν τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀνδρόνικος τῶν Παλαιολόγων ὁ δεῦτερος ὅτε τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν Ἰωάννην, ὡς ἀνωτέρω προλέλεκται, ἐτίμησε μέγαν δομέστικον· ἀνεβίβασε γὰρ αὐτὸν τοῦ τε πάππου καὶ βασιλέως ἀνεψιῶν, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θείων, τῶν [καὶ V] ἐτέρων τε [om. V] πάντων, καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ πανυπερσεβάστου καὶ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου. Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ἡ τῶν ὀφφικίων τάξις ἐπεκράτησεν οὕτως, τὸ τὸν μέγαν δηλαδὴ δομέστικον μετὰ τὸν καίσαρα εἶναι ἀρχήν, εἴτα τὸν πανυπερσέβαστον, καὶ καθεξῆς τοὺς λοιπούς·

[p. 137] μέγας δούξ,  
 πρωτοστράτωρ,  
 μέγας στρατοπεδάρχης,  
 μέγας πριμμικήριος,

...

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# STUDIES



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# The Hierarchy of Titles

## The Court Hierarchy: Genesis and Contexts

A distinctive feature of the ceremonial book of Pseudo-Kodinos is the hierarchical list of court titles, whose holders made up the human backbone of the Byzantine imperial court in the fourteenth century. The ranking, attire, and function of these titles are the subjects of chapters I, II, III, and VI – about 40 percent of the entire treatise. Scholars have discussed on several occasions different aspects of the court titles of Pseudo-Kodinos.<sup>1</sup> Questions awaiting fuller investigation remain. When was the list of precedence composed? In what ways was the Palaiologan system of court titles similar and different from that of the ninth and the tenth century, which has been studied on the basis of similar lists of precedence and the *Book of Ceremonies*? The following discussion adduces arguments about the genesis of the court hierarchy of Pseudo-Kodinos during, or shortly after, the Second Civil War (1341–47): an internecine conflict between the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1341–54) and the regency government in Constantinople led by the dowager empress Anne of Savoy, the *meGas doux* Alexios Apokaukos and the patriarch John XIV Kalekas (1334–47). The tenth-century court titles were divided both notionally and in actual practice into ‘dignities’, highly prestigious designations, and ‘offices’, titles with specific fields of responsibility. Pseudo-Kodinos bears witness to the transformation of the tenth-century system and raises questions about the chronology and path of the evolution. As will be shown, fading echoes of the middle Byzantine system reverberate in the Palaiologan court hierarchy and in documentary evidence. Another issue of tradition and innovation tackled below concerns the ‘new’ titles attested after 1204, a sizeable proportion of the hierarchy. Pseudo-Kodinos’ account of the service of the titles gives valuable insights into matters of governance and into the composition and daily routine of the court. What are the specific strengths and weaknesses of Pseudo-Kodinos as a source on administration and the court?

## Initial Considerations

Clues on the method of composition of the list in chapter I of Pseudo-Kodinos can be gleaned from inner inconsistencies in the ranking. The titles in chapter I amount

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<sup>1</sup> Guillard, ‘Observations’; Verpeaux, ‘Hiérarchie’; Raybaud, *Le gouvernement*, 157–82. More critical and in-depth is the discussion by Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 32–53, 395–408 (prosopography of title-holders attested in narrative and documentary sources).

to 82 in total: 80 ranked titles and two unranked ones, those of *epi tou kanikleiou* and *megas baioulos*, whose precise place in the court hierarchy is said to be unknown.<sup>2</sup> The top part of the list, and specifically the first 12 titles, show traces of the configuration in the court hierarchy prior to changes introduced by several Palaiologan emperors. The same title is mentioned twice in its ranking before and after the change, or is listed first with its earlier ranking, while the subsequent position is clarified elsewhere. The garbled structure of the upper portion of the hierarchy is suggestive of the process of composition. The first 12 titles are listed in the following fashion:

1. despot
2. *sebastokrator*
3. caesar  
*protovestiarios*  
*megas doux*
4. *megas domestikos*
5. *panhypersebastos*
6. *protovestiarios* [mentioned again with its correct rank]
7. *megas doux* [mentioned again with its correct rank]
8. *protostrator*
- [9. *megas logothetes*: not mentioned here; his elevated ranking is explained later]
10. *megas stratopedarches*
11. *megas primmikerios*
12. *megas konostaulos*  
*megas logothetes* [mentioned for the first time; a subsequent note after the *logothetes tou genikou*, 18th in rank, explains the correct higher rank of the *megas logothetes*]

The titles of *protovestiarios* and *megas doux* are mentioned twice. They are initially listed as ranking fourth and fifth, but the historical note after the *megas domestikos* modifies their placement by referring to changes in the court hierarchy during the reigns of Andronikos II Palaiologos and Andronikos III Palaiologos. It is explained that when rewarding his nephew John Palaiologos with the dignity of *panhypersebastos*, the emperor Andronikos II raised the rank of the *panhypersebastos* above that of *protovestiarios*, *megas doux* and *megas domestikos*; the promotion of John Palaiologos is known to have taken place in 1305.<sup>3</sup> The digression continues by describing how the co-emperors Andronikos II and Andronikos III raised the

<sup>2</sup> Before Verpeaux's critical edition, the total number of titles was counted as 81 due to the omission of the title of *domestikos ton teicheon* from Goar's edition of 1648 which was reprinted in the 19th c. See above at 22–23.

<sup>3</sup> PLP 21479. Pach. (IV, 565.3–15) writes that on this occasion the emperor took away the insignia of the eparch, yellow in colour, and bestowed them on the *panhypersebastos*.

rank of the *megas domestikos* from beneath the *protovestiarios* and the *megas doux* to the same level as the *panhypersebastos* when they jointly appointed John Kantakouzenos as *megas domestikos* (that is, during the First Civil War in about 1325).<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos adds that during his sole rule (1328–1341) Andronikos III Palaiologos further raised the rank of *megas domestikos*, setting it above the *panhypersebastos*. After the end of these notes, the author of the list felt compelled to mention again the *protovestiarios* and *megas doux*, this time with their changed, lower ranking: that is, following the *megas domestikos* and the *panhypersebastos*. The procedure followed in reporting the pre- and post-elevation rank of the *megas logothetes* is similar. The title is first listed as twelfth in the hierarchy. When the list reaches the *logothetes tou genikou*, eighteenth in the hierarchy, a digression states that the emperor Andronikos II raised the *megas logothetes* to a rank between the *protostrator* and the *megas primmikerios* (that is, to a ninth place in the hierarchy) on the occasion of Theodore Metochites' promotion from *logothetes tou genikou* to *megas logothetes*. This change in the hierarchy dates to the year 1321, the beginning of the First Civil War, when Metochites was appointed *megas logothetes*.<sup>5</sup>

How can we interpret the awkward manipulation of the upper portion of the list? In the introduction to his edition of the treatise, Verpeaux called attention to the case of the *megas logothetes* and suggested the most plausible explanation: the main source for Pseudo-Kodinos' list was an old court protocol that was collated with more recent sources.<sup>6</sup> Composition by compilation and accretion over time is attested in the lists of precedence of patriarchal officials (the *archontes* of the Great Church).<sup>7</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos' court list appears likewise to repeat and rearrange older material. The question of chronology thus becomes twofold: the date of production of the compilation represented by the court hierarchy in chapter I and the date of the material on which the compilation is based. It is plausible to assume that the 'old source', against which the re-ranking was carried out, was a single court protocol. This court protocol is hereafter called 'List A' for the sake of convenience. According to Verpeaux, the circumstance that the *megas logothetes* ranked twelfth rather than ninth in hypothetical List A means that it ought to date before 1321. Verpeaux reasoned that the compiler of Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy followed closely List A, but when reaching the *logothetes tou genikou* remembered,

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The same remark is made by Ps.-Kod. 26.13–16 and is paralleled by the comments of Greg. I, 271.13–18.

<sup>4</sup> Nicol (*Byzantine family*, 35; *Immortal emperor*, 23) assumed that John Kantakouzenos' promotion from *megas papias* to *megas domestikos* took place at Andronikos III's coronation on 2 February 1325. Weiss, *Joannes Kantakouzenos*, 10, n. 50, more cautiously suggested the period 1322–1325.

<sup>5</sup> Greg. I, 322.3–4.

<sup>6</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 36. Gaul, 'The partridge's purple stockings' also sees the work of a compiler behind the discrepancies in the list.

<sup>7</sup> Darrouzès, *Recherches*, 204–209, 199–201, 267–74.

or cared to consult, up-to-date information about the elevated rank of the *megas logothetes* without revising the upper section of the list.<sup>8</sup>

Verpeaux's interpretation of the process of compilation has one further logical consequence not considered by him: the hypothetical List A must go back to at least 1305, the year until which the *protovestiaros* and *megas doux* had a higher rank than the *panhypersebastos*. In addition to the testimony of Pachymeres cited above regarding the special favours which Andronikos II extended to his nephew John Palaiologos at his promotion as *panhypersebastos* in 1305, a passage from the work of the same historian suggests that the *panhypersebastos* was not among the five highest-ranking court dignitaries in the last decades of the thirteenth century. After concluding the Union of Lyons (1274) the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos found himself compelled, as a result of a series of sudden deaths, to fill vacancies in 'the greatest dignities' (οἱ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀξιώμασιν), namely, despot, *sebastokrator*, caesar, *protovestiaros*, and *megas doux*. The *panhypersebastos* is conspicuously absent.<sup>9</sup>

The evidence used by the compiler of the list in chapter I includes the memory of an event in the court in the 1320s. The two unranked titles of *epi tou kanikleiou* and *megas baioulos* are said to be normally part of the ranked hierarchy, but their position 'was unknown'. The reason for ignorance about the *epi tou kanikleiou* is explained: the *epi tou kanikleiou* Nikephoros Choumnos (d. 16 January 1327) 'neither took part in a reception, nor was he present for [the ceremony of] the kiss. Therefore his position was not known'. Scholars have attributed the reasons for Choumnos' withdrawal from the court either to affliction with gout or to deep resentment of the promotion to *megas logothetes* of Theodore Metochites, his political and intellectual rival with whom in the 1320s he exchanged polemical pamphlets. Metochites' appointment in 1321 was, furthermore, accompanied, as we have seen, by the elevation of the *megas logothetes* several notches above his previous rank and also above the rank of the *epi tou kanikleiou*.<sup>10</sup> A note on these two individuals appears in another Palaiologan list which omits, too, the *epi tou*

<sup>8</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 36.

<sup>9</sup> See Pach. II, 525.7–11: Βασιλεὺς δ' ἀποβαλὼν πρὸ ὀλίγου μὲν σεβαστοκράτορα, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ καὶ δεσπότην, τοὺς αὐταδέλφους, ἐτι δὲ πρὸ τούτων καὶ ἄλλον σεβαστοκράτορα καὶ καίσαρα καὶ πρωτοβεστιάριον καὶ μέγαν δοῦκα καὶ ἅπλως τοὺς ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀξιώμασιν, ἄλλους ἀνάγκην εἶχεν ἰστάναι. Pach. I, 153.9–155.5, lists the *megas doux* before the *protovestiaros* within the same configuration of the top five members of the court hierarchy in his account of the appointments which the emperor Michael VIII made at the very beginning of his reign. The latter passage is used by Verpeaux, 'Hiérarchie', 422–25, for a hypothetical reconstruction of the evolution of the order of court precedence under Michael VIII and Andronikos II up until 1305.

<sup>10</sup> After studying the vitriolic exchange of pamphlets between Choumnos and Metochites in the 1320s, Ševčenko, *Études*, 157–61, hypothesized that personal rivalry caused Choumnos' withdrawal from the court. Recently Riehle, *Funktionen*, 19–20, 26–43, has attributed the reason to Choumnos' affliction with gout.

*kanikleiou*: ‘We knew the illustrious [*epi tou*] *kanikleiou* Choumnos, who had a higher position than his earlier one, and after him the good Metochites, the greatest among the *logothetai*, the dwelling-place of wisdom, who wore the gold-red hat which the illustrious emperor Andronikos presented as a gift to him with whom he co-wielded power’.<sup>11</sup> The note reflects the situation after 1321 (Metochites is already appointed *megas logothetes*), but before Choumnos’ withdrawal from the court, and tells us that as a special favour Andronikos II raised Choumnos’ ranking. The *ad personam* elevation of the *epi tou kanikleiou* Choumnos and his subsequent withdrawal from the court caused confusion regarding his precise rank: the *epi tou kanikleiou* is missing from six of the eight surviving Palaiologan lists (Pseudo-Kodinos included).<sup>12</sup> Such notes regarding Choumnos may have circulated in the court lists and hence one of them found its way into Pseudo-Kodinos. Alternatively, the compiler of the hierarchy of chapter I could have been an eyewitness to the court in the 1320s or have interviewed eyewitnesses. In any case, the compiler preferred to give credence to a memorable event at the court rather than to List A, where the *epi tou kanikleiou* (an established chancery office which Choumnos occupied since 1295) must have been included.<sup>13</sup>

The list of precedence in chapter I represents, thus, the reworking of older material, some dating to 1305 or earlier, which the compiler furnished with historical notes on later modifications. A *terminus post quem* for the compilation is the imperial proclamation of John VI Kantakouzenos on 26 October 1341 in Didymoteichon. The note after the *megas domestikos* explains that John Kantakouzenos was the one ‘who became also emperor’ (ὃς ἐγεγόνει καὶ βασιλεύς).<sup>14</sup> The most recent change in the ranking, the second elevation in rank of the *megas domestikos*, occurred during the sole reign of Andronikos III (1328–1341). A *terminus ante quem* is not so obvious. The list came into existence before the reoccupation of the office of *epi tou kanikleiou* by the General Judge Manuel Angelos, which could have occurred any time between 1354 and 1369.<sup>15</sup> Fortunately, greater clarity on the date and

<sup>11</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 338.127–135 (comment appended after the Anonymous versified list).

<sup>12</sup> In addition to Pseudo-Kodinos and the Anonymous versified list, the *epi tou kanikleiou* is missing from the lists of *Vaticanus gr.* 952, *Parisinus gr.* 1783, Xeropotamou 191 and the Trapezuntine *Ranking of the emperor and the archontes*. See Table IV.

<sup>13</sup> On *epi tou kanikleiou* whose history stretches back at least to the ninth century, see Dölger, *Diplomatik*, 50–65. On the appointment of Choumnos as *epi tou kanikleiou*, see Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos*, 39; PLP 30961; Riehle, *Funktionen*, 340. On the long history of the titles of *megas baioulos* (‘Grand Tutor’) and *baioulos*, of which several holders are known from the fifth to the thirteenth century, see Laurent ‘Ὁ μέγας βαΐουλος’.

<sup>14</sup> On the lack of temporal sense of the pluperfect in Byzantine texts, see Hinterberger, ‘Die Sprache’ and note at Ps.-Kod. 26.20.

<sup>15</sup> PLP 214 and PLP 91040. In a decision of the patriarchal tribunal dating between September 1353 and the end of 1354, Manuel Angelos is referred to as *oikeios* and *katholikos krites*. See Koder et al., *Register*, III, no. 200.34–35 (p. 158). Describing events in the year

method of composition emerges on comparison with other fourteenth-century court rankings. This comparison will reveal an otherwise undetectable context and agenda of Pseudo-Kodinos' court hierarchy.

### **Pseudo-Kodinos and the Seven Court Lists of the Fourteenth Century**

The Palaiologan era appears to have seen, for the first time since the tenth century, a flurry of production of lists of court precedence. Verpeaux edited as appendices to Pseudo-Kodinos seven hierarchical lists of court titles, all dating to the fourteenth century (see Table IV). These lists are indispensable for understanding fully the Palaiologan system of court ranking. They display some differences when compared with each other, especially in omitting or adding titles at the lower end of the hierarchy, while sharing two fundamental similarities: all of them assign the *megas logothetes* ninth position and thus reflect the situation after the year 1321; all omit the elevation in rank of the *megas domestikos* on the appointment of John Kantakouzenos to this post c. 1325. The version of the top of the hierarchy set between 1321 and c.1325 gave rise to numerous court protocols, whose upper segments replicated the ranking of the 'master version' but whose lower sections omitted or added titles.<sup>16</sup> It is worth bearing in mind that by assigning the *megas domestikos* a lower position than Pseudo-Kodinos, the lists bear a perspective incompatible with the *cursus honorum* of Kantakouzenos, a highly divisive personality, who took the side of Andronikos III against his grandfather Andronikos II in the First Civil War (1321–1328). Other common features shared by some of the seven court lists are noteworthy. All but two of them omit the *epi tou kanikleiou*, thus reflecting the withdrawal of Nikephoros Choumnos from the court after 1321. Two of the lists are versified and feature interspersed comments on clothing and other matters. In addition, three of the lists arrange the titles by

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1354, Kant. III, 291.11, refers to the *epi tou kanikleiou* Angelos, although this does not necessarily mean that Angelos was already appointed to this post in 1354, for Kantakouzenos might be referring to Angelos' title at the time of his writing in the 1360s. By 1369–1370 Manuel Angelos was certainly *epi tou kanikleiou*, for he is mentioned bearing this title in charters of the emperor John V Palaiologos issued during his journey to Italy (Dölger, *Regesten*, 3122, 3127). Manuel Angelos has been identified as the Agathangelos ('Good Angel') of Nikephoros Gregoras in his *History*, a former student and anti-Palamite sympathizer, who visited him several times during his house arrest in the period 1351–54. See Beyer, 'Eine Chronologie', 146; Van Dieten, *Nikephoros Gregoras*, 305–306, n. 273. The term in office of another *epi tou kanikleiou*, the book-owner John Gabras Meliteneiotes, is not known with certainty. He may be identical with the John Meliteneiotes, *mesazon* in 1341. See Kant. II, 99.3; PLP 17853, 17854. The office of the *epi tou kanikleiou* is attested in the first half of the 15th c. See PLP 27751 (the *epi tou kanikleiou* Alexios Palaiologos Tzamblakon).

<sup>16</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité* 292–93, 313–14, 329, notes that three of the lists (the list-appendix to Harmenopoulos' *Hexabiblos*, the versified list of Matthew Blastares and the Anonymous versified list) reflect the court hierarchy in the 1320s.



groups of five (*pentades*), so as to resemble the arrangement of the hierarchy of clerical officials at the patriarchate of Constantinople.

Two court lists are almost fully identical. The first one is an appendix to the *Hexabiblos* of Constantine Harmenopoulos (d. after 1359), an important codification of secular law completed in 1345. The list was copied already in *Vaticanus Ottobonianus* gr. 440, a manuscript produced between 1346 and 1351.<sup>17</sup> The second list, versified in form, is composed by the canonist and monk Matthew Blastares (d. after 1346); it begins with the hierarchy of patriarchal officials, moves on to the court, and ends on a conventional note about the vanity and transience of worldly affairs.<sup>18</sup> These two lists are the only ones assigning rank to the *epi tou kanikleiou*. The nearly identical hierarchical sequence of the titles indicates a common source, which is hardly surprising as Harmenopoulos and Blastares were contemporary Thessalonican lawyers. The two lists are longer than Pseudo-Kodinos and notably add legal officials, such as *dikaiophylox*, *nomophylax* and *krites tou sekretou*, which is a sign that the master court protocol may have been popular in legal circles.<sup>19</sup> Verpeaux, who suggested that the two lists were based on a protocol dating to about 1321, noted with good reason that the anti-Kantakouzenist Zealot regime established in Thessalonike (1342–1349) would have welcomed this version of the court ranking.<sup>20</sup> As will be argued below, the Second Civil War explains not only the inclusion of this particular list as appendix to Harmenopoulos' *Hexabiblos* (completed in 1346), but also the peculiarities of the court hierarchy of Pseudo-Kodinos.

A list of court precedence in verse (the 'Anonymous versified list') and three further lists each surviving in a single manuscript – *Vaticanus* gr. 952 (15th c.), *Parisinus* gr. 1783 (15th c.) and Xeropotamou 191 (14th c.) – share the following features: all assign the pre-elevation, lower rank to the *megas domestikos*, give an elevated rank to the *megas logothetes* and omit the *epi tou kanikleiou*. The Anonymous versified list makes it apparent that its author was a Constantinopolitan close to the court. Its preface compares the emperor's bestowal of titles to the just rewards in the kingdom of God; the list is followed by various pieces, including a note on Metochites and Choumnos, a ranking of the patriarchal officials, and a prayer for the emperor and the city of Constantinople compared to 'the ark of salvation in the current deluge of barbarians'.<sup>21</sup> The list of *Vaticanus* gr. 952 is longer

<sup>17</sup> Verpeaux, 'Un témoin de choix', 225; Fögen, 'Scholien', 268–275.

<sup>18</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 291–302, 311–25. As can be seen in Table I, there are only two differences: the reversal of the relative ranking of the *panhypersebastos* and the *protovestiaros* (see *Traité*, 313 n. 7, for a possible explanation) and the addition of the title of *comes* to the end of the list-appendix to Harmenopoulos' *Hexabiblos*.

<sup>19</sup> Harmenopoulos himself (PLP 1347) held two of the judicial titles in the lists, namely, *krites tou basilikou sekretou* and *nomophylax*. See below n. 140 and n. 141.

<sup>20</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 292.

<sup>21</sup> Critical edition and commentary in Verpeaux, *Traité*, 327–40. Only one of the seven manuscripts (*Vaticanus* gr. 224) transmits the list in full. Some manuscripts containing



than Pseudo-Kodinos and includes at its end rare titles, including judicial offices (e.g. *nomophylax*), members of imperial clergy (e.g., *megas protopapas*) and the rare provincial dignity of *protonobelissimos*.<sup>22</sup> The list may represent an attempt to introduce into the palatine hierarchy titles normally excluded from it. By contrast, the list of *Parisinus gr.* 1783 is shorter than Pseudo-Kodinos and seems to reflect a gathering of the court when some titles were vacant or their holders were not in attendance. Missing from the list are *megas archon*, *epi tes trapezes*, *protospatharios*, *tatas tes aules*, *epi ton anamneseon*, *sebastos*, etc.<sup>23</sup> The anonymous list preserved in Xeropotamou 191 is the shortest of all; its substantial gaps suggest also vacancies and absentees in the court hierarchy on which it is based.<sup>24</sup>

The final, seventh list which is entitled *Ranking of the emperor and the archontes* resembles the four ones above by leaving the *megas domestikos* in its pre-elevation ranking, assigning the *megas logothetes* a ninth place in the hierarchy (its elevated rank) and omitting the *epi tou kanikleiou*. The list is based on court usage in the empire of Trebizond. It is copied in *Marcianus gr.* 608 (15th c.) alongside Michael Panaretos' *Chronicle of the emperors of Trebizond* by the same scribal hand and features two court titles of foreign origin, which it equates with traditional Byzantine ones. The *protospatharios* is called *amertzantarios* (ἀμηντσαντάριος, from the Turkish *amir candar*, 'captain of the guard'). The *akolouthos* is identified as *chourtzes* (a word of non-Greek origin whose etymology is yet to be established).<sup>25</sup> Another singular feature of the *Ranking* is the comment that the title of the *praitor tou demou* belongs to 'an interpreter from Frankish'. Holders of this title are attested as official interpreters from Latin in Constantinople in the period between the 1320s and the 1340s.<sup>26</sup> In this respect, the Trapezuntine list is more correct and up-to-date

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fragments attribute the authorship of the list to Manuel Philes, the *parakoimomenos* John Phakrases or a Xanthopoulos, but Verpeaux has considered these varying attributions to be later additions.

<sup>22</sup> On the *protonobelissimos*, see Laurent, 'Le protonobélissimat', 362–64, who points to a *protonobelissimos* of Ohrid and a *protonobelissimos* of Serres. The title is included in the parody of the court in the fourteenth-century *Fruit book* (*Porikologos*), on which see also below n. 114. The title represents a rare case of an early Byzantine dignity being transformed into a minor provincial official. See Maksimović, *Byzantine provincial administration*, 83 n. 56.

<sup>23</sup> On the basis of the manuscript context Verpeaux, *Traité*, 303–304, considers the possibility that the list dates to the first half of the fifteenth century and specifically the reign of John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448).

<sup>24</sup> For the lists of *Vaticanus gr.* 952, *Parisinus gr.* 1783 and Xeropotamou 191, see Verpeaux, *Traité*, 303–310, who calls them 'lists of the type of the appendix to the *Hexabiblos*'.

<sup>25</sup> Contrary to Verpeaux, *Traité*, 343, Bryer, 'Greeks and Türkmens', 140, n. 108 and n. 109 (followed by Oikonomides 'The chancery of the Grand Komnenoi', 311 and n. 1 and 2), has argued convincingly for a Trapezuntine provenance on the basis of the manuscript context and the linguistic borrowings from Turkish. See also Karpov, *Istoriia*, 161–63.

<sup>26</sup> Stein, 'Untersuchungen', 36–37. The following three *praitores tou demou* were expert interpreters from Latin: a certain Syropoulos, an interpreter during negotiations with

than Pseudo-Kodinos who explains that the title lacks any function. The *Ranking* represents a transplantation into the empire of Trebizond of the Palaiologan system of court precedence, as it evolved between 1321 and the early 1340s – a testimony to the close political ties between the two Byzantine courts.

There is a striking and significant difference between the court hierarchy of Pseudo-Kodinos and the seven fourteenth-century lists. This difference does not lie in the additional or the missing titles: the seven lists include 18 extra titles and omit the *myrtaites*, while still registering the *megas myrtaites*.<sup>27</sup> Rather, the key variation is the internal ranking within clusters of titles. The position of the *megas domestikos* vis-à-vis the *panhypersebastos* and the *protovestiaris* is just one among more than ten cases where the hierarchy of Pseudo-Kodinos presents unique features. Table IV marks titles in bold whose relative ranking is higher in Pseudo-Kodinos than in the other seven lists.

- (1) The *kouropalates* lies above the *parakoimomenoi tes sphendones* and *tou koitonos* in Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy, but is inferior to the two *parakoimomenoi* in all other lists.
- (2) The *logothetes tou genikou* lies above the *protovestiarites*, the *domestikos tes trapezes* and the *epi tes trapezes* in Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy, but in all other lists is placed below them.
- (3) The *megas chartoularios* is situated above the *logothetes tou dromou* in Pseudo-Kodinos' list of precedence, but in all the other lists is set underneath the latter title.
- (4) The *protasekretis* and the *epi tou stratou* are superior to the *mystikos* in Pseudo-Kodinos' list of precedence, but in all the other lists they are inferior to him.
- (5) The *domestikos ton scholon* is above the *megas droungarios tou stolou* in Pseudo-Kodinos, but in the other lists lies below him.
- (6) The *protokynegos* precedes the *skouterios* in Pseudo-Kodinos, but everywhere else the *skouterios* is set above the *protokynegos*, usually immediately above him.
- (7) The *koiastor* precedes the *megas adnoumiastes* in Pseudo-Kodinos, but in all other lists this order is reversed.
- (8) The *logothetes ton agelon* precedes the *megas diermeneutes* in Pseudo-Kodinos, but in all other lists the *megas diermeneutes* is his superior.

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Venice in 1320 (see Guiland, 'Préteure du peuple', 83); Iakobos Balistarios, *praitor tou demou* in 1349 (a one-time *diermeneutes* and *megas diermeneutes*), whose language skills were good enough to enable him to put into writing the bilingual treaty with Venice (Dölger, *Regesten* 2952); and Nicholas Sigeros, *megas diermeneutes* and ambassador to the papacy, who composed as *praitor tou demou* a letter to pope Clement VI in 1352 (Dölger, *Regesten*, 2931, 2937; PLP 25282).

<sup>27</sup> See Table IV, where an asterisk before the title indicates that the title in question is not attested in Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy.

(9) The *krites tou phossatou*, the *archon tou allagiou* and the *protallagator* precede the *protonotarios* in Pseudo-Kodinos, but in all other lists the *protonotarios* is set above them.

(10) The *megas dioiketes*, ranking 55th, and the *logariastes tes aules*, ranking 64th in Pseudo-Kodinos' list of precedence, are paired together in all other lists, although in the reverse order, that is, the *logariastes tes aules* is set above the *megas dioiketes*, and the pair is demoted in those lists to a position below the four *stratopedarchai* of the *monokaballoi*, *tzangratores*, *mourtatoi* and *tzakones*.

(11) The *prokathemenos tou koitonos* and the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou* – 60th and 61st in rank in Pseudo-Kodinos' list and superior to the four above-mentioned *stratopedarchai* – are demoted under the four *stratopedarchai* in all other lists of precedence, while still being a pair in the same order.

(12) The *hetaireiarches* lies above the four *stratopedarchai* in Pseudo-Kodinos' list, whereas in all other lists this title is set below them.

The prosopography of the titles with varying internal ranking provides the key to grasping an otherwise undetectable aspect of Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy: its politically partisan nature. Changes of court precedence in Byzantium were traditionally a means of honouring specific individuals by increasing their proximity to imperial authority, as is manifest in the case of the *megas domestikos*.<sup>28</sup> The consistent re-ranking of titles in Pseudo-Kodinos can therefore be seen as a sign of favouritism. Furthermore, a considerable number of titles which are ranked lower in Pseudo-Kodinos were borne by leaders and ardent supporters of the regency government during the Second Civil War. At the same time, some titles with elevated rank in Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy belonged to well-known officials and generals during the second half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, that is, well before the time of Kantakouzenos.

Considering the first cluster of titles with variable ranking (*kouropalates* vs. *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* and *parakoimomenos tou koitonos*), one can observe that the titles of *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* and *parakoimomenos tou koitonos* – ranked lower than the *kouropalates* in Pseudo-Kodinos – belong to members of the Byzantine political elite in the period 1307–1342 and include adversaries of Kantakouzenos: John Komnenos Choumnos, a son of Nikephoros Choumnos, attested in both capacities in 1307;<sup>29</sup> Andronikos Kantakouzenos active in 1320;<sup>30</sup> Andronikos Tornikes active in 1324–1327;<sup>31</sup> Alexios Apokaukos, who served as *parakoimomenos* throughout the period 1321–1341 (*mesazon* since

<sup>28</sup> See also Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 183–84.

<sup>29</sup> PLP 30954.

<sup>30</sup> PLP 10955.

<sup>31</sup> PLP 29122.

1328),<sup>32</sup> and Demetrios, an uncle of the emperor John V Palaiologos, attested as a *parakoimomenos* in Constantinople in 1342.<sup>33</sup> Alexios Apokaukos was one of the leaders of the regency government in the Second Civil War. The *parakoimomenos* Demetrios was also an anti-Kantakouzenist, for he was active in Constantinople in 1342 at the time when Kantakouzenos suffered great setbacks and was forced to seek refuge at the Serbian court. The demotion of the title of *parakoimomenos* (both the *parakoimomenos tou koitonos* and *tes sphendones*) by Pseudo-Kodinos is explicable by its long-term association during the 1320s and 1330s with Kantakouzenos' arch-enemy Apokaukos. By contrast, little is known about the prosopography of the title of *kouropalates* during the fourteenth century. The title was granted to two prominent military commanders during the reign of Michael VIII (1259–1282): the general and future patron of the Pammakaristos church in Constantinople Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas,<sup>34</sup> and the military commander Oumpertopoulos.<sup>35</sup> No named *kouropalatai* are known in the first half of the fourteenth century; none is found in Gregoras' and Kantakouzenos' accounts

<sup>32</sup> PLP 1180. Apokaukos' title is called *parakoimomenos* in a document of 1332 (MM III, 111). In his historical memoirs Kantakouzenos does not distinguish between *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* and *parakoimomenos tou koitonos*, calling the office simply *parakoimomenos*. The distinction continued to exist, however. In the second half of the fourteenth century a document cites the full title of the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* Manuel Sergopoulos (PLP 24210). On the two *parakoimomenoi*, see 87 n. 159, 89 n. 163 and n. 164, 303.

<sup>33</sup> PLP 5298. See MM III, 114.

<sup>34</sup> Pach. II, 451.15–16 and n. 4 (by Albert Failler). Glabas is reported holding this title when he conquered Mesembria on the Black Sea and arranged for the transferral of the renegade Bulgarian ex-king Mytso to Asia Minor. The usual date for Glabas' campaign in Mesembria is 1262. See Failler, 'Chronologie et composition' (1980) 91; (1981) 209–10. But Gregoras (I, 60.3–61.17) notes that Mytso and his family were transferred to Nicaea to meet the emperor Michael VIII, which would necessitate a date before 25 July 1261. Cf. Zlatarski, *Istoriia*, III, 492–93; Belting, Mango, and Mouriki, *Pammakaristos*, 11; PLP 19056; Leontiades, *Tarchaneiotai*, 69–72.

<sup>35</sup> Pach. III, 93.1–19; PLP 21163; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 37. According to Pachymeres, the *kouropalates* Oumpertopoulos commanded troops in Mesembria in 1284 and warded off a Mongol incursion, for which he was rewarded with gold, horses and the title of *megas papias*. Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas, too, had been rewarded with the title of *megas papias* after holding that of *kouropalates*. Pach. II, 451.15–16: Στέλλει γοῦν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς Γλαβᾶν κουροπαλάτην καὶ μέγαν παπίαν ἐσώστερον. Pachymeres' testimony has been seen as problematic, because the rank of *megas papias* is lower than the *kouropalates* in all Palaiologan lists of court precedence. One could suspect two possibilities. As Albert Failler (Pach. III, 92, n. 11) has suggested, the title of *megas papias* could have ranked higher at the time than that of *kouropalates*. Alternatively, Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas and Oumpertopoulos could have combined the two titles. See n. 94 below for Nicaean and early Palaiologan examples of the same individual holding two or more titles.

of events during the civil wars.<sup>36</sup> The possibility emerges that Pseudo-Kodinos' demotion of the *parakoimomenos* below the *kouropalates* may also reflect the state of the hierarchy before 1305, given the relative prominence of the title of *kouropalates* in the past.

The elevation of the *logothetes tou genikou* in Pseudo-Kodinos above the *protovestiarites*, *domestikos tes trapezes* and *epi tes trapezes* shows a similar pattern. A high official in Zealot-dominated Thessalonike, probably the city's governor John Apokaukos (a son of Alexios Apokaukos), was the *protovestiarites* John Doukas who arranged in September 1344 for the return of an unjustly confiscated landed estate to the Athonite monastery of Docheiariou.<sup>37</sup> A holder of the office of *epi tes trapezes* in the period 1337–1341 was another enemy of Kantakouzenos: George Choumnos (a son of the late *epi tou kanikleiou* Nikephoros Choumnos) who offended Kantakouzenos at the onset of the civil war and supported the regency government, rising to the rank of *mezas stratopedarches* before ending up in prison at Alexios Apokaukos' order; his niece was Apokaukos' wife.<sup>38</sup> Andreas Palaiologos, a leader of the Zealot rebellion in Thessalonike in the period 1345–1349, held the title of *epi tes trapezes*.<sup>39</sup> A partisan of John Kantakouzenos would have had an incentive to lower the rank of supporters of the regency government. In raising the relative position of the *logothetes tou genikou*, the compiler of Pseudo-Kodinos' list of precedence could, again, have followed the hierarchy at the earlier Palaiologan court when prominent individuals held this title: Theodore Mouzalon (from c. 1277 to 1282);<sup>40</sup> Constantine Akropolites (from 1282 to c.1294);<sup>41</sup> and Theodore Metochites (from 1305 to 1321).<sup>42</sup> All of them were subsequently promoted to the post of *mezas logothetes* and two (Mouzalon and Metochites) served as *mesazontes* or 'prime ministers' of the empire.<sup>43</sup> No named *logothetes tou genikou* gained the attention of the Byzantine historians, even though documentary evidence from the second half of the fourteenth century reveals the sphere of administrative activity of this post and mentions an individual who held it.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>36</sup> An unnamed *kouropalates* witnessed a document of 1348. See Hunger et al., *Register*, II, no. 151.55 (p. 404).

<sup>37</sup> Docheiariou, no. 23 (p. 171), and *ibid.*, 167–68, for the identification with Alexios Apokaukos' son John, who is known from other sources as a *mezas primmikerios* (PLP 91819).

<sup>38</sup> PLP 30946. Kant II, 20.17–21.4, 218.10, 336.7–16. See below at 315.

<sup>39</sup> Kant. III, 104.11, mentions explicitly that he held the title of *epi tes trapezes* (not noted in PLP 21425). See also Kant. II, 573.20–581.11.

<sup>40</sup> PLP 19439.

<sup>41</sup> PLP 520.

<sup>42</sup> PLP 1782.

<sup>43</sup> Ševčenko *Études*, 149–150, dates Metochites' appointment as *mesazon* to 1305/06.

<sup>44</sup> On the activities of the *logothetes tou genikou*, see 89 n. 166 and 308 n. 132. A certain John Chrysoloras (PLP 31161) was a *logothetes tou genikou* in 1367. See Perria,

The pair *megas chartoularios* vs. *logothetes tou dromou* does not offer any significant prosopographical information.<sup>45</sup> The cluster that follows is more revealing. The title of *mystikos* which ranks higher than *protasekretis* and *epi tou stratou* in all seven lists of precedence but Pseudo-Kodinos belonged to the leading anti-Kantakouzenist Manuel Kinnamos. After the assassination of Alexios Apokaukos in 1345 the *mystikos* Kinnamos assumed authority in the regency government in Constantinople in a triumvirate which included the patriarch John Kalekas and the *panhypersebastos* Isaac Asan. When the civil war ended he was allowed to keep his court title, with which he appears as a witness to the treaty with Venice concluded in September 1349 in the Blachernai palace.<sup>46</sup> His demotion in Pseudo-Kodinos' list would be logical, and it is revealing that a holder of the office of *epi tou stratou*, whose ranking was raised, was a trusted man of the emperor John Kantakouzenos in 1341.<sup>47</sup> The pair *domestikos ton scholon* vs. *megas droungarios tou stolou* is also instructive. The only two attested *megaloï droungarioi tou stolou* in the 1340s, an office demoted in Pseudo-Kodinos' list, were supporters of the regency government. The *megas droungarios tou stolou* John Gabalas was lured into the camp of Alexios Apokaukos in 1341; he subsequently was promoted to *protosebastos* and *megas logothetes* before falling out of grace with Apokaukos in 1344.<sup>48</sup> The *megas droungarios tou stolou* George Isaris is among the witnesses to a document issued in Thessalonike in 1344 (that is, during the period of the Zealot regime), although later he changed sides and supported Kantakouzenos.<sup>49</sup>

The conclusion arises that the list in chapter I of Pseudo-Kodinos echoes the power struggle of the rival factions during the Second Civil War. The conflict between the two parties was played out, among its many fronts, also with respect to title holding. John Kantakouzenos notes in his historical work that he considered illegitimate most of the allocations of titles made by the regency government, while

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'Due documenti', 292. The existence of the alleged *trapezites* and *logothetes tou genikou* Iannes Androuses active in the 1380s (PLP 90111) is uncertain. See Matschke, 'Late Byzantine urban economy', 481, n. 67. Guillard's prosopographical survey of the *logothetai tou genikou* ('Les Logothètes, 19–24) ends with Theodore Metochites.

<sup>45</sup> The *megas chartoularios* Laskaris (PLP 14515) was a supporter of Kantakouzenos in 1341, whereas the *megas chartoularios* Nikephoros Senachereim (PLP 25155) witnessed a document in Zealot-dominated Thessalonike in 1344. See Kant. II, 192.9; Docheiariou, no. 23 (p. 171).

<sup>46</sup> On the *mystikos* Manuel Kinnamos, see PLP 11724; Kant. II, 549.17, 599.17–18; MM III, 119 (witness to the treaty with Venice in 1349).

<sup>47</sup> At Kantakouzenos' behest the *epi tou stratou* Senachereim relieved Apokaukos of his command of the fleet in 1341 (PLP 25138). See Kant. II, 77.8.

<sup>48</sup> Kant. II, 118.19–119.21, 218.12–13, 441.14, 497.9–498.10. According to the PLP 93286 (which follows Lappa-Zizicas 'Un chrysobulle', 255–68), John Gabalas is not identical with another *megas logothetes*, John Palaiologos Raoul (PLP 24126), but see Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 397, n. 18.

<sup>49</sup> Docheiariou, no. 23 (p. 171); PLP 92111 (revised 8283).



he still honoured those granted before 1341 by the emperor Andronikos III.<sup>50</sup> To be sure, the court list of Pseudo-Kodinos is demonstrably based on older written sources, among them a pre-1305 court list. The compiler appears to have used his earlier material selectively and tendentiously. Many of the re-ranked titles served to demote Kantakouzenos' political enemies during the civil war. Not least significant is the precedence of the *megas domestikos* over the *megas doux*, the title assumed by his arch-enemy Alexios Apokaukos in 1341. The exalted rank of the *megas domestikos* Kantakouzenos serves to demonstrate his proximity to the late emperor Andronikos III before his imperial proclamation in 1341; it shows that his court title before his elevation as emperor was higher than Apokaukos' title in the period 1341–1345. The *megas domestikos* ranks also above the *panhypersebastos*, a title that the regency government granted in 1341 to its supporter Isaac Asan, an uncle of Kantakouzenos' wife. After the assassination of Apokaukos in 1345, the *panhypersebastos* Isaac Asan assumed the leading position in the anti-Kantakouzenist government in Constantinople alongside the *mystikos* Manuel Kinnamos. Both the *mystikos* Kinnamos and the *panhypersebastos* Isaac Asan were allowed to keep their ranks after Kantakouzenos' victorious entry into Constantinople in 1347, yet the two titles were demoted in Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy.<sup>51</sup>

The proposed theory about the composition of the hierarchy of titles in chapter I of Pseudo-Kodinos can be summarized as follows. At the time of the Second Civil War (1341–1347) or shortly thereafter a close associate of the emperor John Kantakouzenos produced a list of precedence for which he used – and openly demonstrated to be doing so – a pre-1305 court protocol which had not been applied since the mid-reign of Andronikos II. Other, unidentifiable sources were taken into consideration and eyewitnesses were possibly consulted. The compiler took pains to show that he was bringing up to date the upper section of the old list, but he left the impression that he followed its middle and lower section. In this way the demotion of the enemies of Kantakouzenos appeared to lie in agreement with 'good old practice'. Unfortunately, it cannot be known for certain whether, and to what degree, the compiler followed the pre-1305 list within the middle and lower sections of the hierarchy. What is clear is that his concerns were dominated by the Second Civil War. The new court hierarchy was a politically motivated act of the victorious party against its adversaries. The legitimization of the new ranking through a display of knowledge of the history of court precedence under the Palaiologoi follows the same logic as the claim made by Kantakouzenos in

<sup>50</sup> Kant. II, 190.15–18.

<sup>51</sup> On Manuel Kinnamos, see above n. 46. On Isaac Asan, see Bozhilov, *Asenevtsi*, 283–88; PLP 1494. The patriarchal document of October 1351 refers to his dispute with the nunnery of Panagiotissa in Constantinople founded by Maria, the half-sister of the emperor Andronikos II (Mary of the Mongols). Isaac Asan is reported as already deceased. See Koder et al., *Register*, III, no. 184 (62–71).

his historical memoirs that during the Second Civil War he strove to uphold the dynastic rights of the Palaiologoi.<sup>52</sup>

Seen in this light, the seven Palaiologan lists of precedence do not simply predate the reign of Kantakouzenos. The fact that one of them was appended to Harmenopoulos' *Hexabiblos* (completed in 1345 during the Zealot rebellion in Thessalonike), shows that this version of the hierarchy, which featured the lower rank of the *meḡas domestikos*, circulated among Kantakouzenos' enemies. This version of the court hierarchy embodied the anti-Kantakouzenism of the regency government. The proliferation of lists of precedence, a curious Palaiologan phenomenon after four centuries of silence, was to some degree at least the outcome of the emergence of rival courts with rival rankings during the civil wars.

### The Court Hierarchy in Chapters II and III: The Compilatory Nature of Pseudo-Kodinos

The list in chapter I of Pseudo-Kodinos served as source material for the descriptions of the costume and service of the title holders in chapters II and III. A comparison of the ranking demonstrates the compilatory nature of Pseudo-Kodinos as a whole. Chapters II and III follow in general the hierarchy of chapter I. They omit the *epi tou kanikleiou* and *meḡas baioulos*, the unranked titles in chapter I. When chapter III mentions that the *protokomes* (a naval officer, 75th in rank) had as its subordinate the *komes*, no rank is given to the latter. This is in agreement with the list in chapter I which does not assign court ranking to the *komes*, even though he is ranked in other lists.<sup>53</sup>

Authorship of the descriptions in chapter II and III cannot, however, be attributed to the compiler of chapter I. Chapters II and III eliminate fully the contradictions and inconsistencies in the upper section of the hierarchy. Thus, the *meḡas domestikos*, *panhypersebastos*, *provestiarios*, *meḡas doux* and *meḡas logothetes* now appear only with their ranking after the changes in the court hierarchy between 1305 and c. 1325.<sup>54</sup> Had the same individual been responsible

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, Kant. I, 558; II, 163–4, 166 (on his imperial proclamation in Didymoteichon in 1341, Kantakouzenos arranges for the names of the empress Anne of Savoy and the successor John V Palaiologos to be acclaimed before his), 614. See also Dölger, 'Johannes VI. Kantakouzenos', 194–207.

<sup>53</sup> Ps.-Kod., 167, 188. The *komes* is ranked in the list-appendix to Harmenopoulos' *Hexabiblos* and in the list of *Vaticanus. gr.* 952, where the office is called *komes tou stolou*. In both cases, the *komes* is placed after the *protokomes*. See Guillard, 'Préteure du peuple, skoutérios, protokomés', 86–7.

<sup>54</sup> In this regard, the chapters on attire and function resemble a post-Byzantine side branch of the manuscript tradition of Pseudo-Kodinos, which lists the titles in chapter I only with their changed ranking. Verpeaux, *Traité*, 106–107, dated the emergence of this textual tradition (with interpolations influenced by Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*) to the second half of



for composing chapters I, II and III, it is doubtful that he would have presented the hierarchy in one section of his work differently from the other. Furthermore, chapters II and III introduce revisions to the hierarchy in chapter I regarding a few minor titles. Chapter II on attire moves the *megas dioiketes* (55th in the hierarchy) three ranks up and demotes the *papias* (76th in the hierarchy) four ranks down. Chapter III on function omits the *papias*, *sebastos* and *myrtaites* (76th, 78th and 79th in the hierarchy). When describing the function of the *prokathemenoi* of cities, chapter III introduces in passing another urban official, the *kastrophylakes*, as their colleagues who were presumably equal in rank. The *kastrophylakes* are missing from the list in chapter I, but are well attested in contemporary documentary sources.<sup>55</sup> The above cases of re-ranking, omission and addition are suggestive of the process of composition of chapters II and III. Their author (or authors) clearly described practices at the court on the basis of observations – the accounts given of the insignia, hats and staffs in particular are very detailed. In the process some minor changes in the hierarchy were recorded.

A final note should be made regarding the hierarchical arrangement of the titles through their *skiadia*, the everyday hat worn at court. The *skiadia* of the highest titles are gold-red, those of the titles below them are of the *syrmateinos* type and the *skiadia* of the remaining titles until the bottom of the hierarchy are of the *klapotos* type (see Table V). A trace of the modification of court precedence in Kantakouzenos' reign is the unique white *skiadion* of the *logothetes tou genikou*, a title with elevated rank at his court. According to the descriptions of the *skiadia* worn by different groups of title-holders accompanying Harmenopoulos' and Blastares' lists, the *logothetes tou genikou* wears a *klapoton skiadion*.<sup>56</sup> The revised court list during Kantakouzenos' reign brought the *logothetes tou genikou* in immediate proximity to the group of titles with *syrmateina skiadia*. The solution adopted on his elevation was that he should neither keep his old hat nor acquire a new hat inducting him into the higher order of titles, but that he should have a unique white *skiadion* demonstrating his in-between position. His white hat would have made him stand out at the court. One sees here change in court protocol and attire in action. The enigmatic note in chapter I following the *logothetes tou genikou* (18th in rank) – 'after the *parakoimomenos tou koitonos* [17th in rank]

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the 15th c. The manuscript tradition is represented by codices VW in Verpeaux's and our edition.

<sup>55</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 188. See Kazhdan, 'Kastrophylax', in ODB 2, 1112–1113; Maksimović, *Byzantine provincial administration*, 175–77. See also the formulary for appointment of a *kastrophylax* in MB VI, 644. The two offices are sometimes paired together. For instance, the *prokathemenos* of Thessalonike *kyr* Demetrios Kyprianos and a *kastrophylax kyr* Sgouroupoulos are listed side by side in the witness list of 1317. See Vatopedi I, no. 49 (p. 288).

<sup>56</sup> This emerges from the note after the list-appendix to Harmenopoulos' *Hexabiblos* and the comments embedded into Blastares' versified list. See Table IV, n. 1 and 2. On the meaning of *syrmateinon* and *klapoton* see 329–32.

comes the *protovestiarites* [19th in rank] – can be interpreted either as a residue of the situation before the insertion of the *logothetes tou genikou* between these two titles, or as a memo to the personnel who assisted in ceremonies that the *parakoimomenos tou koitonos* and the *protovestiarites* mark the border between the wearers of the two types of *skiadion*.<sup>57</sup>

### Between Tradition and Innovation: ‘Dignities’ and ‘Offices’

The question of the classification of the Palaiologan court titles into ‘dignities’ and ‘offices’ is essentially one of tradition and innovation in protocol and more broadly in the system of court precedence. The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (899) divides the titles into two distinct categories: ‘dignities’, or *axiomata dia brabeiou* (literally ‘dignities by insignia’), and ‘offices’, or *axiomata dia logou* (‘dignities by spoken command’). A ‘dignity’ (*axioma dia brabeiou*) was honorary and permanent in theory. The ‘dignitaries’ received insignia unique to their rank at the ceremony of their promotion; for example, a decorated ivory tablet was given to the holder of the ‘dignity’ of *patrikios*. By contrast, an ‘office’ (*axioma dia logou*) was charged with specific responsibilities and was revocable. Some of the ‘dignities’ were old ‘offices’ that had become honorary titles (for example, *protospatharios*, originally a high imperial guard). Tenth-century historical narratives distinguished between the two types of titles usually by designating a ‘dignity’ as *axia*, *axioma* or *time* and an ‘office’ as *offikion*, *arche* or *zone*. Although this terminology, as Nicolas Oikonomides has noted, is not always consistent, it demonstrates the notional distinction between ‘dignity’ and ‘office’.<sup>58</sup> Imperial functionaries of prime importance, such as high generals of the mobile and of the provincial (thematic) armies, held simultaneously a ‘dignity’ and an ‘office’, which also meant receiving two annual salaries (*rogai*). According to Philotheos’ *Kletorologion*, the ‘dignities’ and the ‘offices’ had their own separate hierarchies of ranking. But when it came to establishing precedence at the court on ceremonial occasions such as banquets, the ranking of the ‘dignities’ served as the organising principle.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, dignity-holding appears to have been more prestigious and lucrative. The usual practice in Byzantine seals, inscriptions and documents between the ninth and the twelfth century was for an individual to present his ‘dignity’ before his ‘office’.<sup>60</sup> Regrettably, no list of court precedence survives from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The extensive reforms of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) are known to have purged the court of a number of old titles, especially ‘dignities’ of late Roman origin such as *patrikios*, *magistros*, and *protospatharios*. In their place Alexios I introduced a new set of high titles

<sup>57</sup> Ps.-Kod., 28.22–23.

<sup>58</sup> Oikonomides, *Listes*, 281.

<sup>59</sup> Oikonomides, *Listes*, 285–286.

<sup>60</sup> Oikonomides, *Listes*, 284–285, with numerous examples in n. 14.

derived from the adjective *sebastos*, such as *sebastokrator*, *protosebastos* and *panhypersebastos*, all granted to the emperor's male relatives by blood and marriage. At the same time, the Komnenoi kept select dignities dating back to the late Roman period, such as *protonobelissimos*, *nobelissimos*, *protokouropalates*, *kouropalates*, *megalodoxotatos*, *megalepiphanestatos*. The Komnenoi appear to have preserved the distinction between the hierarchy of dignity and office, with the concomitant practice of a single individual combining them, as the lists of attendees of twelfth-century church councils suggest.<sup>61</sup>

The Palaiologan system of titles and court precedence presents a fundamentally different picture. A single line of court titles has replaced the two hierarchies. The system of titles was simplified also in another way. Philotheos' *Kletorologion* features subsets of 'dignities' and 'offices' each reserved for eunuchs; the eunuch 'offices' were restricted to the imperial bedchamber, wardrobe and the palace generally. Already by the eleventh century bearded men came to occupy titles previously given exclusively to eunuchs.<sup>62</sup> In the fourteenth century Pseudo-Kodinos does not assign any ranked title to eunuchs. Eunuchs are mentioned only once in passing in the account of the coronation, according to which eunuch servants might participate in the ceremony of the empress's coronation. The comment suggests that eunuchs were normally part of the entourage of the empress. A prosopographical study has identified only a handful of important eunuchs at the Palaiologan court and confirms the impression that no court title was the preserve of castrated men.<sup>63</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos refers usually to the holders of court titles as *archontes*.<sup>64</sup> The word is employed in two senses. One of them is inclusive and general. Pseudo-Kodinos speaks, for example, of the emperor and 'the other *archontes*', or the emperor and the *archontes*.<sup>65</sup> This broad meaning of the word is found already in Philotheos' *Kletorologion* and reflects the semantics of the word *archon* as anyone in a position of authority.<sup>66</sup> The designation of the holders of court titles as *archontes* is well attested in official documents of the Palaiologan period. For example, an ordinance (*prostagma*) issued by the emperor Michael VIII in 1272 outlining the rights of his son, the crowned co-emperor Andronikos II, speaks of the holders of court titles as *archontes*.<sup>67</sup> An ordinance of the emperor Andronikos III issued in 1334 refers to '*archontes* who are related by blood to the emperor, the remaining *archontes*, and the *archontopoula*'.<sup>68</sup> At the same time *archontes*

<sup>61</sup> For a survey and analysis see Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 180–184, 501–509.

<sup>62</sup> Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 126.

<sup>63</sup> Gaul, 'Eunuchs in the late Byzantine empire', 199–219, esp. 204–205 (eunuchs in the imperial court in late Byzantium), 209–211 (prosopography of late Byzantine eunuchs).

<sup>64</sup> E.g. Ps.-Kod. 74.10, 76.4, 86.4, 96.6, 118.6, 122.10, 126.2, 132.10, 144.10, etc.

<sup>65</sup> Ps.-Kod. 176.18–20, 178.2–4.

<sup>66</sup> Oikonomides, *Listes*, 163.21–165.1, 173.7, 173.22.

<sup>67</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 38.19–20: οἵτινες τῶν ὀφφικιαλίων ἀρχόντων.

<sup>68</sup> Zepos, *Jus*, I, 583. On this ordinance, see 383.

was a common term referring to the aristocracy and the social elite, urban or landed, in the Palaiologan period.<sup>69</sup> The clerical officials of the patriarchate of Constantinople, too, were commonly called ‘*archontes* of the Great Church’. The fluidity of terminology is worth keeping in mind.

The second sense of the term *archon* in Pseudo-Kodinos as well as in the other fourteenth-century lists pertains to a peculiar notional distinction between ‘dignities’ and ‘offices’. Chapter X on the promotion of the patriarch of Constantinople notes that the ‘dignitaries’ (*axiomatikoi*) are the three highest ranking title holders: despot, *sebastokrator*, and caesar.<sup>70</sup> Chapter VII on the coronation of the emperor identifies the leading ‘dignitaries’ (οἱ ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ὑπερέχοντες) with the despots and the *sebastokratores*, while in the immediately following context it calls the holders of lower titles simply *archontes*.<sup>71</sup> At the dinner after the coronation of the emperor, Pseudo-Kodinos notes, the despot or ‘one of the dignitaries’ (*axiomatikoi*) was supposed to attend to the emperor at his table in case there was no *mezas domestikos*. If they too were unavailable, the most distinguished among the *archontes* was to serve the newly crowned emperor at table.<sup>72</sup> The description of the protocol of addressing the despot, *sebastokrator*, and caesar implies that these three exalted titles formed a class of their own lying above the *archontes*. When someone addressed the despot, it was permissible to call him ‘my despot’, but when speaking to an *archon* he was to address him as ‘my lord’ (*kyrie*). Only the despot, *sebastokrator*, and caesar, Pseudo-Kodinos notes, were entitled to be addressed as ‘my despot’ and ‘your imperial majesty’. It is evident that in the above-mentioned contexts Pseudo-Kodinos views the despot, *sebastokrator*, and caesar as ‘dignitaries’ (*axiomatikoi*) and holders of ‘dignities’ (*axiomata*), while the remaining members of the hierarchy below them were *archontes*. The understanding of *archon* as different from the *axiomatikos* is reminiscent of the situation in the ninth and the tenth century, when an *archon* could be anyone holding an *arche* (one of the words used for ‘office’) and was different from the holder of the *axioma* (a term for ‘dignity’). For example, court

<sup>69</sup> Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, 76–83, 180–182, 251–277. See also *ibid.*, 293–96 (table of the *archontes* of Thessalonike). A fiscal inventory dated by its editor to after 1357 speaks of ‘the properties of the *archontes*, the relatives of the mighty and holy emperor of ours and the other *archontes*’. See Schreiner, ‘Zwei unedierte Praktika’, 37.3–4: τῶν κτημάτων τῶν ἀρχόντων, τῶν προσγενῶν τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἑτέρων ἀρχόντων. On the date, see *ibid.*, 36–7. For an *archon* of Selymbria, see the inscription traditionally dated to the 14th c. published by Asdracha, *Inscriptions*, no. 14 (240–41).

<sup>70</sup> Ps.-Kod. 252.11–12: οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν τις, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἢ δεσπότης ἢ σεβαστοκράτωρ ἢ καίσαρ.

<sup>71</sup> Ps.-Kod. 216.9–10. Verpeaux adds ‘caesars’ here, although the word is not found in the manuscripts.

<sup>72</sup> Ps.-Kod. 238.3–4.

rankings (*takitika*) of the period include the *archontes* of Crete, Cyprus and Chaldia, who served as provincial officials.<sup>73</sup>

In its narrow understanding the *archon* was the holder of an *offikion* ('office') rather than an *axioma* ('dignity'). The list of *Vaticanus* gr. 952 confines the 'imperial dignities' (*axiomata tou basileos*) to the leading three titles; it then refers to the titles from the *panhypersebastos*, fourth in rank, downwards as *offikia* of the *archontes*.<sup>74</sup> The association between *offikion* and *archon* is made in Michael VIII's ordinance of 1272 for his son and co-emperor.<sup>75</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos who uses rarely the word *offikion* makes it nonetheless clear that an *offikion* was a term for a title below the *axiomata* and a title borne solely by the *archontes* (again, in the narrow understanding of this term). The headings of chapters I and II of Pseudo-Kodinos – 'a ranking (*taxis*) of the *axiomata* and the *offikia*' and 'on the attire of each of the *axiomata* and *offikia*' – mention the two types of titles.<sup>76</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos notes that the nephews of the emperor who held the titles of *panhypersebastos* and *provestiarios* (fifth and sixth in the hierarchy) were addressed with their kinship designations by the *megas domestikos* at the reception on Christmas day and adds that other nephews of the emperor, even though they lacked an *offikion*, also presented themselves on Christmas day along with the cousins and uncles of the emperor. Pseudo-Kodinos mentions also the usual time when the emperor made appointments to an *offikion*: during the daily reception in the presence of all title holders. The emperor was to stand when he made the nomination, even for the lowest *offikion*, just as he did during the ceremony of the promotion of the despot.<sup>77</sup> The nomination was not only a ceremonial act. A formulary survives of the written ordinance (*prostaxis*) of imperial appointment to an *offikion*, a document not mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos.<sup>78</sup> Although Pseudo-Kodinos is silent, one can plausibly hypothesize that the appointee received from the hands of the emperor at the time of his appointment the chief insignia of the court title – his *skaranikon*, staff and banner.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, according to Pseudo-Kodinos, the *axiomata* ('dignities') were the titles of the leading three members of the court hierarchy: despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar. Their close proximity to the emperor was expressed in protocol and dress: they alone among the title holders had the right to be addressed as 'your imperial majesty' (ἡ βασιλεία σου) and 'my despot' (δέσποτά μου), and to wear

<sup>73</sup> See, for example, Oikonomides, *Listes*, 53.5 (*archon* of Crete mentioned in the Uspenskij *taktikon*). See *ibid.*, 342–43, for Oikonomides' discussion of the term *archon*.

<sup>74</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 307.14.

<sup>75</sup> See above n. 67.

<sup>76</sup> The title of chapter I is also the title of the entire treatise in *Parisinus* gr. 2991A produced in 1419, on which see above at 21.

<sup>77</sup> Ps.-Kod., 90.10–12, 244.15–17. On standing, see 379–84.

<sup>78</sup> Sathas, MB VI, 651.13–17.

<sup>79</sup> See 319–20.

shoes embroidered with eagles.<sup>80</sup> All titles below caesar were the *offikia* ('offices') of the *archontes*. The dividing line in the hierarchy is confirmed by the list of *Vaticanus* gr. 952. Another Palaiologan list displays, however, minor variation regarding the cut-off point. The Trapezuntine *Ranking of the emperor and the archontes* identifies the *axiomata* with the top five rather than three titles: despot, *sebastokrator*, caesar, *panhypersebastos* and *protovestiaros*.<sup>81</sup> The *offikia* begin here with the sixth member of the hierarchy, the *meas doux*. The same borderline between *axiomata* and *offikia* is implied by the historian George Sphrantzes, a reliable eyewitness to the Byzantine court in the mid-fifteenth century before the fall of Constantinople. In the context of a discussion at the court in 1451 he refers to the *offikion* of the *meas logothetes* as fourth and that of the *meas konostaulos* as seventh in rank.<sup>82</sup> The numbering reported by Sphrantzes makes sense if the *offikia* are counted from the *meas doux* (sixth in the court hierarchy) down. But if this is so, then the *axiomata* comprise the leading five rather than three titles in the hierarchy. This reasoning leads to another conclusion already made by Verpeaux: the *meas domestikos* has reverted by 1451 to its pre-elevation position in the hierarchy, namely, just below the *meas doux*.<sup>83</sup> One finds here yet another indication of the political partisanship of the fourteenth-century lists of precedence, in particular that of Pseudo-Kodinos.

The Palaiologan system of titles preserved the middle Byzantine terminological distinction between a 'dignity' and an 'office', but the differentiating criterion was new: an *axioma* was now distinguished from an *offikion* solely in terms of its position at the top of a single hierarchy of precedence. The titles of *panhypersebastos* and *protovestiaros*, fourth and fifth in rank, were viewed as intermediate and could belong either to the *axiomata* or the *offikia*. The *offikia* included titles which, according to Philotheos' *Kletorologion* (899) and Alexios I Komnenos' reform of the hierarchy, were 'dignities': *protosebastos*, *kouropalates*, *sebastos*. Furthermore, an *offikion* was no longer necessarily an office with specific responsibility as chapter III of Pseudo-Kodinos suggests. Even though, as it will be seen, the testimony of Pseudo-Kodinos should not always be taken at face value, he presented many *offikia* as lacking functions at the palace, the army or the administration. The middle Byzantine terminology of title holding continued to be employed, but with a new meaning. The conclusions are presented in Table I.

<sup>80</sup> On the special attire of these three dignitaries, see 339–42 and Blastares' versified list in Verpeaux, *Traité*, 320.7–12. On how to address the three top dignitaries, see Ps.-Kod., 46.11–48.11; Darrouzès, 'Ekthesis néa', 56–57, especially 57.45–46.

<sup>81</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 344.3–11.

<sup>82</sup> Sphrantzes, ed. Maisano, 124.20–21: να τὸν ποιήσω μέγαν λογοθέτην, ὅπερ ἐν ὁφρίκιον τέταρτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου κοντοστάβλου ἐν ἔβδομον.

<sup>83</sup> See Verpeaux, 'Hiérarchie', 424–26, 428–30; Verpeaux, *Traité*, 294, according to whom the elevated rank of the *meas domestikos* lasted only during the reign of Andronikos III and the beginning of that of John V Palaiologos.



Table I *Axiomata and Offikia in the Palaiologan Period*

Pseudo-Kodinos, List of <i>Vaticanus</i> gr. 952	Ranking of the emperor and the <i>archontes</i> <i>Chronicle</i> of George Sphrantzes	Type of titles
1. despot 2. <i>sebastokrator</i> 3. caesar	1. despot 2. <i>sebastokrator</i> 3. caesar 4. <i>panhypersebastos</i> 5. <i>protovestiarios</i>	<i>axiomata</i> of the <i>axiomatikoi</i> (= ‘dignities’)
4. <i>mezas domestikos</i> 5. <i>panhypersebastos</i> 6. <i>protovestiarios</i> 7. <i>mezas doux</i>  8. <i>protostrator</i> 9. <i>mezas logothetes</i> 10. <i>mezas stratopedarches</i> ..... (until the bottom of the hierarchy)	6. <i>mezas doux</i> 7. <i>mezas domestikos</i> 8. <i>protostrator</i> 9. <i>mezas logothetes</i> 10. <i>mezas stratopedarches</i> ..... (until the bottom of the hierarchy)	<i>offikia</i> of the <i>archontes</i> (= ‘offices’) <i>synkletika offikia</i> (= ‘senatorial offices’)

Official protocol sometimes identifies the *offikia* collectively as ‘senators’ (*synkletikoi*) or ‘senatorial *offikia*’ (*synkletika offikia*). The Anonymous versified list calls the *panhypersebastos*, fourth in rank, ‘the first of the senators’, implying that the first three titles belong to a separate category (namely, the ‘dignitaries’) and that the senatorial titles are confined solely to the *offikia*. The *Ekthesis Nea*, a collection of official epistolary protocol of the patriarchal chancery dating to about 1386, has the same understanding of the senatorial titles. The *Ekthesis Nea* calls the titles below the first three ones (below despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar) ‘senatorial offices’ (*synkletika offikia*).<sup>84</sup> A similar understanding that the senatorial titles consisted of the *offikia* appears also in Pachymeres’ account of an innovation during the reign of Andronikos II.<sup>85</sup> Before 1304 Andronikos granted the ‘first among the senate’ (*protistoi tes gerousias*) the right to carry gold and silver staffs. But according to Pseudo-Kodinos, only the *mezas domestikos*, the *mezas doux*, the *protostrator* and the *mezas stratopedarches* hold gold and silver staffs. These four titles ranked sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth before 1321 (that is, before the elevation of the *mezas domestikos* and the *mezas logothetes*). Pachymeres’ words imply that the counting of the senatorial titles began after the fifth title, that is, after the *axiomatikoi* and with the first *offikion*.

<sup>84</sup> Darrouzès, ‘Ekthesis néa’, 57.47–53, especially line 48. In his memoirs on the council of Ferrara-Florence, Sylvester Syropoulos excludes the despot from the senators: ed. Laurent, 252.13.

<sup>85</sup> Pach. IV, 545.22–24.

An important point to stress is the fluidity of the terminology of title holding outside of court protocol. Palaiologan historical and literary texts often use the words *axioma*, *offikion* and *synkletikos* with different and less precise meanings. The fourteenth-century historians Gregoras and Kantakouzenos indiscriminately designate court titles of every rank as *axioma* or *axia*.<sup>86</sup> By contrast, Sphrantzes uses language in tune with the protocol; he remarks with indignation that three *archontes* were allowed to occupy one *offikion* during the reign of the last emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos.<sup>87</sup> In the same vein, the words ‘senate’ and ‘senators’ have broader semantics in the works of the late Byzantine historians than they do in court protocol where, as we saw, the *synkletikoi* are narrowly understood as the holders of *offikia*.<sup>88</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos himself uses the words *synkletikos* and *synkletos* on five occasions (214.15, 238.5, 240.3, 240.8, 266.11). At 266.11 a distinction from the *axiomatikoi* (‘the dignitaries’) might be implied, but at 240.3–4 ‘all members of the senate’ seems to refer to all court title holders. This fluidity of terminology is not a Palaiologan innovation and is found already in the ninth and tenth centuries. Philotheos’ *Kletorologion* contains a protocol usage, according to which five ‘dignities’ alone were the senatorial ones (*dishypatos*, *hypatos*, *vestitor*, *silentiarios* and *apo eparchon*). But the *Kletorologion* also uses the word ‘senate’ to refer to a broader circle of titled individuals at the court.<sup>89</sup> The tenth-century adaptation of the Justinianic legislation, the *Basilika*, considers the late antique senatorial titles of *illustris* and above as the equivalent of the contemporary ‘dignities’ of *protospatharios* and higher; in a similar way, eleventh-century courtroom practice evidenced by the *Peira* understands the senators as the holders of the ‘dignities’ of *protospatharios* and above.<sup>90</sup> Clearly the senatorial aspect was an integral part of court title holding, but views as to the precise extent of the senatorial titles varied. There is one essential element of continuity, however, between middle and Palaiologan Byzantium: the acquisition of a ‘senatorial’ title remained strictly an imperial appointment and was not hereditary.

The distinction between ‘dignity’ and ‘office’ in Palaiologan protocol is one of the vestiges of the middle Byzantine system of court titles. Another vestige appears in the documentary evidence. Here the holders of court titles, as a rule the holders of *offikia*, carry concurrently another honorific title and/or an honorific, semi-official

<sup>86</sup> Gregoras usually calls a court title *axioma*. See Greg. I, 60.1, 195.20, 220.14, 271.14, 298.3. Kantakouzenos (II, 192.9, 356.6–7, 432.12–13, 476.5–6, 554.15) prefers *axia*.

<sup>87</sup> Sphrantzes, ed. Maisano, 124.13 (ch. 34.2): καὶ ἐν ὀφίκιον εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες τρεῖς ἐνταῦθα.

<sup>88</sup> Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 53–71.

<sup>89</sup> On the five senatorial dignities, see the *Kletorologion*, ed. Oikonomides, 87.32–33, 99.14–17, 295–96. For the more encompassing usage, see *ibid.*, 191.1–5.

<sup>90</sup> *Basilika* XXVIII, 4,51 (47) (based on Novel 117, ch. 4, on dowry) in Scheltema and van der Wal, *Basilicorum libri*, A, IV, 1338.6–7. See the discussion of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. *Peira* by Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 287–93, esp. 288 n. 86.



epithet.<sup>91</sup> Most common are the honorific title of *sebastos* (or *pansebastos Sebastos*) and the semi-official epithet *oikeios*.<sup>92</sup> In addition, the accompanying titles and epithets could include terms denoting various types of kinship or affinity with the emperor, rarer honorific terms, such as *megalodoxotatos* ('most glorious'), and the widely used epithet *kyr* ('lord'). The normal practice in Palaiologan documents was for the accompanying honorific dignity and/or honorific epithet to be placed before the court title. The practice is clearly based on middle Byzantine usage. On the other hand, the epithet *kyr* was placed after the court title and immediately before the name.<sup>93</sup> Another fading echo of the earlier title-holding system are rare cases attested between the middle of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century when, as a special mark of honour, the same individual held simultaneously two or more court titles – usually a combination of an old 'dignity', such as *protosebastos*, and 'office', such as *protovestiarios*.<sup>94</sup>

A key difference with the earlier system is that the court hierarchy of Pseudo-Kodinos does not rank the honorific dignities and epithets found in the documentary evidence. It assigns the *sebastos* the exceedingly low, 78th position

<sup>91</sup> For an in-depth discussion see Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 12–32, 409–415 (tables).

<sup>92</sup> Four typical examples may suffice: (1) An imperial ordinance (*horismos*) of 1269 refers to the *pansebastos Sebastos, oikeios, megas logoriastes* and *kyr* Constantine Chadenos. See Vranouse, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα*, I, no. 35 (p. 283). (2) A chrysobull of 1280–81 refers to the *pansebastos Sebastos, oikeios, protovestiaries* and *kyr* Demetrios Mourinos. See Docheiariou, no. 9 (p. 107). (3) A chrysobull of 1324 refers to the *pansebastos Sebastos, oikeios, skouterios* and *kyr* Theodore Sarantenos; see Vatopedi, I, no. 62 (p. 335). (4) An imperial ordinance (*prostagma*) of 1333 refers to the *pansebastos Sebastos, oikeios, domestikos ton thematon* and *kyr* Makrenos. See Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme*, no. 29 (p. 99). A single honorific title could accompany a court office: for example, the *pansebastos Sebastos* and *megas adnoumiastes* Hyaleas (Ivion III, no. 73, p. 187) or the *oikeios, megas droungarios tou stolou* and *kyr* John Philanthropenos attested in a patriarchal document of 1324. See Hunger and Kresten, *Register*, I, no. 76.43–46 (pp. 446–448). See also Verpeaux, 'Hiérarchie', 427–428. Indeed, honorific dignities and epithets might not be accompanied by any court titles, as in the case of the cadastral official *pansebastos Sebastos, oikeios* and *kyr* Constantine Kounales mentioned in 1317 and 1319. See Chilandar I, no. 34 (p. 237), no. 42 (p. 269).

<sup>93</sup> On the use of the epithet *kyr*, see Kontogiannopoulou, 'Ἡ προσήγορία κύρ στη βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία', 209–226.

<sup>94</sup> Thus, the emperor Theodore II Laskaris rewarded in 1255 his protégé George Mouzalon with the titles of *protosebastos, protovestiarios*, and *megas stratopedarches*. See Akropolites, §60:124.4–7. A document of 1283 (MM IV, 102.16–18) refers to an unnamed *protosebastos, protovestiarios* and *megas domestikos*. This is Michael Palaiologos Tarchaneiotēs (PLP 27505) who was promoted from *megas domestikos* to *protovestiarios* in 1281. Theodore Mouzalon signs his name as *protosebastos, protovestiarios* and *megas logothetes* in an imperial chrysobull of 1292 (Vranouse, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα*, I, no. 15 [p. 137]). Andronikos Palaiologos (PLP 21435), Andronikos II's nephew, is attested as *protosebastos* and *protovestiarios* in 1326. See *Actes de Philothée*, no. 6 (pp. 18–20).

in the hierarchy and ignores the semi-official epithet *oikeios*. The honorific title of *sebastos* was introduced by the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) to decorate the topmost level of the hierarchy of the emperor's kin. In the course of the twelfth century *sebastos* became increasingly inflated and less exclusive.<sup>95</sup> After 1204 the title continued to fall in value. A Nicaean formulary for the allocation of *pronoiai* (conditional grants of tax revenues derived from land) reveals that provincial officials, such as the *doux* and the *stratopedarches* of the theme, were expected to be *pansebastoi Sebastoi*.<sup>96</sup> The continuing fall in value of the *sebastos* is illustrated by the Palaiologan lists of precedence, in which only its derivatives *panhypersebastos* and *pansebastos* still preserved a high status. The *sebastoi* (or *pansebastoi Sebastoi*) of Palaiologan documents have been identified as a socially diverse group of people, including local functionaries and provincial grandees, whose connection to Constantinople was relatively weak.<sup>97</sup> A surviving Palaiologan formulary for the appointment of a *sebastos* confirms the impression gained from the documents that the emperor conferred the title with regularity.<sup>98</sup> The letter of appointment states that the *sebastos* is obliged to take part in ceremonies and thus strives to ensure that the *sebastos* would present himself at the court in spite of his humble rank and the likelihood of his residing outside Constantinople. Interestingly the formulary calls the *sebastos* an *axioma* ('dignity'). This term is unexpected from the point of view of contemporary court protocol (the *sebastos* lies among the *offikia*), but corresponds to the status of the title as a 'dignity' in the twelfth century. The use of the term corroborates the impression that the combination of *sebastos* with an *offikion* in the documentary evidence is a trace of the old system, in which the same individual bore a 'dignity' and an 'office'.<sup>99</sup>

The epithet *oikeios* means literally 'member of the household' (that is, the imperial household) and was translated during the fourteenth century into Latin as *familiaris*. It is possible that a register of imperial *oikeioi* was maintained in the Palaiologan period.<sup>100</sup> The formulary for appointment to an *offikion* assumes that its recipient would be an *oikeios* – an assumption confirmed by chapter VII of Pseudo-Kodinos which refers to 'the *archontes* and the other *oikeiakoi*' of the

<sup>95</sup> Stiernon, 'Notes', 226–32; Chon., 483–84; Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 182–83.

<sup>96</sup> Oikonomides, 'Contribution à l'étude de la *pronoia*', 160.7–9.

<sup>97</sup> Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 22–8, 409–413 (a table of the *sebastoi* from documentary evidence).

<sup>98</sup> Sathas, MB VI, 651.8–10.

<sup>99</sup> Sathas, MB VI, 651.7–11; Ps.-Kod. 210.5–6.

<sup>100</sup> Pachymeres mentions that during Michael VIII's reign the Veronese adventurer Likario entered imperial service and was 'enlisted among the imperial *oikeioi*'. See Pach. II, 525.7: αὐτὸς τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκειοῖς ἐγγράφεται. The existence of a register depends on a literal interpretation of ἐγγράφεται. Later Likario was rewarded with the court titles of *megas konostaulos* and *megas doux*.

emperor.<sup>101</sup> Scholars have traditionally viewed the *oikeioi* as a large circle of the emperor's trusted men, including the holders of court titles but also extending to individuals beyond the court. An *oikeios* normally signed his name as the emperor's *doulos*. The *oikeioi* excluded the relatives of the emperor, who appear in documents solely with an honorific kinship designation.<sup>102</sup>

The single list of court precedence under the Palaiologoi, with its peculiar definition of dignity and office, and the survival of elements of the old system in the documentary evidence, raises challenging questions. When and why was the traditional distinction between dignity and office lost? Why were the two separate hierarchies conflated into a single one? The lack of surviving court protocols until the large mass of evidence in the fourteenth century mandates caution and makes any answers hypothetical. Verpeaux considered the unification of the two hierarchies to be a gradual process which took place in the course of the first half of the fourteenth century and was completed by 1350.<sup>103</sup> His argument was based on the disappearance from the documentary sources around the year 1350 of the system of 'double titulature', by which the same individual appears in the documentary evidence as holding both a court title and an honorific title or epithet. The logic of his reasoning does not fully persuade, however. The combination of *sebastos* with a ranked court title is indeed no longer commonly found in documents dating to the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>104</sup> But patterns of title holding in the documents are not necessarily a reflection of court precedence. The honorific dignities and epithets that accompanied the Palaiologan court titles were relatively few in comparison with the twelfth century and could not form a separate hierarchy similar to that of the past. The court lists originating from the 1320s and the likelihood that Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy was influenced by a pre-1305 protocol diminish the probability that we are dealing with a fourteenth-century phenomenon.

More convincing is the hypothesis that the unification of the two hierarchies took place already at the 'empire of Nicaea' (1204–1261).<sup>105</sup> The general scaling down

<sup>101</sup> Ps.-Kod. 210.4–5; Sathas, MB VI, 651.14.

<sup>102</sup> On the *oikeioi*, see Verpeaux, 'Les οἰκεῖοι', 89–99; Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 15–20. The *Ekthesis nea* indicates the exclusion of the emperor's relatives bearing kinship designations from the *oikeioi*. See Darrouzès, 'Ekthesis néa', 57.47–53.

<sup>103</sup> Verpeaux, 'Hiérarchie', 427–28.

<sup>104</sup> The last case known to me is the *doulos, Sebastos* and *megas dioiketes* John Doukas Balsamon. This is how he signed a document in 1355; he was probably an *oikeios*, because the *oikeioi* signed their name as the emperor's *douloi*. See Docheiariou, no. 29 (p. 193). The epithet *oikeios* continued to be used. For example, the *oikeios* and *megas primmikerios* Phakrases and the *oikeios* and *megas droungarios* Komes are witnesses to an act of 1366. See Docheiariou, no. 38 (p. 221). The *oikeios* and *panhypersebastos* Stephanos Kalothetos was involved in dispute with the monastery of Vatopedi in 1366. See Vatopedi II, no. 124 (pp. 317–21).

<sup>105</sup> Angold, *Byzantine government*, 63–4; Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 22.

of imperial administration after 1204 and the lapse of twelfth-century dignities, such as *nobelissimos* and *protokouropalates*, created beneficial conditions for a simplified ranking system. Nicaean administration has traditionally been seen as an adaptation of Comnenian practices to new realities.<sup>106</sup> A number of new court titles, as will be shown, appear for the first time in sources of the Nicaean period. Certainly, the 'system' of court titles in Nicaea was in a state of flux. The emergence of a simplified single hierarchy of court precedence fits well into the general picture of transformation and administrative adaptation in the Byzantine empire in exile.

## Old and New Titles

The 82 titles of Pseudo-Kodinos (the eighty ranked ones plus *epi tou kanikleiou* and *megas baioulos* which were normally ranked too) present a mixed picture of tradition and innovation in terms of their history. Court titles with a history stretching back to the tenth century or earlier keep company with relatively recent titles introduced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and 'new' titles which are first attested after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, whether in the 'empire of Nicaea' or the restored empire of the Palaiologoi. A statistics measuring the proportion of 'old', 'recent' and 'new' titles can demonstrate the extent of innovation over time. The criterion used here for dating a title is its earliest mention by the sources.<sup>107</sup> The mention itself is not necessarily indicative of the introduction of a ranked title into the court; it presents most often a *terminus ante quem*. Nonetheless a first appearance in the sources provides useful orientation in time and, in any case, is the only workable basis for dating. The results of the statistics are revealing (Table II). Thirty-two titles (39%) are known under the same name since at least the tenth century and in many cases go back to late antiquity.<sup>108</sup> A smaller subset among Pseudo-Kodinos' court titles, eleven in total, are introduced during the reform of Alexios I Komnenos or appear during the

<sup>106</sup> Angold, *Byzantine government*, 147–150.

<sup>107</sup> For the dates of introduction of titles or their earliest mention in the sources, see the notes to chapter III of Pseudo-Kodinos and n. 13 above.

<sup>108</sup> (1) *caesar*, (2) *protovestiarios*, (3) *protostrator*, (4) *pinkernes*, (5) *kouropalates*, (6) *logothetes tou genikou*, (7) *domestikos tes trapezes*, (8) *epi tes trapezes*, (9) *megas papias*, (10) *eparch*, (11) *megas hetaireiarches*, (12) *megas chartoularios*, (13) *logothetes tou dromou*, (14) *protasekretis*, (15) *mystikos*, (16) *domestikos ton scholon*, (17) *protospatharios*, (18) *praitor tou demou*, (19) *epi ton deeseon*, (20) *koiaistor*, (21) *logothetes tou stratiotikou*, (22) *logothetes ton agelon*, (23) *akolouthos*, (24) *orphanotrophos*, (25) *protonotarios*, (26) *domestikos ton teicheon*, (27) *hetaireiarches*, (28) *domestikos ton thematon*, (29) *papias*, (30) *droungarios*, (31) *epi tou kanikleiou*, (32) *megas baioulos*.

eleventh century.<sup>109</sup> A very small group of five titles is first attested during the twelfth century.<sup>110</sup> The last group is the largest. Thirty-five titles (43% of the total) are first attested in the period after 1204. Fourteen of them (17%) are known already in the ‘empire of Nicaea’ and persist into the Palaiologan empire.<sup>111</sup> Twenty-one from among these 35 late Byzantine titles (26% of the grand total) are attested first under the Palaiologoi.<sup>112</sup>

Table II Old and New Titles in the Palaiologan Court Hierarchy

Titles known under the same name from the period between late antiquity and the tenth century.	39% (32 titles)
Titles introduced in the eleventh century or as part of the reform of Alexios I (1081–1118)	13% (11 titles)
Titles introduced or first attested during the twelfth century	5% (4 titles)
Titles introduced or first attested after 1204	43% (35 titles)
a) Titles introduced or first attested in the ‘empire of Nicaea’ (1204–61)	17% (14 titles)
b) Titles introduced or first attested in the Palaiologan period	26% (21 titles)

The ranked titles known first since 1204 are the majority in Pseudo-Kodinos, although the very old titles come a close second. Clearly the titles of the fourteenth-century Byzantine court combine a spirit of innovation and renewal in an equal measure with conservatism and adherence to tradition. The uppermost

<sup>109</sup> (1) *sebastokrator*, (2) *megas domestikos*, (3) *panhypersebastos*, (4) *megas doux*, (5) *megas primmikerios*, (6) *protosebastos*, (7) *megas droungarios tes vigles*, (8) *megas droungarios tou stolou*, (9) *primmikerios tes aules*, (10) *megas logariastes*, (11) *sebastos*.

<sup>110</sup> (1) *despot*, (2) *megas logothetes*, (3) *protovestiarites*, (4) *megas diermeneutes*.

<sup>111</sup> (1) *megas stratopedarches*, (2) *parakoimomenos tes sphendones*, (3) *parakoimomenos tou koitonos*, (4) *megas konostaulos*, (5) *megas archon*, (6) *tatas tes aules*, (7) *megas tzaousios*, (8) *logothetes ton oikeiakon*, (9) *protokynegos*, (10) *skouterios*, (11) *protoierakarios*, (12) *archon tou allagiou*, (13) *logariastes tes aules*, (14) *prokathemenos* of a city.

<sup>112</sup> (1) *epi tou stratou*, (2) *ameralios*, (3) *megas adnoumiastes*, (4) *krites tou phossatou*, (5) *protallagator*, (6) *megas dioiketes*, (7) *epi ton anamneseon*, (8) *prokathemenos tou koitonos*, (9) *prokathemenos tou vestiariou*, (10) *vestiariou*, (11–14) *stratopedarchai* of the *monokaballoi*, the *tzangratores*, the *mourtatoi* and the *tzakones*, (15) *prokathemenos* of the Great Palace, (16) *prokathemenos* of the Blachernai, (17) *domestikos* of the Eastern themes, (18) *domestikos* of the Western themes, (19) *megas myrtaites*, (20) *protokomes*, (21) *myrtaites*.

titles (including the dignities of despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar) were already established by the reign of Manuel I Komnenos in the twelfth century and remained unchanged until the Palaiologan period. In this sense, the new post-1204 titles do not upset the configuration of titles used by the Comnenian elite; the highest post-1204 title is only tenth in rank (*megas stratopedarches*). The titles attested first during the Palaiologan period are distinctly lower: the highest among them, the *epi tou stratou*, ranks 29th in the hierarchy and many lie near the bottom. The Palaiologan additions to the court hierarchy leave the impression of being adjuncts and do not divest older titles of their high ranking.

The coexistence of old and new titles in Pseudo-Kodinos should be qualified in two respects. Some new titles are mere adaptations of well-known old ones. The adjective 'great' was sometimes added to an old title to produce a new one (e.g., *megas* was added to *stratopedarches* or *dioiketes*). The name of an old office could be slightly modified (e.g., the *epi ton oikeiakon* became a *logothetes ton oikeiakon*, the *parakoimomenos* was split into a *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* and *parakoimomenos tou koitonos*). The large group of pre-eleventh-century titles does not mean uninterrupted continuity. Some represent a revival of titles that fell out of usage by 1204. For example, the *domestikos tes trapezes*, last attested in the seventh century, reappears in the Palaiologan period; the *domestikos* attending to the emperor at the dinner table during the tenth and the eleventh century is known as *domestikos tes hypourgias*.<sup>113</sup> The title of *protospatharios* lapsed during the reign of Alexios I, but was revived sometime in the late Byzantine period and appears in all Palaiologan court lists.<sup>114</sup> The title of *logothetes tou stratiotikou* follows a similar pattern.<sup>115</sup>

The new court titles introduced or first attested after 1204 share two salient traits. First, a subset belongs to the personal entourage of the emperor: a first hunter (*protokyngos*), a first falconer (*protoierakarios*), and a bearer of the emperor's shield and standard (*skouterios*). All three 'household' offices are already found in the 'empire of Nicaea'. In addition, old offices associated with the emperor's household acquired a heightened court rank in the Palaiologan period: *provestiarios* ('Head of the Chest', 6th in rank), *protostrator* ('First Groom', 9th in rank), *pinkernes* ('Butler', 14th in rank), the two *parakoimomenoi* ('Chamberlains of the Great Seal and of the Imperial Bedchamber', 16th–17th in rank), *domestikos tes trapezes* and *epi tes trapezes* (20th–21st in rank), *megas chartoularios* (26th in rank). One could add to this list the *megas papias* (22nd

<sup>113</sup> See 93 n. 180.

<sup>114</sup> See Oikonomides, *Listes*, 297 and n. 57, signalling the last mentions of this office during Alexios I's reign. In addition to the court lists, in late Byzantium the title appears on a seal and in vernacular literature. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel*, no. 163, dates the seal of the *protospatharios* Basil Spondyles the middle of the thirteenth century. In the late Byzantine *Fruit Book*, Savoury the Protospatharios is accused of plotting against aging King Quince. See Winterwerb, *Porikologos*, 139–140.

<sup>115</sup> See 107 n. 239.



in rank), a title given in the tenth century to eunuchs responsible for the security of the Great Palace. The household offices, whether new or old, were inferior in rank only to the close imperial relatives (despot and *sebastokrator*) and the chief commanders of the army and the navy (*megas domestikos* and *megas doux*). The household offices gained increased importance not only in terms of rank; they played an important role in warfare and local administration. Holders of the office of *pinkernes* were prominent military generals, while their court function was to serve wine to the emperor.<sup>116</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos describes the function of the *protostrator* both as groom of the emperor in the imperial courtyard and as high military commander. The holders of household titles were sometimes charged with fiscal duties in the provinces. For example, Constantine Chadenos, originally a *protoierakarios* ('First Falconer'), played an important role in tax administration in Asia Minor in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>117</sup> The *protokynegos* ('First Hunter') John Batatzes was engaged between 1333 and 1341 in a variety of lucrative tax-farming activities in the area of Thessalonike. After his promotion to *megas chartoularios* in 1342 by the regency government, followed by his elevation in 1344 to *megas stratopedarches* by Kantakouzenos, he took a prominent part in the Second Civil War until his assassination in 1345 at the hands of Turkish allies sent by his son-in-law Süleyman, the emir of Karasi.<sup>118</sup>

Second, the late Byzantine court was receptive to the influence of neighbouring courts and foreign administrative language. The names of several of the post-1204 titles are foreign and suggest cross-cultural borrowing. Turkish origin is obvious in the case of *tzaousios* (from *çavuş* meaning 'envoy', 'messenger') and has been suggested for the *tatas* (from *dede* meaning 'father') and the *myrtaites* (from *emir seyyid*, an honorary Islamic title that could designate descendants from the Prophet, or from *mürted* meaning 'renegade').<sup>119</sup> The titles of *konostaulos* ('constable')

<sup>116</sup> Well-known military commanders in the Palaiologan period held this title for parts of their careers: Libadarios (PLP 14860), Michael Tarchaneiotēs Glabas (PLP 27504), Alexios Philanthropenos (PLP 29754) and Syrgiannes (PLP 27167).

<sup>117</sup> The *protoierakarios* Constantine Chadenos, formerly a *komes ton basilikon hippon*, was in charge of state salt pans near Smyrna in 1259 or 1274. See MM IV, 284–85; Ahrweiler, 'L'histoire', 149–50; PLP 30346. This Chadenos is usually identified with the tax agent Chadenos whom Pachymeres (I, 31.21–33.11) blamed at the beginning of his *History* for the short-sighted fiscal measures in Asia Minor leading to the economic destitution of the border soldiers (*akritai*). His career included also the court titles of *megas logoriastes* and eparch.

<sup>118</sup> On John Batatzes see PLP 2518; Lappa-Zizicas, 'Un chrysobulle inconnu', 258–60 (a summary of his activities as *protokynegos* and general *apographeus* in the region of Thessalonike in the period 1333–1341). On the date of his promotion as *megas stratopedarches*, see Nicol, *Byzantine family*, 57. A part of his career is described by Greg. II, 741.6–743.6; Kant. II, 475.1–476.10, 552.2–556.14.

<sup>119</sup> On origins of the word *tzaousios*, see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 308–309; Mantran, 'Çā'ūsh', *EI*, II, 16. On the *tatas*, see Zachariadou, 'Les "janissaries"', 593, n. 7. On the *myrtaites*, see Balivet, 'Une dignité byzantine'.

and *ameralios* ('admiral') found their way into Byzantium from the West. The *ameralios* is the only new title of foreign origin, whose date and circumstances of adoption by the Byzantine court are known. In about 1303 the emperor Andronikos II and Roger de Flor, the leader of the Catalan Grand Company, jointly appointed the Catalan Ferran d'Aunès as *ameralios* ('admiral'). Derived from the Arabic word *emir*, this title designated a naval commander in the Norman kingdom of Sicily during the twelfth century and was commonly used in Genoa and in other areas of the Latin Mediterranean world by the late thirteenth century.<sup>120</sup>

The late medieval Mediterranean world, which was highly interconnected through trade, diplomacy and warfare, shared courtly fashions and institutions. This circumstance can explain cases of cross-cultural influence, but also presents difficulties for unravelling the directions and threads in the borrowing of court titles.<sup>121</sup> An example is provided by the court title of the *protoierakarios* ('First Falconer'). Falconry was an established royal pastime in Byzantium by the twelfth century. Anna Komnene makes a fleeting mention in the *Alexiad* of a court falconer in the service of her father Alexios I.<sup>122</sup> The court title of *protoierakarios* is first encountered in the 'empire of Nicaea' after the institutionalisation of court falconry had taken place in Byzantium's neighbouring civilisations. Court falconers, including a 'grand falconer', held posts in the early Islamic courts.<sup>123</sup> Falconry was a popular sport in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman England; the earliest Marshal of the King's Hawks (a royal household office responsible for provisioning hawks and hawkers) is attested in the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>124</sup> The first known *maître fauconnier du roi* of the French royal court was appointed in 1250.<sup>125</sup> The Western emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1212–1250), who authored a treatise on falconry, had numerous falconers in his close entourage.<sup>126</sup> The Byzantine title

<sup>120</sup> Pach. IV, 579.18–21, 625.28–30. See Failler, 'L'inscription', 236–239. See also Failler, 'Ferran d'Aunès', 327–333. The two known Byzantine *ameralioi* were Latins: the Catalan Ferran d'Aunès and the Genoese Andrea Morisco. On the Mediterranean context, see Ménager, *Amiratus* - *Ἀμυρᾶς*; Failler, 'L'inscription', 231.

<sup>121</sup> Thus Oikonomides 'La rinascita', 326, hypothesizes without adducing evidence that the title of *skouterios* was introduced under Latin influence and that *protokynegos* and *protoierakarios* were also of foreign inspiration.

<sup>122</sup> Anna Komnene (*Alexiad* 7. 9. 2, eds. Reinsch and Kambylis, 227.51–52) writes that a certain Constantine, 'a man in charge of the imperial falcons', accompanied Alexios during a campaign. On falconry in Byzantium, see Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὸν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, V, 395–98.

<sup>123</sup> For a grand falconer at the Fatimid court of the late tenth century, see Viré, 'Le traité', 2–3; see too Viré, 'Bayzara', *EI*, I, 1152.

<sup>124</sup> Oggins, *The kings and their hawks*, 58, 94–96, 98. There is evidence from the tenth century of the existence of a chief falconer of the Anglo-Saxon kings. See *ibid.*, 40–41.

<sup>125</sup> Anselme de Sainte-Marie, *Histoire généalogique*, 743. The office was renamed *grand fauconnier du roi* in the fifteenth century.

<sup>126</sup> Haskins, 'De Arte Venandi cum Avibus', 344–345, with references to falconers in Frederick II's register. Roger de Flor, the leader of the Grand Catalan Company, was the son



of the *protoierakarios* clearly mirrors royal fashions and court institutions shared by the medieval East and West.

The foreign origin of some of the titles of Pseudo-Kodinos is striking, yet does not modify the general picture of continuity of titles from earlier periods of Byzantine history. The overwhelming majority of the titles introduced after 1204 represent adaptation of the centuries-old administrative language of the Byzantine empire. Even with the influence exerted by Byzantium's eastern and western neighbours, Pseudo-Kodinos' titles remain firmly grounded in native tradition.

## The Court Titles and Governance

Pseudo-Kodinos' descriptions of the functions of the court titles in chapter III may seem an important source on the methods of imperial governance. Yet they should be approached with caution and verified, whenever possible, through evidence provided by other historical sources. This conclusion needs to be explained and stressed, because scholars have traditionally seen in Pseudo-Kodinos evidence of the decline of the administrative apparatus of the empire, its ossification and lack of adaptability. After all, chapter III of Pseudo-Kodinos reports that around 36% of the ranked titles (28 out of a total of 77 titles) lack any function.<sup>127</sup> The sinecures include old and established 'offices' known since at least the tenth century: *logothetes tou genikou*, *megas papias*, eparch, *logothetes tou dromou*, *domestikos ton scholon*, *praitor tou demou*, *koaistor*, *logothetes tou stratiotikou*, *logothetes ton agelon*, *orphanotrophos*. The descriptions of Pseudo-Kodinos paint, however, a partial picture of fourteenth-century government, a picture that is both incomplete and in some cases distorted. This is so primarily because of Pseudo-Kodinos' focus on court ceremony and his insufficient familiarity with the workings of the administration — especially outside Constantinople — as well as on account of the absence of key provincial functionaries from the court hierarchy under the Palaiologoi.

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of a falconer of Frederick II who died in the battle of Tagliacozzo in 1268.

<sup>127</sup> The 28 titles reported without set functions are the following: despot, *sebastokrator*, caesar, *panhypersebastos*, *protosebastos*, *kouropalates*, *logothetes tou genikou*, *megas papias*, eparch, *logothetes tou dromou*, *domestikos ton scholon*, *protospatharios*, *megas archon*, *tatas tes aules*, *praitor tou demou*, *logothetes ton oikeiakon*, *megas logariastes*, *koaistor*, *logothetes tou stratiotikou*, *logothetes ton agelon*, *megas dioiketes*, *orphanotrophos*, *epi ton anamneseon*, *stratopedarches* of the *monokaballoi*, *domestikos* of the themes, *domestikoi* of the Eastern and Western themes, *megas myrtaites*. The total of the titles on which this calculation is based amounts to 77, because chapter III omits three of the ranked titles (*papias*, *sebastos* and *myrtaites*). The likelihood is that Pseudo-Kodinos would have placed these three titles among the sinecures, as he does with the *megas papias* and the *megas myrtaites*. The titles of *epi tou kanikleiou* and *megas baioulos*, not ranked in chapter I and not mentioned in chapter III, are also not included in the statistics.

The limitation of Pseudo-Kodinos as a source on governance lies to a large degree in his preoccupation with ceremonies and rituals. By 'function' or 'service' (*hyperesia*) of the titles Pseudo-Kodinos means most of all ceremonial duties. One rarely hears about functions performed outside the palace. In such cases, the descriptions are short, cryptic, and sometimes derived from etymology or self-evident. For example, the *protonotarios* is said to be the 'first of the notaries' and the function of the *mystikos* to be 'understood from its very name'. The *prokathemenoi* of the cities and the *kastrophyllakes* are described as 'functionaries attending to each city according to its rank'; it is not clarified how cities were ranked and whether the hierarchy of bishoprics may have been followed. Pseudo-Kodinos moves his lens beyond the palace only in two directions. As he is especially interested in the figure of the *megas domestikos*, Pseudo-Kodinos pays attention to the wartime function of military officers serving under the *megas domestikos*. The imperial chancery also receives attention, with the functions of the *megas logothetes*, the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones*, the *megas diermeneutes*, and the *protonotarios* being described. Even though the *mesazon* was not part of the ranked court hierarchy, Pseudo-Kodinos refers to him in the context of describing the function of the *megas logothetes* who supervised the emperor's correspondence with foreign powers. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, the emperor can grant to any holder of a court title the function of *mesazon*, namely, the supervision of the activity of the chancery in domestic matters.<sup>128</sup>

The largest and most glaring gap in Pseudo-Kodinos' account of the function of the court titles concerns fiscal and judicial administration. The only financial officials mentioned are the *prokathemenos tou vestiarou* (the chief financial minister at the time) and the *logariastes tes aules*. The only judicial office described is the *protasekretis*, who is said, in a characteristically curt fashion, to dispense justice at court, sometimes with other judges of higher rank than him. The allusion may be to the General Judges of the Romans: a supreme court of the empire re-established in 1329 and consisting of four lay and clerical judges, which Pseudo-Kodinos never mentions.<sup>129</sup> In 1337 the *protasekretis* Leo Bardales and three of the four General Judges were dismissed and their properties confiscated after a corruption scandal which may have been the result of judicial co-operation or collegial relationship.<sup>130</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos reports the absence of a function of a title in three different ways. In most cases he states simply that the title has no service or has no service in his own day. He frequently refers to the past duty of a title, points out that a title had a specific service in former times, or notes that the former service of the title is

<sup>128</sup> Oikonomides, 'Chancellerie', 168–70.

<sup>129</sup> It is to be noted that the title of General Judge of the Romans could be combined with court titles. Thus the *megas dioiketes* and later *logothetes ton oikeiakon* Glabas (PLP 4215) was simultaneously also a General Judge of the Romans. See Lemerle, 'Le Juge général', 302.

<sup>130</sup> Ševčenko, 'Léon Bardalès'. Cf. Lemerle 'Documents et problèmes nouveaux', 32–4.

unknown to him. Here Pseudo-Kodinos makes apparent his historical interests.<sup>131</sup> Second, in the case of the *stratopedarches ton monokaballon*, the *domestikoi* of the themes, and the *domestikoi* of the Eastern and Western themes, Pseudo-Kodinos uses the past tense to account for their function, implying that these titles lacked a sphere of responsibility at the time of his writing. Third, in the case of the *logothetes tou genikou* and the *megas myrtaites* Pseudo-Kodinos notes that the service of the two titles is ‘unknown’ to him, a comment in the present tense that in fact suggests that the two titles had functions but the author was unable to identify them.

Once set in the context of the documentary evidence, the descriptions of some of the sinecure titles turn out to be inaccurate. Pseudo-Kodinos confesses to be unaware of the function of the *logothetes tou genikou*, but a judicial decision dating to 1375 makes the revealing comment that the *logothetes tou genikou* was the head of a fiscal tribunal (in full accordance with his role in the middle Byzantine period) and was empowered to revoke the decisions of the General Judges regarding property ownership.<sup>132</sup> A similar contradiction is seen with the *praitor tou demou* who, Pseudo-Kodinos reports, has no function. Yet holders of this title acted as interpreters from Latin in the period 1320–1352, as mentioned in documents and in the Trapezuntine *Ranking of the emperor and the archontes*.<sup>133</sup> Therefore, Pseudo-Kodinos’ observation of the lack of function of a particular title should not be taken at face value, for it could reflect the lack of information on the part of the author. In addition, Pseudo-Kodinos’ descriptions of administrative function represent a single snapshot in time.<sup>134</sup> Thus the *megas logothetes* who, according to Pseudo-Kodinos, dealt with foreign relations no longer exercised this function by the early fifteenth century.<sup>135</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the functions of the *domestikoi ton thematon* in the past tense: ‘in former times a functionary taking care of and in charge of the public fisc’. In fact, documentary evidence dating as late as the 1330s refers to the activities of a tax official who held this title.<sup>136</sup> Therefore the past tense of Pseudo-Kodinos and the expression ‘in former times’ (πάλαι) can refer both to distant and recent past.

A further limitation of Pseudo-Kodinos as a source on governance and administration lies in the profile of the ranked titles participating in palace

<sup>131</sup> See Introduction, 12–13.

<sup>132</sup> Kutlumas, no. 34 (p. 131). See Lemerle, ‘Le Juge général’, 305–306. The title of *logothetes tou genikou* had treasury functions in the period before 1204 and appears to have preserved some of its traditional role.

<sup>133</sup> See above n. 26.

<sup>134</sup> Ostrogorsky, *History*, 248, has already noted with regard to the 10th c. lists that they capture the bureaucratic structure ‘as it was in one definite period’.

<sup>135</sup> Oikonomides, ‘Byzantine diplomacy’, 78. Instead we find *mesazontes* in this role, regardless of whether they held the title of *megas logothetes*. See Verpeaux, ‘Contribution à l’étude’.

<sup>136</sup> Constantine Makrenos’ (PLP 16365) activities as *domestikoi ton thematon* in 1333–1338 are well documented. See n. 92.

ceremonies in the fourteenth century. By the late Byzantine period important officials of the provincial administration, bishops, and clerical bureaucrats at the patriarchate were not included in the court lists. Their absence indicates that they were not considered regular participants in ceremonies staged at the court. A comparison of Pseudo-Kodinos with the seven Palaiologan lists dating to the fourteenth century indicates that holders of other titles might take part in palace receptions. Yet these titles are not many – fewer than twenty.<sup>137</sup> Most are members of the imperial clergy.<sup>138</sup> The judicial and fiscal officials are few, with the absence of the General Judges being noteworthy, for not all General Judges combine this post with a ranked court title. One finds the *krites tou velou* (a Constantinopolitan judge since the tenth century);<sup>139</sup> *krites tou sekretou* (a judge of the imperial tribunal);<sup>140</sup> *dikaiophylax* and *nomophylax* (judges who could belong either to the hierarchy of court or of the patriarchate);<sup>141</sup> and *vestiarites* (official of the imperial treasury).<sup>142</sup> Other participants in court receptions included an officer of the navy (*komes* or

<sup>137</sup> *archidiakonos, dikaiophylax, hypatos ton philosophon, kaballarios, komes (komes tou stolou), krites tou sekretou, krites tou velou, lampadarios, maistor, megas archidiakonos, megas protopapas, nobelissimos, nomophylax, notarios, protonobelissimos, protopsaltes, rhabdouchos, vestiarites*. See Table IV.

<sup>138</sup> These are the titles of *archidiakonos, lampadarios, maistor, megas archidiakonos, megas protopapas* and *protopsaltes*.

<sup>139</sup> Kazhdan, 'Velum', ODB 3, 2157–58. Cf. PLP 11410, 92341. A *krites tou velou* was a correspondent of Constantine Akropolites. See Romano, *Costantino Acropolita*, 115–116.

<sup>140</sup> According to Lemerle, the *krites tou sekretou* (judge of the imperial tribunal) was replaced in 1329 by the General Judges of the Romans. See Lemerle, 'Recherches: Le tribunal impérial', 371–73.

<sup>141</sup> On the *dikaiophylax*, see Darrouzès, *Recherches*, 109–110, 137–38. The *dikaiophylax* was an imperial appointee, but its holders after Michael VIII's reign were sometimes inducted among the patriarchal officials. On the title of *nomophylax* which was introduced in the eleventh century, see ODB 2, 1491–92. In the Palaiologan period there were civil *nomophylakes*, such as Constantine Harmenopoulos (the author of the *Hexabiblos*) attested with this title in 1349, and ecclesiastical ones, such as the *nomophylax* Michael Diasites who signed the council of the Blachernai in 1285. See Xeropotamou, no. 26 (pp. 194 and 196); Lemerle 1952; Darrouzès, *Recherches*, 533. Notes accompanying the lists of patriarchal officials mention the intermediary position of the *dikaiophylax* and the *nomophylax* between the hierarchies of the palace and the Great Church: they were among the 'palatine' or the 'most senatorial' offices of the Great Church. See Darrouzès, *Recherches*, 570, 575.

<sup>142</sup> In the 13th c. the *vestiaritai* were agents of the fisc. See, for example, MM IV, 231–32 (the *megalodoxatatos, basilikos vestiarites* and *kyr Leo Monastereiotes*); Angold, *Byzantine government*, 233–34 (with further examples). The *vestiaritai* formed a cadet corps of imperial guards during the 11th and 12th centuries. See Oikonomides, 'L'évolution', 129–30; ODB 3, 2163.

*komes tou stolou*), a military dignitary (*kaballarios*),<sup>143</sup> the holder of a prestigious teaching post (the *hypatos ton philosophon*),<sup>144</sup> the rare provincial office of *protonobelissimos*,<sup>145</sup> and staff-bearing guards (*rhabdouchoi*) who were either the Vardariots or the *tzakones*, whose distinctive attribute in both cases were their staffs or clubs.<sup>146</sup> The seven Palaiologan lists thus confirm the impression of a relatively restricted range of officials expected at court receptions in the fourteenth century.

Foremost among those absent from the court lists are the provincial governors: the *kephalai* of fortified towns and their surrounding territories which constitute local units of governance sometimes called *katepanikia* in fourteenth-century sources.<sup>147</sup> Missing, too, are other provincial officials: most prominently fiscal ones, such as *apographeis*, *doukes*, *energontes*, but also military ones, such as *tzaousioi* of cities.<sup>148</sup> Even the mayors of Constantinopolitan districts, the demarchs, are not part of the court hierarchy. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, they are expected to attend the twice-yearly staging of the ceremony of *prokypsis* in the courtyard of the palace and wave there their standards. By contrast, the demarchs were regular participants in court banquets during the tenth century in their former capacity as leaders of the factions of the Blues and the Greens at the Hippodrome.<sup>149</sup> The *prokathemenoi* and *kastrophylakes* of cities are the only officials with explicitly local (or provincial) functions ranked in the hierarchy of Pseudo-Kodinos, and they lie at its very bottom.

The absence of prominent provincial functionaries contrasts with the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (899) and the tenth-century lists, which assign each of the generals of the themes a high rank of precedence. The impression arises that ceremonial court display no longer served in the fourteenth century to demonstrate the cohesion and unity between capital and province. This interpretation is tempting, but its relevance to the realities is limited once the means and methods of Palaiologan administration are taken into consideration. In fact, holders of

<sup>143</sup> The military dignity was assigned until the middle of the 14th c. to Latin mercenaries. Kantakouzenos rewarded them with this title upon his coronation in Didymoteichon in 1341. See Kant. II, 166.20–21; Bartusis, ‘The *Kavallarioi*’, 343–50.

<sup>144</sup> A ‘university’ teacher appointed by the emperor, but under the auspices of the church. The *megas chartophylax* and *hypatos ton philosophon* John Ampares (PLP 800) was a witness to the pro-Palamite synodical *tomos* of 1351. See PG, vol. 151, col. 763. For other cases, see Constantinides, *Higher education*, 124–32.

<sup>145</sup> See n. 22.

<sup>146</sup> Greg. II, 896.16–17, speaks of *pelekyphoroi* (‘axe-bearers’, i.e., the Varangians) and *rhabdouchoi* guarding the palace. By the latter expression he probably means Vardariots who guarded the gate of the courtyard and carried staffs.

<sup>147</sup> Maksimović, *Byzantine provincial administration*, 32–166. See the formulary for the appointment of *kephale* in Sathas, MB VI, 642–43.

<sup>148</sup> Sathas, MB VI, 647 (formulary for the appointment of a *tzaousios*). See Maksimović, *Byzantine provincial administration*, 180–82.

<sup>149</sup> On the demarchs, see Ps.-Kod. at 130.12.

court titles often occupied posts in the provinces, especially fiscal ones, although they did so in an *ad hoc* fashion unrelated to their normal palatine function. This practice is one of the symptoms of 'household' government. Middle- and low-ranking titles, including those reported to have no function attached, were deemed particularly suitable for fiscal functionaries administering land revenues. For example, individuals bearing the titles of *orphanotrophos*, *logothetes ton oikeiakon* and *megas adnoumiastes* (the first two allegedly lacking any function and the third title being military) served as tax officials in the Palaiologan period.<sup>150</sup> Governors (*kephalai*) of Thessalonike were decorated with court titles; a judicial decision of 1317 mentions, for instance, a series of them: the *tatas tes aules* Michael Monomachos, the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* Hyaleas and the *megas chartoularios* Constantine Palaiologos.<sup>151</sup> That Pseudo-Kodinos does not report provincial administrative duties performed by the holders of court titles is explicable both by the lack of a pattern behind these appointments and his general disinterest in matters outside Constantinople.

Pseudo-Kodinos keeps silent about the economic remuneration of the holders of court titles, thus presenting again a partial picture of governance. The tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies* contains a detailed list of annual salaries (*rogai*) paid to the generals (*strategoï*) of themes and a list of prices for the purchase of 'dignities'. At that time, acquiring a title with its attendant salary was a means of both securing entry into the court and a state pension.<sup>152</sup> Titles that received an annual *roga* of more than one pound of gold (72 *nomismata*) did so at a solemn palace ceremony in the emperor's presence during the week before Palm Sunday. Precious materials, such as silk garments associated with the title, were distributed on that occasion. The system of the *roga* was eroded in the Comnenian period and was increasingly replaced by remuneration through grants of tax-collecting rights and tax exemptions.<sup>153</sup> This involved a fundamental structural change in governance, as it made landed privilege rather than salary the main economic tool for cultivating the loyalty of the political elite.

What economic rewards could a titled courtier expect in the Palaiologan period? Pseudo-Kodinos uses the notion of *roga* only once, in the context of the responsibility of the *logariastes tes aules* to ensure that 'salaried individuals'

<sup>150</sup> Maksimović, *Byzantine provincial administration*, 191–92, with references to the individuals and the sources.

<sup>151</sup> Vatopedi, I, no. 49 (pp. 288–292). See PLP 19306 (Michael Senachereim Monomachos); PLP 21496 (Constantine Palaiologos). For other examples, see Maksimović, *Byzantine provincial administration*, 119.

<sup>152</sup> *De cer.* 692–94, 696–97 (costs of purchasing titles and the *rogai* of *strategoï*). The payday ceremony (in 950) is described solely by Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, VI, 10, ed. Chiesa, 149–50. See Lemerle, 'Roga'; Hendy, *Studies*, 181–87, Oikonomides, 'Title and income', esp. 199–210.

<sup>153</sup> Oikonomides, 'Title and income', 210–13.



(*rogatores*) in the palace are paid correctly and on time.<sup>154</sup> The *rogatores* cannot be identical with the *archontes*, the usual term for bearers of titles; they seem to be the wage-earning personnel of the palace (for example, builders, artisans and cooks). This support personnel is referred to as the ‘people serving in the palace’ (οἱ κατὰ ἀνάκτορα δουλεύοντες) by Pachymeres, who mentions that in 1304 they were not paid their wages for a long time because of lack of funds in the treasury.<sup>155</sup> The financial situation improved by Pseudo-Kodinos’ time, as witnessed by the duty of the *logariastes tes aules*, even as a ‘custom of old’ was discontinued: the distribution at Easter of one hundred pounds of gold to the clerics of the Great Church.<sup>156</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos mentions another case of periodic payment resembling a salary and given to a ranked member of the court hierarchy. The *megas primmikerios* receives every Sunday one *hyperpyron* as a reward for his assistance in carrying the emperor’s staff.<sup>157</sup> This amounts to an annual payment of around 52 *hyperpyra*: a credible amount for a yearly salary in the fourteenth century, although a low one given the known salaries (of mercenaries, for example) and considering the fact that the *megas primmikerios* is near the top of the hierarchy (eleventh in rank).<sup>158</sup> Furthermore, the *hyperpyron* diminished in value during the Palaiologan period and was no longer struck in the middle of the fourteenth century: the last issue of poor-quality gold *hyperpyron* is known from the joint reign of Kantakouzenos and John V Palaiologos between 1347 and 1353. It is possible that Pseudo-Kodinos uses *hyperpyron* as a money of account.<sup>159</sup> The pay of the Palaiologan *megas primmikerios* is below the *roga* of a middle Byzantine *protospatharios*, ranking below the ninetieth place in the Philotheos’ *Kletorologion*; his salary is stably attested as 72 *nomismata* throughout the tenth and the eleventh century.<sup>160</sup> A *spatharokandidatos*, who was ranked lower than *protospatharios*, received a *roga* of 36 *nomismata* in the late eleventh century.<sup>161</sup>

Looking beyond Pseudo-Kodinos, one gains the impression that the possession of court titles brought, in fact, significant economic returns, but the remuneration was not in the form of distribution of *rogai* on periodic ceremonial occasions. The pay of dignitaries was mostly in the form of tax-collecting rights and other methods of exploitation of the fiscal apparatus. Pachymeres, the only late Byzantine historian to use the term *roga*, never applies it to the salary of holders of court titles. He speaks of the payment of *rogai* to border soldiers in Asia Minor and

<sup>154</sup> Ps.-Kod. 112.3–5.

<sup>155</sup> Pach. IV, 435.28–437.1, 541.3–4.

<sup>156</sup> Ps.-Kod. 186.19–22.

<sup>157</sup> Ps.-Kod. 86.1–3.

<sup>158</sup> See the tables in Cheynet et al., ‘Prix et salaires’, 268–69.

<sup>159</sup> Grierson, *Catalogue*, V/1, 47.

<sup>160</sup> Lemerle, ‘Roga’, 79, 85, 88, 92–6; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 143.20 (the highest ranked *protospatharios* held this dignity in combination with the office of *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme).

<sup>161</sup> Lemerle, ‘Roga’, 93–4.

mercenaries, such as *tzakones* from the Peloponnese and migrants from Venetian Crete.<sup>162</sup> According to Pachymeres, the salaries of teachers and ecclesiastical officials were also *rogai*.<sup>163</sup>

In his historical memoirs Kantakouzenos mentions a specific form of annual remuneration, which he describes with the phrase ‘yearly revenues’ (*etesioi prosodoi*). He describes how in 1329 the successful expedition led by Andronikos III against the Genoese rulers of Chios was accompanied by an offer extended to one of them, Benedetto II Zaccaria. He was offered residences in Constantinople and ‘an appropriate dignity’ with ‘yearly revenues’ consisting of 20,000 *hyperpyra* from the collected taxes in Chios.<sup>164</sup> The envisaged means of his remuneration – collection of tax revenue rather than *roga* – is noteworthy. The arrangement was never fulfilled, because Benedetto was not willing to accept the authority of the Byzantine emperor. The generous annual pay suggests that Benedetto was granted a high court ‘dignity’, such as *sebastokrator* or caesar. The offer reflects the specific circumstances of the efforts of the Byzantine government to co-opt a foreign potentate and the substantial wealth generated by the economy of Chios, a centre of a flourishing and lucrative mastic production. The remuneration is impressive by middle Byzantine standards, when the *roga* of a high dignitary, such as *kouropalates*, was 2,304 *nomismata* (32 pounds of gold) and that of a high official, such as the *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme, was 2,880 *nomismata* (40 pounds of gold).<sup>165</sup> The comparison shows that the incumbents of the highest titles in late Byzantium could expect considerable remuneration, but the pay was in the form of local tax revenue rather than publicly paid annual salary. This generous remuneration lies in full agreement with, and follows, the rhetoric of imperial government, which advertised the redistribution of economic resources as a key duty of the emperor.<sup>166</sup> Elsewhere in his historical memoirs Kantakouzenos reports that after Sphrantzes Palaiologos assassinated in 1334

<sup>162</sup> Pach. I, 33.19–22, 253.5–10; III, 235.16–19. For a further discussion of military salaries in the period, see Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 149–56.

<sup>163</sup> Pach. I, 369.24–371.2 (*rogai* paid to the teacher and students at the school established by Michael VIII at the old *orphanotropheion* of St Paul); Pach. IV, 646.22 (*rogai* of the officials of the Great Church). Michael VIII’s ordinance of 1272 outlining the rights of the crowned co-emperor Andronikos II forbids him to touch revenues from the imperial taxes, which were to be reserved for *rogai*. See Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzeit’, 40.89; Bartusis, ‘A note’.

<sup>164</sup> Kant. I, 387.4–17. Benedetto was to be rewarded for collaborating with Andronikos III on the defeat and capture of his brother Martino, the lord of Chios. See Miller, ‘Zaccaria’, 48–9.

<sup>165</sup> Lemerle, ‘Roga’, 95; *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 696.13. See Cheynet, ‘Byzantine aristocracy’, 24–5.

<sup>166</sup> Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 134–60 (Chapter 4: ‘The ideology of imperial government’). In his critique of Andronikos III, the historian Gregoras notes that the distribution of both ‘moneys and dignities’ was a key responsibility. See Greg. I, 565.23–24: διανομάς τῶν τε χρημάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀξιώματων.



the rebel Syrgiannes, the emperor Andronikos III rewarded the former with the title of *megas stratopedarches* and ‘granted him proportionately annual revenues from villages’.<sup>167</sup> The expression ‘annual revenues from villages’ must refer to a *pronoia* grant: the revenues come from the collection of local taxes imposed on agricultural lands and can be identified with the *posotes* (‘amount’) specified in official documents of grants of *pronoia*. In 1344 Kantakouzenos rewarded John Batatzes, a high tax official in Macedonia and a prominent defector from the regency government, with the higher title of *megas stratopedarches* and bestowed on his relatives ‘honours and yearly revenues’, an expression which, in the light of the above examples, might also refer to *pronoiai*.<sup>168</sup>

The case of John Batatzes is particularly interesting and relevant in light of his title of *protokynegos* (‘First Hunter’), with which he is attested in a number of documents in the 1330s (the earliest in 1334) when he acted as tax official. According to the historian Gregoras, the *protokynegos* John Batatzes amassed great wealth by holding a series of tax-farming posts. In 1343, now as *megas chartoularios*, he bought from the regency government in Constantinople the governorship of Thessalonike. He was soon ousted and found himself forced to defect to the camp of Kantakouzenos, who rewarded him with the title of *megas stratopedarches*.<sup>169</sup> One gains the impression that his remuneration for holding the court title of *protokynegos* (41st in Pseudo-Kodinos’ hierarchy) in the 1330s was connected to his entrepreneurial tax-farming activities. In other words, he may have originally bought his court title with an appointment to a tax-collecting office in Macedonia attached to it. The Palaiologan state is known to have resorted to the sale of offices in order to maximise its revenues in a period of rapidly shrinking territory and tax resources.<sup>170</sup> The case of the *protokynegos* John Batatzes shows that the system of ‘pay’ of the holders of court titles was flexible and the imperial government experimented with different methods depending on current political and financial circumstances.

The remuneration granted to the fourteenth-century holders of court titles was both similar to and different from *roga*. In both cases it was an annual payment made, or at least assessed, in coins. On the other hand, the grant of annual pay in the form of locally collected taxes and dues rather than *roga* meant devolution of responsibility from the central government to privileged individuals. It deprived

<sup>167</sup> Kant. I, 457.12–14: καὶ Σφραντζῆν μὲν τῇ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπεδάρχου τετίμηκεν ἄξια, προσόδους τε παρέσχεν ἐτησίους ἐκ χωρίων ἀναλόγως.

<sup>168</sup> Kant. II 476.6–7. See the discussion of this and similar terminology by Bartusis, *Land and privilege*, 324–335.

<sup>169</sup> On his court rank in 1334, see Lavra III, no. 122 (pp. 17–19). On his entrepreneurship as census official, see Greg. 741.6–11. On John Batatzes generally, see above n. 118. See also Maksimović, *Byzantine provincial administration*, 125.

<sup>170</sup> See the revealing description by Greg. I 317.2–20. See also Maksimović, *Byzantine provincial administration*, 225–27; Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 193–205; Angelov, ‘Late Byzantine imperial panegyric’, 71; Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 276–80.

the emperors of an impressive display of their power at the annual payday ceremony. Holders of court titles during the fourteenth century acted as local tax agents and were able to make significant economic gains.

### The Court Titles and the Court

The ceremonies of Pseudo-Kodinos illustrate how the ranking of the titles was put into practice. When the *archontes* presented themselves to attend the daily receptions (*parastaseis*) in the palace, they did so in accordance with their rank. They entered the reception hall in a descending order from the one of highest station down to the most inferior one. Each title holder was to take up a place determined by his rank at the *prokypsis* ceremony staged periodically in the palace courtyard. In accordance with their rank, again in a descending order, the 'dignitaries' and 'officials' took their servings during the ceremonial dinners in the palace on Christmas Eve and Christmas day, came to wish 'many years' to the emperor on Christmas Eve, and participated in the ceremonial kiss at Easter. The ranking of the court titles influenced *ad hoc* meetings of the court. Kantakouzenos refers to a memorable episode at the onset of the Second Civil War in 1341. The dowager empress Anne of Savoy and the senate (in this context consisting mostly, if not exclusively, of the holders of court titles) convened to deliberate an urgent issue of Byzantine-Bulgarian relations. As everyone was awaiting the views of the *meas domestikos* John Kantakouzenos (fourth in rank according to the hierarchy modified on his own behalf), George Choumnos, one of his future enemies, who was *epi tes trapezes* (ranking twenty-first in Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy) hastened to voice first his opinion and dared suggest that those of higher rank should listen to their inferiors. Kantakouzenos suppressed voicing his annoyance at the breach of protocol, but a supporter of his retorted: 'What now? Should we make the empire of the Romans a democracy where everyone could counsel and speak whatever occurs to him about greater and lesser matters and should we force the superiors to respect the decision? What immense absurdity would this be?'<sup>171</sup> The assumption of the Kantakouzenist was that a hierarchy, evidently the hierarchy of the court lists, should determine the order of speaking at meetings of the court. A transgression of this order was abnormal and synonymous with disloyalty.

The close connection of the court titles with ceremonies makes possible an illuminating comparison of the number of invited participants at banquets and receptions in the middle and late Byzantine periods. The quantitative difference is considerable: the tenth-century imperial banquet is *at least* three times larger than receptions held in the fourteenth century. The 95 bearded and eunuch 'dignitaries' and 'officials' described at the beginning of Philotheos' *Kletorologion* may create the deceptive impression that the invited guests are close in number to those in

<sup>171</sup> Kant. II, 20.10–21.20.

the fourteenth century.<sup>172</sup> The integrated, actual list of precedence in Philotheos' *Kletorologion* envisages varied combinations of 'dignities' and 'offices', which increase considerably the human scale of the ceremonial events. In addition, members of the staff of the military and civil officials were part of the integrated court hierarchy during the tenth century. Provincial governors (*strategoi*) and bishops, the patriarch of Constantinople, and foreign ambassadors were, too, included in the final list of invitees. As a result, the number of ranked entries in Philotheos' *Kletorologion* is more than 250; those in the *Taktikon* of Escorial (dated to 971–75) amount to about two hundred. It should also be noted that the tenth-century lists feature numerous cases of posts, both 'dignities' and 'offices', shared by more than one holder. For example, bishops and soldiers of the themes and the *tagmata* are each a single-ranked entry in Philotheos' *Kletorologion*.<sup>173</sup> Their presence expands further the human scale of the tenth-century court. By contrast, only a few titles, usually low-ranking ones, appear to have been assigned to more than one holder during the Palaiologan period.<sup>174</sup> In addition, high churchmen were no longer expected during the fourteenth century to participate regularly in court receptions. The *archontes* of the Great Church, who made up the patriarchal bureaucracy, formed a separate hierarchy arranged in sequences of groups of five titles (*pentades*). This hierarchy of patriarchal officials influenced, as we have seen, even the structure of some of the fourteenth-century lists of court precedence. The absence of bishops and patriarchal officials from the ceremonial receptions described by Pseudo-Kodinos projects a more detached position of the church vis-à-vis the emperor than the one displayed at the court in the ninth and the tenth century.

Pseudo-Kodinos opens a unique and fascinating window into fourteenth-century court life in Byzantium, yet here too it has limitations that are worth noting. In particular, one should not conclude that the ranked titles amount to the entire human scale of the court. For one, there would have been absentees from ceremonies, whether on account of duties outside Constantinople or because some titles happened to be vacant. The relative brevity and lacunae of some of

<sup>172</sup> Before producing the single list, Philotheos' *Kletorologion* classifies 18 titles of dignitaries, 60 titles of officials, and 17 dignities and offices of eunuchs. See Oikonomides, *Listes*, 89–109, 125–35.

<sup>173</sup> Oikonomides, *Listes*, 145.2, 161.21–22. Only in the account of the ceremonial meal at Christmas does Pseudo-Kodinos refer to the presence of 'soldiers, guards and many others', which suggests larger attendance on this occasion. See Ps.-Kod. 160.17–22.

<sup>174</sup> A point made by Guiland, 'Observations', 282–83 and more forcefully Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 33–7. It is to be noted that Michael VIII's *prostagma* of 1272 outlining the rights of the crowned co-emperor Andronikos II speaks of the *protostrator*, ranked eighth in Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchy, in the plural. See Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 38.8, 58. Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the *megaloï tzaousioi* (104.1–2), 37th in the hierarchy, also in the plural. Matthew Blastares' list (see Table IV) speaks of *vestiaritai* and *hetaireiarchai*. The urban offices of the *prokathemenoi* and the *kastrophylakes* were held, too, by more than one individual.

the Palaiologan lists suggest such a scenario. In addition, the titles do not include the assistant and support personnel at the Blachernai palace. Such personnel appear in passing in Pseudo-Kodinos and must have made up the routine of daily life. Chamberlains, the *koitonarioi*, assisted the *parakoimomenos tou koitonos*, the chief chamberlain (17th in rank).<sup>175</sup> Imperial waiters, the *domestikoi* of the *domestikeion*, distributed the servings during ceremonial meals.<sup>176</sup> A special official, the *palatophylax*, supervised builders and artisans in the palace. He is not mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos, but the formulary for his appointment survives.<sup>177</sup> The hired personnel of the palace, probably identical with the *rogatores* mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos, would have busied themselves with auxiliary tasks, such as maintenance of buildings and palace properties. Various palace guards – Varangians, Vardariots, *tzakones*, *paramonai* and *mourtatoi* – were stationed in the courtyard of the Blachernai palace and took care of the emperor's security. The Vardariots, a staff-carrying guard recruited from among the Turks, maintained the watch at the gates of the palace. The *komes* of the imperial horses took care of the stables and ran chores in the palace courtyard.<sup>178</sup> A large community of children and adolescents frequented the palace, both the pages responsible for specific jobs and the sons of the holders of court titles who went to the palace bareheaded on special occasions. Two kinds of pages, the *paidopoula* of the *vestiarion* ('Pages of the Imperial Chest') and the *koitonos* ('Pages of the Imperial Bedroom'), assisted the smooth running of ceremonies.<sup>179</sup> The sons of *archontes*, the bareheaded *archontopoula*, are mentioned as present in the palace at Christmas and on the occasion of imperial coronations.<sup>180</sup> They seem to have attended the court frequently in fact. Andronikos III's ordinance of 1334 concerning the General Judges mentions the *archontopoula* alongside the *archontes*. Introduced to the palace thanks to the powerful position of their fathers, the youths were able to forge networks and lifelong personal connections with their peers.

Pseudo-Kodinos' limitations as a source on court life is witnessed also in his silence on the entourage of the crowned co-emperor and the empress. Documentary and narrative sources show that the crowned co-emperor and the empress maintained their own staffs of title-holders. In 1272 the senior emperor Michael VIII decreed that his newly crowned son and co-emperor Andronikos II should have in his entourage a *pinkernes*, an *epi tes trapezes*, a *tatas tes*

<sup>175</sup> Ps.-Kod. 88, 110.

<sup>176</sup> Ps.-Kod. 158, 160–64.

<sup>177</sup> Sathas, MB VI, 649. The relationship between the *palatophylax* and the *prokathemenoi* of the Blachernai and of the Great Palace is unclear.

<sup>178</sup> Ps.-Kod. 72–76.

<sup>179</sup> Ps.-Kod. 80, 84, 88, 120, 122, 158 etc. Greg. I, 294.20–23, refers to Andronikos II enlisting his fifteen-year old illegitimate grandson among the *paidaria*, who were the servants in his household. For other references to imperial *paidopouloi* in the Palaiologan period, see Hunger and Kresten, *Register*, I, no. 11.1–3 (p. 176); Lavra III, no. 132 (p. 49).

<sup>180</sup> Ps.-Kod. 140, 156, 240.

*aulēs*, and a *skouterios*.<sup>181</sup> Palaiologan empresses had their own officials and attendants. Theodora Doukaina Palaiologina, the wife of Michael VIII, owned great landed wealth which included the island of Kos in the Aegean and had at her disposal chancery staff and functionaries who managed her treasury (*vestiariou*). Subsequent Palaiologan empresses also issued official ordinances and must have had their own chanceries.<sup>182</sup> The empress Anne of Savoy brought along, on her arrival to Constantinople in 1326, numerous knights and esquires from her homeland, some of whom she employed subsequently as envoys to the West.<sup>183</sup> One of her household servants was a wine-bearer (*oinochos*), of whom we hear only because of the role he played during the Second Civil War.<sup>184</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the empress's entourage only in passing. Eunuchs might surround the empress during the coronation ceremony and wives of title holders (*archontissai*) were the first to welcome the foreign-born princess on her arrival at Constantinople before her wedding. The spouses of the *archontes* were in fact expected to maintain close links with the empress and formed a shadow court parallel to that of their husbands. The phenomenon is known already from the *Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>185</sup> According to Pachymeres, it was customary in the late thirteenth century that while the emperor formally received the holders of court titles on feast days, including that of the apostles Peter and Paul (29 June), the wives of the court grandees went to a concurrent reception at the empress's quarters.<sup>186</sup> Pachymeres' words suggest that the women's court mimicked the male one and convened at the same time. Indeed, the wives adopted the titles of their husbands, which became an element of their public identity. Palaiologan documents contain plentiful examples of designations, such as *kaisarissa*, *megale domestikissa*, *protovestiariissa*, *megale doukaina*, *protostratorissa*, *megale stratopedarchissa*, *megale primikerissa*, *megale konostaulissa*, *epitrapezaina*, *megale papaina* and *megale hetaireiarchissa*.<sup>187</sup> Holding a court title in the Palaiologan period was as much a mark of honour for the spouse as it was for the male appointee.

<sup>181</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 38.22–39.32, 59; Pach. II, 413.18–21.

<sup>182</sup> On Theodora Doukaina Palaiologina and subsequent empresses, see the evidence gathered by Barišić, 'Povelje'.

<sup>183</sup> Kant. I, 204.4–9, refers to the members of Anne of Savoy's suite as *kaballarioi* and *skouterioi* (*sic*). See Dölger, *Regesten*, 2888, 2890.

<sup>184</sup> Kant. II, 277.20–21 (Goudeles, Anne of Savoy's wine-bearer).

<sup>185</sup> See Kazhdan and McCormick, 'Social world', 183–85, who also note that the tendency toward sexual segregation at the court may have been less strong in the Comnenian and Palaiologan periods.

<sup>186</sup> Pach. III, 173.2–4: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ ἑορτὴ ἦν καὶ ἔδει συνάξεις μὲν τῶν μεγιστάνων πρὸς βασιλεία προσόδους δὲ καὶ τῶν ματρωνῶν παρὰ τὴν Αὐγούσταν γίνεσθαι. The information is provided in passing in the context of the description of a ceremonial *faux pas* on 29 June 1292 that led to the eventual disgrace of Andronikos II's brother Constantine the Porphyrogenetos. See 353.

<sup>187</sup> See PLP, *Abkürzungsverzeichnis und Gesamtregister*, s.v. Berufe.

# Attire

## The Significance of Clothing at Court

Pseudo-Kodinos' work is the only surviving text from Byzantium that treats the attire of the holders of court titles systematically and in great detail. He specifies what the emperor and court officials wear, and also carry, at the reception that took place every day, including major feast days.<sup>1</sup> His description includes the materials, colours and decorative elements, especially of headwear and batons.<sup>2</sup> In the fourteenth century clothing played a defining role in identifying the office and the status of the wearer.<sup>3</sup> The person appointed by the emperor to a position was given a title and items of the attire of his office and other insignia.<sup>4</sup> Court ceremonial entailed changes of clothing on all occasions. While in earlier centuries, too, clothing was of central importance at court in identifying and defining the status of the wearer,<sup>5</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos is the most explicit source for this aspect of court life. The significance of clothing for the court title holders is demonstrated by Pseudo-Kodinos' interruption of his list of titles in chapter I to relate specific cases of appointments and promotions in terms of the clothing that accompanied them:

The first emperor Andronikos of the Palaiologoi took away the yellow attire which the eparch wore from the beginning and then had John Palaiologos his nephew ... wear this, making him *panhypersebastos*.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Christmas Eve: 134.5–6; *prokypsis*: 136.6–138.6, 142.5–7; Christmas day: 158.1–5; at banquets throughout the year: 166.7–8; Palm Sunday: 170.19–23; in mourning at Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday: 174.3–4; Holy Thursday: 176.18–20; Holy Saturday: 180.6–8.

<sup>2</sup> Piltz, *Le costume officiel des dignitaires byzantins à l'époque Paléologue*, provides an exposition of each official's dress, with accompanying drawings.

<sup>3</sup> Parani, 'Fabrics and clothing', 407–420.

<sup>4</sup> See Pach. III, 93.16–19; IV, 543.12–13, for Andronikos II's gifts of clothing along with the title. Ps.-Kod. (244.2–8) refers to the attire of the court title holder as insignia (παράσημα). See also below, 252.5. Philotheos uses 'insignia' (βραβεῖον) of articles of clothing only in the case of certain court title holders: 95.14–17 (*magistroi*); 97.7–8 (*kouropalates*); 97.12–13 (*nobelissimos*).

<sup>5</sup> Anna Komnene's description (*Alexiad*, 3.3.4) of her father's creation of the new title and position of *sebastokrator* reveals the close relationship that existed between title, dress and hierarchical position in ceremonial.

<sup>6</sup> Ps.-Kod. 26.13–17.

He likewise expands on his exposition of the dress of the officials at court in chapter II to show how certain emperors honoured individuals with clothing associated with a rank higher than the one they held.

The emperor Kantakouzenos who honoured his wife's brothers,  
John and Manuel Asan, as *sebastokratores* gave them to wear  
cloaks and stockings like those of the despots.<sup>7</sup>

This case shows that emperors could bestow special honour on individuals by giving them the clothing associated with a court title higher in the hierarchy. But the opposite could happen as well. The emperor Michael VIII took advantage of the fact that his son, the *porphyrogennetos* Constantine, was in mourning to take away from him the imperial clothing he had allowed him to wear until then because of his special affection for him. When the 40-day period of mourning ended, in place of the imperial red Michael gave him clothing 'variegated' in colour, violet and white, the colours of a despot.<sup>8</sup>

Examples of the emperor's appointment to office of subjects who were absent from the capital, and also of foreigners, highlight the importance of the clothing, the *allagai* or *allaxima*,<sup>9</sup> and other insignia that accompanied the granting of the position. Thus, Andronikos II sent the 'symbols of the dignity of caesar' with an embassy to his nephew John in Skopje.<sup>10</sup> Roger de Flor was sent the baton, the hat, the banner and the seal of office when he was made *meas doux*.<sup>11</sup> Newly-appointed holders of court titles were summoned to appear in court to celebrate the feast days with the other court officials, wearing the garments of their office.<sup>12</sup> Even when the emperor was not in Constantinople, the court officials who were with him were expected to perform the ceremonies of the feast days wearing their clothing of office.<sup>13</sup>

Every appointment or promotion entailed a change in clothing. Pseudo-Kodinos includes in the promotion protocols for the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, a reference to the dressing of the candidate in the attire of his position.<sup>14</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> Ps.-Kod. 44.4–7. See also examples from historical narratives of the 14th c.: Greg. I, 271.2–18 and Pach. IV, 565.3–12 (John, nephew of Andronikos II: *panhypersebastos*); Greg. I, 170.10–21 (Theodore Mouzalon: *meas logothetes*).

<sup>8</sup> Pach. II, 631.1–12. See Ps.-Kod. ch. II, 34–42, for the despot's clothing.

<sup>9</sup> The former word is used by Pach. (III, 93.15–17, 92 n. 10; IV, 543.12–13), the latter by Philotheos and the *Book of Ceremonies*. See Détoraki, 'La terminologie du vêtement dans le *De Ceremoniis*', 162–67.

<sup>10</sup> Greg. I, 374.6–10.

<sup>11</sup> Muntaner, §200: 21.17–21.

<sup>12</sup> Pach. IV, 551.18–20.

<sup>13</sup> 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII for Andronikos II: Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 38.13–19: φορέσουσιν ὡς ἔθος τὰς [πρεπούσας] ἀναβολὰς τῶν ὀφικίων αὐτῶν.

<sup>14</sup> Ps.-Kod. 244.6–8, 248.3–4.



emperor also, before his coronation, entered a wooden chamber in Hagia Sophia where others dressed him in the clothing of his office, the *sakkos* and *loros*.<sup>15</sup> The transformative nature of clothing is likewise demonstrated by Pseudo-Kodinos in his description of the procedure to be followed for the imperial bride-to-be who arrives in Constantinople from abroad. She was met by the women of the court, at her place of arrival, just outside the city walls, and was dressed in red by them. She then entered the city in imperial clothing, going forth to the palace to meet her mother-in-law, the empress, who waited for her there.<sup>16</sup>

In the fourteenth century, as earlier, the garments one wore at court for the twice-daily reception defined one's position in the hierarchy. However, a significant difference is evident. In the centuries between the *Book of Ceremonies* and Pseudo-Kodinos' work, the article of clothing that defined the status of the wearer had changed. It was no longer what one wore on one's body but rather what one wore on one's head and what one carried that marked the wearer's position in the hierarchy. In the earlier ceremonial book, hierarchical groupings of court title holders are indicated according to the colour and pattern of their *skaramangia*.<sup>17</sup> In his notes to the protocol of the reception given for the Tarsiote legates in the Magnaura in 946, the compiler or a later redactor of the *Book of Ceremonies* states:

Note that on the day of the reception all of the aforementioned, from the *protospatharioi* to the very last man wearing a *skaramangion*, stood each according to the colour and pattern of his *skaramangion*: that is, those wearing greenish-pink eagles stood on one side and the other, and also those wearing owls (?), and many-ringed (?) eagles, and likewise those wearing seas, and likewise white lions. In a word, as has been said, each stood according to his *skaramangion*.<sup>18</sup>

In the tenth-century ceremonial book the members of the court are arranged at the reception according to the 'colour and pattern' of their garments. Pseudo-Kodinos, on the other hand, nowhere specifies the patterns on the *kabbadia* or caftans worn by court title holders. Likewise, his references to the colour of the caftans are rare, and limited to the garments of the despot, *sebastokrator*, caesar, and the *megas*

<sup>15</sup> Ps.-Kod. 218.1–2.

<sup>16</sup> Ps.-Kod. ch. XII; see also below, 354, for 'red'. Vat. gr. 1851 f. 3v shows the transformation of the foreign bride through dress. On this manuscript see 365. On dress, see also Nelson, 'Heavenly allies at the Chora', 35.

<sup>17</sup> On this article of clothing, the one mentioned most frequently in the *Book of Ceremonies* for the court title holders, and its equation with the *kabbadion* of Ps.-Kod.'s text, see ch. II, note 37. For confusion of the *skaramangion* and the *skaranikon*, see below at 335 n. 112.

<sup>18</sup> *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 570–82, here 577.20–578.6; Featherstone, 'ΔΙ' ΕΝΔΕΙΞΙΝ. display in court ceremonial', 91–2. Featherstone's translation of the passage has been adopted here.



*domestikos*, *panhypersebastos* and *protovestiarios*. Thereafter he remarks in two cases, that of the *megas doux* and the *logothetes tou genikou*, that the court title holder can wear ‘whichever of the fashionable silks he may wish’, ‘the silks that are usually favoured’.<sup>19</sup>

It can be inferred from Pseudo-Kodinos’ lack of attention to the precise appearance of the garments of most of the title holders that what was worn on the body, the caftan, no longer signified position in the hierarchy. Each member of the court hierarchy could choose his silk caftan according to his taste. Although Pseudo-Kodinos is explicit about choice of caftan only in the case of the *megas doux* and the *logothetes tou genikou*, his comment, it seems, applies to all the title holders, for he says of all those below these two title holders that they wear the same caftan as the title holder before them, that is, a caftan made of a ‘favoured’ silk or a silk ‘in fashion’.<sup>20</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos gives no further information about the caftan and it is only from the visual record that one can get a sense of the variety of colours and motifs. Theodore Metochites, *logothetes tou genikou* and founder of the Chora monastery, is shown as *ktetor* in a blue-green silk caftan with a repeat vegetal pattern. (Pl. 18) The Lincoln Typikon<sup>21</sup> displays a series of portraits of the foundress and her family showing members of the court in patterned silk caftans. Theodore Synadenos, *protostrator*, wears a silk that has a large gold palmette motif against a red-orange background. (Pl. 22) The Hippocrates manuscript, BN ms. gr. 2144,<sup>22</sup> shows the owner and probable commissioner of the book, Alexios Apokaukos, identified as *megas doux*, wearing a blue caftan with a repeat pattern of white medallions encircling pairs of griffins, back to back. (Pl. 13)

Pseudo-Kodinos’ statement that court title holders can wear ‘the silks that are usually favoured’ implies that the emperor no longer provided the garment, as had been the case, at least in the tenth century.<sup>23</sup> The origin of the silk caftans worn by the court title holders is open to discussion. David Jacoby has argued that the Latin conquest of Constantinople put an end to silk production in the capital where there were no longer imperial or private silk workshops. He states that by the mid-fourteenth century the silks from which the court title holders might choose were imported from Italy and the east.<sup>24</sup> The surviving images of court title holders

<sup>19</sup> Ps.-Kod. 52.11–12 (*megas doux*); 56.17 (*logothetes tou genikou*).

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of the gaps in Ps.-Kod.’s information, see 17, 19.

<sup>21</sup> Hutter, ‘Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikon’, 79–114.

<sup>22</sup> Durand, *Byzance*, p. 455, no. 351 (1341–45).

<sup>23</sup> See *De cer.* ed. Reiske, 577–8 and Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, ed. Chiesa, VI §10:149–150. Oikonomides, ‘Title and income at the Byzantine court’, 212–213, comments that the regular distribution of silk garments to officials stopped in the eleventh–twelfth century, when silk production was already ‘less of an imperial monopoly because of the proliferation of silk production in the western provinces of the empire’. The wearing of hats at court begins in the eleventh century and thus coincides with the cessation of regular distribution of silk garments.

<sup>24</sup> The importation of oriental silk is first documented in the 1320s. See Jacoby, ‘Late Byzantium between the Mediterranean and Asia’, 26–8. For the Italian silk trade see Jacoby,

discussed above date to the first half of the fourteenth century; the interwoven motifs on their clothing do not look like those seen on contemporary Italian silks.<sup>25</sup> The silks of these early fourteenth-century court title holders could have been made in the empire where there is evidence of silk production at Nicaea until the Ottoman conquest of 1331.<sup>26</sup> However, from the mid-fourteenth century and later, the time of Pseudo-Kodinos' work, the 'silks in fashion' may have been foreign imports. Silks from Lucca were available in Constantinople by the 1330s<sup>27</sup> and Gregoras refers to silks from China in his time that had star and vegetal motifs.<sup>28</sup>

## Headgear

The garment worn by court title holders was no longer strictly regulated by the emperor and was therefore no longer a precise indicator of status in the court hierarchy. The hat had taken its place as an ensign of office. In Pseudo-Kodinos' work it is the hat that defines status and it is the hat that receives the greatest degree of attention from him, together with the baton or staff of office.<sup>29</sup> Thus, when Pseudo-Kodinos gives directions about the order in which the holders of court titles wish the emperor 'many years' on Christmas Eve when the emperor is at table in the *triklinos*, he expresses order by reference to the type of hat worn. The court title holders are called forward in three groups, from the highest to the lowest, beginning with those who wear gold-red *skiadia*, followed by those with *skiadia* described as *syrmateina* and finally the wearers of *skiadia* called *klapota*.<sup>30</sup> The three groups are distinguished from each other by the colour and decoration of their hats. On other occasions, another hat, the *skaranikon*, is used by Pseudo-Kodinos to indicate groups of court title holders. He divides the court title holders into two groups, the wearers of gold and the wearers of red *skaranika*.<sup>31</sup>

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'The silk trade of late Byzantium', 129–44. For silks from China, see Jacoby, 'Oriental silks go West', 71–88.

<sup>25</sup> I thank Jane Bridgeman for sharing her knowledge of western silks with me.

<sup>26</sup> Jacoby, 'The silk trade of late Byzantium', 129–42.

<sup>27</sup> Jacoby, 'The silk trade of late Byzantium', 142. Sphrantzes, writing in the 15th c., refers to Lucca as the source of his *tamparion* or cloak: ed. Maisano, 56.

<sup>28</sup> Greg. I, 277.13–16.

<sup>29</sup> Muntaner (§200: 21.17–21), in reporting Roger de Flor's appointment as *megas doux*, specifies that the emperor sent him the baton, hat and banner of office. No mention is made of a garment.

<sup>30</sup> Ps.-Kod. 150.13–14, 20–21, 152.2. Type of hat is specified also at 156.5–6, 160.15, 166.8. See below, 329–332, for discussion of the terms *syrmateinon* and *klapoton*.

<sup>31</sup> Ps.-Kod. 160.15 (Christmas day meal); 156.4–6 (Christmas Eve). See below on *skaranika*.

A third headpiece worn at court was the turban.<sup>32</sup> It is specified that those who wear turbans do not wear *skaranika*. Some of those who wear turbans also wear *skiadia*.<sup>33</sup>

Hats came into widespread use at court after the compilation of the *Book of Ceremonies*. Thus, Pseudo-Kodinos' text is the first extant ceremonial work to describe them. Narrative sources mention hats of court officials from the twelfth century<sup>34</sup> but headpieces appear more frequently in the visual record from the eleventh century.<sup>35</sup> While court officials are shown wearing a variety of hats,<sup>36</sup> written sources provide few names. Authors of historical narratives refer simply to the *kalyptra* and the *pilos*, both generic terms for the hats worn by everyone, including the emperor.<sup>37</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos' text shows how significant an item the hat was in the attire of a court title holder; it also indicates what the customs were concerning the wearing of hats. There was no occasion on which court title holders would appear bareheaded. Only youths at court, those not yet adolescent, could appear with a bare head at the palace. Young despots, the young sons of court title holders (*archontopoula*), young men related to the emperor, and pages (*paidopoula*) did not wear hats in the palace; their bare heads were a mark of their youth and status.<sup>38</sup> Whereas in the tenth century Liudprand of Cremona, on a diplomatic mission to the capital, was told that it was 'not permitted for anyone to wear a hat

<sup>32</sup> On the turban see the commentary at n. 88 and below, 356–57.

<sup>33</sup> For these cases, see Table V.

<sup>34</sup> Choniates, *History*, 271.35–36, gives the earliest certain reference to senatorial hats: τὰ συγκλητικῶς ἐξυφασμένα τῶν κεφαλῶν ... καλύμματα. According to Choniates, these hats had attached to them a white linen cloth that hung down onto the back of the wearer.

<sup>35</sup> Kalamara, 'Νέα στοιχεῖα στὸ Βυζαντινὸ βεστιάριο τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου αἰῶνα', 272–76; N. Ševčenko, 'Headgear': ODB 2, 904; Parani, *The reality of images*, 67. Ball, *Byzantine dress*, 46–9, argues for an earlier date (10th c.) for the wearing of hats at court but the evidence is not strong.

<sup>36</sup> See Parani, *The reality of images*, pl. 77: Cois. 79, f. 2r (11th c.); Vat. gr. 1851, f. 2v (12th, 13th or 14th c.); Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, cod. Vitr. 26–2, f. 42v (12th c.); Paris. gr. 1242, f. 5v (14th c.).

<sup>37</sup> Chon., *History*, 109.69; Eustathios of Thessalonike, 82.8; 122.32; Akrop., ed. Heisenberg, §87: 185.27; §88: 187.17; Macrides, *Akropolites*, 136 (commentary); Pach., I, 199.16; 255.27; 283.6; II, 417.16; 433.12; 435.23; 447.30; Greg., I, 170.16; 242.3; 463.14; II, 697.9; 732.23; III, 167.7; Kant., II, 166.8; 257.2; III, 269.11. See also Matthew Blastares' list of court officials and their hats: Verpeaux, *Traité*, 320.2 (*kalymma*), 320.24 (*pila*), 321.40 (*kalyptra*). On the *kalyptra* see too Reinsch, 'Lieber den Turban als was?', 385–88.

<sup>38</sup> Young despots: 40.5–8; *archontopoula* related to the emperor: 140.14, 156.18–19; young relations of the emperor: 162.15, 240.6; *paidopoula*: 178.8. Greg., I, 567.18–24, remarks that in Andronikos III's reign, among other customs that were disregarded, was that of observing distinctions between 'young' (νέους) and 'old' (ἀφήλικας) in the wearing of hats. See commentary ch. IV note 368.

in a place where the emperor was',<sup>39</sup> by the fourteenth century court title holders wore their hats in the palace during receptions and at banquets and at the ceremony of the kiss on Easter day.<sup>40</sup> The *protovestiaros* took his hat off when he brushed a bug or dirt from the emperor's garments<sup>41</sup> but it was exceptional to remove one's hat in an act of *proskynesis* in church or before the emperor.<sup>42</sup> Court title holders wore their hats in Hagia Sophia, at the coronation, removing them only at the moment of anointing and crowning.<sup>43</sup> The emperor in the fourteenth century as also earlier, according to the *Book of Ceremonies*, may have removed his headgear upon entering Hagia Sophia. Pseudo-Kodinos does not comment. The emperor did, however, wear a headcovering all the time he was in the church, removing his crown only when he received holy communion.<sup>44</sup>

By the fourteenth century hats had long been an essential part of the attire of a court official. A great many types of hat were in fashion and were being worn both inside and outside the palace. Gregoras complained of the neglect of tradition in the reign of Andronikos III in the wearing of headwear and in other ceremonial matters. He named a number of hats that were worn in disregard of the conventions. The variety in headwear, although disturbing to Gregoras' sense of tradition and order, is a phenomenon also reported in French and English accounts of the same time: in the early fourteenth century there was a new fashion for extraordinary hats in western Europe also.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Relatio de legatione*, ed. Chiesa, §37.582–585: 203; ed. and trans. Scott, §37.13.

<sup>40</sup> Ps.-Kod. 150.13–15, 156.5–6, 180.14–15. The 'young' despot does not wear a hat in the palace: 40.4–6.

<sup>41</sup> Ps.-Kod. 134.9–12.

<sup>42</sup> Westerners, however, the Genoese and the Venetians, had to remove their headcovering when they made *proskynesis* to the emperor. See Ps.-Kod. 184.9–12 (Genoese); 184.15–186.5 (Venetians). In Venice, the patriarch Joseph told the men in his company to remove their headcoverings before entering the sanctuary of the church of St George. Two diplomats, the Disypatoi, refused to do so because, they said, it was not their custom. In this case it seems that the patriarch was conforming to western practice in his request. See Syropoulos, 226.11–18.

<sup>43</sup> Ps.-Kod. 220.11–13.

<sup>44</sup> Ps.-Kod. 232.23–24. Before his coronation he was given another headcovering when he was dressed in the 'wooden chamber': Ps.-Kod. 216.16–218.2. According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, the emperor removed his headwear upon entering Hagia Sophia, replacing it in the church. See Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 82: 'By removing then resuming the crown at each entry into a sacred place, the emperor was recognising that the delegated power which he had personally received from God ceased wherever God had his residence on earth ...'

<sup>45</sup> Newton, *Fashion in the age of the Black Prince*, 34; Kubiski, 'Orientalizing costume in early fifteenth-century French manuscript painting', 161–180. For Gregoras, see at n. 54 below. His complaints indicate a loosening of clear outer signs of 'difference'. See Jaritz, 'Kleidung und Prestige-Konkurrenz', 11.

## The *Skiadion*

Three types of hats are mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos in his description of the attire of each court title holder: the everyday hat, the *skiadion*; the feast day hat, the *skaranikon*,<sup>46</sup> and the turban worn by a small number (eight) of court title holders. None of the latter wears a *skaranikon*. Of these hats, the *skaranikon* can easily be identified in the visual record<sup>47</sup> but the *skiadion* proves to be much more difficult. The word was originally a generic term for a hat<sup>48</sup> but in Pseudo-Kodinos' text *skiadion* is the name of a specific type of hat worn at court. That the hat had a brim is implied by the etymology of *skiadion*: shadow-casting.<sup>49</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos gives a partial description of the *skiadion* once, when he relates how the hat of the *protasekretis* was decorated. He mentions embroidery at the hat's 'summit' and at the 'circumference of its dome' (*troule*) but he does not refer to a brim.<sup>50</sup> In three cases he specifies that the fabric of the *skiadia* is silk.<sup>51</sup>

Narrative accounts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries describe the headwear of the court title holders and also of the emperor using the adjective, 'pyramidal', and even the noun, 'pyramids'. Thus, Akropolites, writing in the second half of the thirteenth century, reports that Isaac II lost his 'pyramids' in a campaign against the Bulgarians in 1190/1.<sup>52</sup> In describing the hat of Andronikos II's *meas logothetes*, Mouzalon, Gregoras says that it was gold-red at the 'pyramid' but plain on the lower, hollow surface.<sup>53</sup> Gregoras speaks also of a 'pyramid-like *kalyptra*' worn by both the emperor and the men at court. He complains that Andronikos III showed a laxness in his attitude to the hats worn by the court title holders. Whereas before Andronikos court officials would wear a '*kalyptra* which had the shape of a pyramid, covered with silk cloth, in accordance with the dignity of each', now they wore hats of different types, according to their wish. Some wore Latin ones, others Bulgarian, others Serbian ...'.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See the commentary at 40.8; Ps.-Kod. 126.1–2

<sup>47</sup> See below, 332. Muntaner, (21.10–12) in the early 14th c., appears to refer to the *skaranikon* when he comments that 'all the officials of Romania have a special hat the like of which no other man may wear'.

<sup>48</sup> Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 85.

<sup>49</sup> N. Ševčenko, ODB 3, 1910; Verpeaux, *Traité*, 141 n. 1.

<sup>50</sup> Ps.-Kod. 60.4–6.

<sup>51</sup> Ps.-Kod. 56.2, 56.16, 60.3. Table V.

<sup>52</sup> Akrop., ed. Heisenberg, §11:19.23–24; Macrides, *Akropolites*, 136 (commentary) where for 'Kantakouzenos' read 'Palaiologos'.

<sup>53</sup> Greg. I, 170.16–21: πρὸς τῇ πυραμίδι...τὴν κάτω καὶ κοίλῃν ἐπιφάνειαν.

<sup>54</sup> Greg. I, 567.16–568.5. From the 12th c. authors make reference to clothing and especially to hats as markers of a person's ethnic origins. Choniates (*History*, 135.28–30) tells the story of a Roman who killed a Hungarian and wore his hat but was then killed, being mistaken for the enemy.

By their use of 'pyramid' these authors could be referring to a pointed hat or, equally, one that ended in a dome, a round top.<sup>55</sup> Both are known from images. Tall round-topped hats can be seen in Coislin 79, f. 2r (11th c.).<sup>56</sup> and Vat. gr. 1851, f. 2v (12th c.),<sup>57</sup> while pointed hats are worn by court officials in Paris. gr. 1242 f. 5v depicting the emperor John VI presiding over a church council. (Pl. 2) Around the throne of the emperor, to his right and left, stand court officials who wear conical hats with brims.<sup>58</sup> A tall pointed hat can be seen in a thirteenth-century mosaic in Ravenna that depicts the capture of Constantinople in 1204. Three men wearing pyramidal hats emerge from a tower. The scene is labelled 'Constantinople'. The men, who are undoubtedly intended to represent officials of the court, stand with arms crossed before a soldier in chain mail holding a sword.<sup>59</sup> (Pl. 19) In the fifteenth century the Byzantine emperor is depicted in a tall domed hat with a brim, that is, John VIII Palaiologos in the Pisanello drawing and medallion.<sup>60</sup> Is this the *skiadion*?

Two other hats which differ considerably from those discussed above have been identified as *skiadia*. First, the hat worn by Theodore Metochites in his donor portrait in the inner narthex of his church, the Chora.<sup>61</sup> (Pl. 18) The mosaic shows Metochites, as *logothetes tou genikou*, in a white hat with gold stripes and braiding. The image accords well with Pseudo-Kodinos' description of the *skiadion* of the *logothetes tou genikou* as a white silk hat with 'borders'.<sup>62</sup> However, a difficulty in accepting this identification is that all Metochites' fellow court officials are depicted in their portraits in *skaranika*, their special feast-day hats. Why would Metochites choose, exceptionally, to be depicted in his 'everyday' hat in his donor portrait? Furthermore, the hat as it is depicted in the mosaic looks like no other hat in any representation of a Byzantine official.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/2, 578 and n. 4, argues that the term *pyramis* which appears in Akrop. (see n. 52 above) refers to the imperial crown with its hemispherical top, as it is known from the reign of Alexios I. However, the term 'pyramids' cannot refer to the imperial crown only since court officials also wore a hat that is described as pyramidal.

<sup>56</sup> Parani, *The reality of images*, fig. 77: e.

<sup>57</sup> Spatharakis, *The portrait*, pl. 161. On the date of the manuscript, see 364.

<sup>58</sup> That these 'paper-boat' shaped hats can be identified with the brimmed conical hat known from wall paintings (Parani, *The reality of images*, fig. 77: m, q) and made famous by Pisanello's medallion of the emperor John VIII, can be seen by the way the artist at Dečani (1335–1355) represents the brimmed conical hat frontally.

<sup>59</sup> On the series of pavement mosaics that depict scenes from the Fourth Crusade see Carile, 'Episodi della IV crociata nel mosaico pavimentale di S. Giovanni Evangelista di Ravenna', 109–130.

<sup>60</sup> Evans, *Byzantium*, cat. no. 319, 320, 321. Parani, *The reality of images*, 70 and pl. 18.

<sup>61</sup> Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I, 42.

<sup>62</sup> Ps.-Kod. 56.16–18.

<sup>63</sup> Spatharakis, 'The proskynesis in Byzantine art', 200, concluded that Metochites' hat is 'best compared to a turban' (*phakiolion*). Zachariadou, 'The Kahriye Cami and the

The other hat that has been proposed as a *skiadion* is known from visual representations of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This headcovering comes to a sharp point that projects over the face.<sup>64</sup> Members of court who surround the emperor in Vat. gr. 1851<sup>65</sup> are depicted wearing this headpiece. (Pl. 10) Decius is represented in such a hat in the embroidered silk sent to Genoa as a gift of Michael VIII.<sup>66</sup> It is worn also by Cyrenius in the Chora. (Pl. 17) Against an identification of this headpiece with the *skiadion* is the lack of what one could call a dome, *troule*, as in Pseudo-Kodinos' description.<sup>67</sup>

It seems then, on the basis of the evidence presented above, that tall domed hats with brims accord well with the name *skiadion* – a hat that casts a shadow<sup>68</sup> – and are well represented in the visual record; they have a strong claim to be identified as *skiadia*. Even though it is only in a very small number of cases that Pseudo-Kodinos mentions a brim in connection with the *skiadion*, that is, for the despot, *sebastokrator*, caesar and *megas domestikos*,<sup>69</sup> the fact that he states that the *skiadion* of the *megas doux* is 'without a brim' may imply that the rest have brims.<sup>70</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos shows that there were three categories or types of *skiadion* that distinguished its wearers: the gold-red *skiadia*, the *syrmateina* and the *klapota*.<sup>71</sup> The first category included 'dignitaries' – the relation-in-law (*gambros*) despots, the *sebastokratores*, the caesars – and the leading court title holders, the *megas domestikos*, *megas doux*, *protostrator*, *megas logothetes*, and *megas stratopedarches*.<sup>72</sup> The second category of court title holders from the *megas primmikerios* to the *parakoimomenos tou koitonos*, wore *skiadia* described as *syrmateina*. From the *provestiarites* to the end of the hierarchy, *klapota skiadia* were worn. (Table V)

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eastern inclinations of its late Byzantine patron', suggests that it is a Mamluk hat. See, also, Parani, 'Cultural identity and dress', 109.

<sup>64</sup> See Parani, *The reality of images*, for a drawing: plate 77 i.

<sup>65</sup> Spatharakis, *The portrait*, pl. 161.

<sup>66</sup> Hilsdale, 'The Byzantine embroidered silk in Genoa', 191, figs. 7, 8, for the tentative identification of the Roman emperor Decius' hat with the *skiadion*.

<sup>67</sup> See note 50 above.

<sup>68</sup> N. Ševčenko, ODB 3, 1910; Verpeaux, *Traité*, 141 n.1.

<sup>69</sup> For the translation of *aer* as 'brim', suggested by the earliest editors of the text, see Verpeaux, *Traité*, 142 n. 1.

<sup>70</sup> Ps.-Kod. 52.8.

<sup>71</sup> The gold-red *skiadia* could be either *syrmateina* or *klapota*. See note 72 below.

<sup>72</sup> Ps.-Kod. does not mention the *skiadia* of the *panhypersebastos* and the *provestiarios* (50.11–14) who are members of this group, but Matthew Blastares supplies the information that they too were gold-red: Verpeaux, *Traité*, 320.12–15.



## The Decoration of the Hats: *Syrmateinos* and *Klapotos*

In Pseudo-Kodinos, monograms and images on hats, borders on garments and on saddle cloths, and eagles on shoes are described by reference to one or the other of the terms *syrmateinos* and *klapotos*.<sup>73</sup> Other texts use *syrmateinos* and *klapotos* in connection with cloths, hangings, and liturgical objects.<sup>74</sup> It can be inferred from these references that the terms relate to the decoration of the objects.<sup>75</sup> It was in the Palaiologan period that (gold-) embroidered silks took over from patterned woven silks.<sup>76</sup> Embroidery was less expensive and less labour-intensive than the manufacture of interwoven cloth.<sup>77</sup> The gold embroidery that survives is found on ecclesiastical vestments and cloths,<sup>78</sup> but the visual record shows gold-embroidered borders on the garments of members of the court, on necklines, sleeves, hems and along the centre of the garment where it was fastened. (Pl. 13, 18)

While the words *syrmateinos* and *klapotos* appear to refer to embroidered decoration, the distinction between them is not clear. What is certain is that the *skiadia* of the higher title holders are described as *syrmateina*, while those of the lowest group are *klapota*, indicating the higher value and greater prestige of objects described as *syrmateina* over the *klapota*.<sup>79</sup> Another indication of hierarchy can be seen in the fact that *skaranika*, feast day hats, are always described as *syrmateina*, never as *klapota*.

*Syrmateinos* and *klapotos* are terms that indicate embroidery but the words themselves do not seem to refer to specific stitches of embroidery. Types of stitches are indicated by Pseudo-Kodinos with the words *rhizai*, *stratelatikia*,

<sup>73</sup> Ps.-Kod., e.g., *syrmateinos*: 42.4–5, 46.4; *klapotos*: 48.12, 50.5.

<sup>74</sup> The inventory of Hagia Sophia (1396): MM II, 568: a *sakkos*, an *epigonation*, and chalice covers are variously described as *syrmateina* or *klapota*.

<sup>75</sup> Chatzimichali, 'Τὰ χρυσοκλαβαρικά –συρματίνα – συρμακέσικα κεντήματα', 456–68, provides the most authoritative study of embroidery terms.

<sup>76</sup> The earliest gold-embroidered silks date from the late 12th c. See Johnstone, *Church embroidery*, 9–12; Jacoby, 'Late Byzantium between the Mediterranean and Asia', 26. Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 32–46, argues that 'such garments were an innovation of the last decades before 1204'. Embroidery was therefore not an isolated phenomenon of the Palaiologan period.

<sup>77</sup> Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, xxiv–xxvi, rehearses the reasons. Even if the cost of materials for gold embroidery was high, embroidery did not require the major capital expense associated with the expert setting up of looms and programming of its harnesses.

<sup>78</sup> See Woodfin, *The embodied icon*. One of the oldest embroidered silks that survives intact is the gift of Michael VIII to Genoa at the time of the treaty of Nymphaion (1261). See above at n. 66; also Hilsdale, 'The Byzantine embroidered silk in Genoa', 155–99; Toth, 'The narrative fabric of the Genoese *pallio* and the silken diplomacy of Michael VIII Palaiologos', 91–109.

<sup>79</sup> An exception are the *skiadia* of the *megas domestikos*, *megas doux* and the *protostrator*, described as *klapota*, which would place them in the lowest group of court title holders. However, these officials are in the first category because their *skiadia* are gold-red.



and possibly *chrysokladarika*.<sup>80</sup> Rather, it is proposed here that *syrmateinos* and *klapotos* indicate different materials used in embroidery, different types of thread.<sup>81</sup> *Syrmateinon* suggests a 'wire' (*syrma*) and is generally thought to refer to gold-wire thread. The inventory of Hagia Sophia of 1396 lists side by side objects made 'with gold wire' and objects described as 'gold *syrmateinon*'.<sup>82</sup> The expressions appear to be synonymous. Gold wire drawers from Byzantium are attested in the west in Italy, France and England, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The technique is one of pulling a bar of metal through a set of dies with increasingly smaller holes. Surviving ecclesiastical embroideries show that the gold wire was either attached to the material by stitches made with silk thread, stitches that themselves created patterns, or was twisted around a silk core to form a thread.<sup>83</sup> In two instances, Pseudo-Kodinos describes embroidery with the term '*chrysokladarikon syrmateinon*'.<sup>84</sup> He refers to figural embroidery in this way,<sup>85</sup> the name or monogram on the brim of the despot's *skiadion* and the image of the emperor on the *skaranikon* of the *megas droungarios tes vigles*.<sup>86</sup> Thus, *syrmateinos* can be understood as embroidery made with a gold-wire thread.

'*Klapotos*' is more difficult to interpret. In the 1396 inventory of Hagia Sophia objects are described as *klapota* – *epigonatia*, veils or curtains – just as others are called *syrmateina*. The word thus appears to refer to embroidery made with a metal thread that differed from that of the *syrmateina*, for almost all embroidery

<sup>80</sup> See Verpeaux, *Traité*, 142 n. 2. See Ps.-Kod. at 34.3, 36.2, 44.3.

<sup>81</sup> Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 55 n. 21, suggests that *syrmateinos* means 'applied with wire', that is, couched with metal filaments. This explanation does not take into consideration the question of the composition of the threads that these 'metal filaments' were couching.

<sup>82</sup> MM II, 568: μετὰ χρυσοῦ σύρματος; ἕτερον συρματεῖνον χρυσοῦν; Ps.-Kod. 56.2, 148.11. See also, Pachymeres (II, 435.22–23) who refers to the despot John's putting aside of the despot's pearl encrusted hat to exchange it for the 'common hat of gold wire'. The latter was 'common' only in comparison with the despot's headgear. See Verpeaux, *Traité*, 142 n. 3, for the interpretation of *syrmateinon* as 'gold wire'.

<sup>83</sup> See the description of the threads used to embroider a mid-14th c. belt or border now in the British Museum: Buckton, *Byzantium*, cat. no. 225: 208–211; Woodfin, 'Liturgical textiles' in Evans, *Byzantium*, 295. For gold wire drawers, see Harris, *Greek emigrés in the West*, 180, 181, 183, 185. Jacoby, 'Late Byzantium between the Mediterranean and Asia', 26 and n. 44, shows that gold thread began to be imported into Byzantium from the Italian cities of Venice, Lucca and Genoa, and from Provence in the 1320s. There were, however, people in the empire at that time who were knowledgeable in gold wire drawing: Harris, *Greek emigrés in the West*, 181. Ibn Battuta, II, 425, travelling in Anatolia in the 1330s, comments on the fame of Laodikeia on-the-Lykos (mod. Ladik) for its gold embroideries.

<sup>84</sup> Ps.-Kod. 34.3, 58.12.

<sup>85</sup> According to Chatzimichali, 'Τὰ χρυσοκλαβαρικά – συρματεῖνα – συρμακέσια κεντήματα', 456–68.

<sup>86</sup> Johnstone, *Church embroidery*, 66–8, for couching stitches, page facing 66; 71.

was made with metal thread, gold or silver gilt.<sup>87</sup> Given that objects described as *klapota* are of a lesser status or are worn by men lower in the hierarchy than those who wear *syrmateina*, it would seem that *klapota* objects are made with a material of less value than gold. *Klapotos* is related to the Turkish loan word, *kilaptan* (*kilabdan*) which refers to decoration or trimming of 'imitation gold thread', 'a gilt metal thread'.<sup>88</sup> Thus, it is proposed here to translate *klapotos* as '[embroidered with] silver gilt',<sup>89</sup> as opposed to gold wire. Such an interpretation is consistent with Pseudo-Kodinos' presentation of *klapota* as hats worn by holders of court titles lower in the hierarchy, from the *protovestiarites* on. Furthermore, the feast day hats, the *skaranika*, are never *klapota*. Thus, *klapota* objects were less prestigious and valuable than *syrmateina*. Gilt metal is not only less precious but also less strong than drawn gold wire and quicker in its application.<sup>90</sup> For these reasons *klapota* would have had a lower status than *syrmateina*.

The *skiadia*, then, are divided into groups categorised by colour and type of thread used to decorate them. The first group of court title holders was distinguished by the colour of the *skiadion*, described as gold-red, but the second and third groups wore hats whose colour is not specified, except in three cases,<sup>91</sup> and which are differentiated only by the designations *syrmateina* and *klapota*.<sup>92</sup>

The highest ranking dignitaries and officials wore a combination of gold and red on their *skiadia*. Pseudo-Kodinos does not explain how the gold and red were arranged on the hat. However, the *skiadia* and *skaranika* that are described as gold-red are also said to be '*syrmateina*'.<sup>93</sup> The conjunction of the designations 'gold-red' and '*syrmateinos*' suggests that the gold in gold-red refers to gold wire embroidery. In his list of the court hierarchy, Matthew Blastares states that the red *skiadia* were 'interwoven with gold'.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, *skaranika* that are similarly described as gold-red are represented in manuscript illuminations and

<sup>87</sup> Johnstone, *Church embroidery*, 72: 'The Byzantines used silk embroidery only for flesh and hair.'

<sup>88</sup> Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1466: *kilabdan*. See also 1198–1199 for *sirma*: 'gold or silver embroidery'. For garments described as '*kilaptan*' see Atasoy, et al., *IPEK. The Crescent and the Rose*, 192–3.

<sup>89</sup> The interpretation given here of *klapotos* as 'embroidered with silver gilt thread' is based on the two types of metal thread found in surviving embroideries, gold wire and strips of beaten metal, gold or silver gilt. Verpeaux, *Traité*, 151 n.1 suggests as an etymology of *klapotos*, *klapos* or *clavus*, a 'nail'; cf. Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v. *klapos*, 'wooden stocks'.

<sup>90</sup> Chatzimichali, *op. cit.*, 456 n. 1; 454–56 n. 3; Verpeaux, *Traité*, 151 n.1; Johnstone, *Church embroidery*, 71; Harris, *Greek emigrés in the West*, 184.

<sup>91</sup> These are the *protosebastos* (gold-green: 56.2); *logothetes tou genikou* (white: 56.15); *protasekretis* (violet and white: 60.3).

<sup>92</sup> See note 79 above.

<sup>93</sup> See Table V.

<sup>94</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité*, 320.12–15: χρυσῷ καθυφασμένοις ('interwoven with gold', not embroidered, 'brodés', as Verpeaux renders the word.

these images can perhaps help us to visualise the gold-red of the *skiadia*. (Pl. 22) The manuscript illuminations – which portray only the highest court title holders – show *skaranika* of a red-orange hue with a gold thread which forms a criss-cross pattern on the surface of the hat. Thus, gold-red describes the colour and the decoration of the hat.<sup>95</sup> All the two-colour combinations – gold with another colour – mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos should be interpreted in the same way: a gold thread pattern embroidered on the silk.

### The *Skaranikon*

While the *skiadion*, the everyday hat, presents several unanswerable questions – of what fabric were *skiadia* made and what colour were the *syrmateina* and *klapota skiadia*<sup>96</sup> – much better documented is the *skaranikon*: Pseudo-Kodinos is more thorough and consistent in his description of this feast-day hat which he says is part of the ‘distinctive insignia’ of the court title holders;<sup>97</sup> there are also several surviving portraits of high court officials wearing these hats, all dating from the first half of the fourteenth century. The shape, colour and decoration of their *skaranika* are therefore known from the images preserved in manuscripts. The representations show that the *skaranikon* was a tall hat, sometimes rounded at the top, as in Alexios Apokaukos’ portrait (Pl. 13)<sup>98</sup> but mostly rendered as rectangular-shaped at the crown. (Pl. 22) Variety is limited in the visual record, since only the highest court title holders are represented. From Pseudo-Kodinos, however, a complex picture can be obtained. He divides the court hierarchy

<sup>95</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité* 147 n. 1, suggests another interpretation. He thinks that the ‘gold’ of gold-red refers to the colour of the hat. He claims that if the ‘gold’ in the designation, gold-red, were a reference to the gold thread on the surface of the hat (as is visible in representations of *skaranika* in manuscripts), then one would expect ‘*syrmateinos*’ to accompany the colour description always. Verpeaux points out that this is not the case. Matthew Blastares in his hierarchical list, divides groups of court title holders according to those who wear red *skiadia* ‘woven with gold’, those who have *syrmateina skiadia*, and those with *klapota* (Verpeaux, *Traité*, Appendix III, 320–21). See also Sphrantzes (ed. Maisano, 58) who describes his cap as lined with gold-red *chasdeon*, velvet or velours. Verpeaux’s interpretation of the gold-red hats does not take into consideration variations and inconsistencies in the ways authors use terms. They were not necessarily aware of technical differences and therefore could not be accurate and precise in their use of terminology.

<sup>96</sup> The fabric is specified in only three cases and it is in those same cases that the colour is also specified: the *protosebastos* (gold-green silk), the *logothetes tou genikou* (white silk) and the *protasekretis* (violet-white silk). See Table V.

<sup>97</sup> Ps.-Kod., 244.5–6.

<sup>98</sup> The earliest of the surviving images, that of Constantine Akropolites (late 13th/early 14th c.), shows a *skaranikon* with a rounded top: Parani, *The reality of images*, pl. 76.

into two groups, the gold *skaranikon*-wearers and the red *skaranikon*-wearers.<sup>99</sup> However, the differences in appearance of the *skaranika* are far greater than this division implies. The distinctions have to do with fabric, colour, type of decoration, material of decoration, and variations in iconography.

The gold *skaranikon* wearers are all those who bear gold-red (*megas domestikos* to *megas stratopedarches*), but also (gold)-apricot<sup>100</sup> (*megas primmikerios* to *parakoimomenos tou koitonos*), gold-white (*logothetes tou genikou* to eparch) and gold-yellow (*megas droungarios tes vigles* to *megas protoierakarios*) *skaranika*. (Table V) Their hats are red, apricot, white or yellow silk, with, it would seem, threads of gold decorating them.<sup>101</sup> The above-mentioned *skaranika* are described as *syrmateina*, an additional indication, as argued above, that they were embroidered with gold wire. Thus, the colours of the 'gold' *skaranika* begin with the brilliant imperial red and become paler, from apricot to white and yellow, the latter two being colours that the emperor wears when he is in mourning.<sup>102</sup> Within this group, therefore, change in hierarchical status is shown by gradation in colour. The top officials have gold-red *skaranika*, while those below them, still in the first group, have gold with paler colours.

A further internal hierarchical distinction can be seen among the 'gold' *skaranika*. These all have the image of the emperor on them, on the front and the back. It is the portrait of the emperor on the hat that makes the *skaranikon* so easily identifiable in surviving representations of court officials.<sup>103</sup> The imperial image was an element additional to colour that indicated the rank of the wearer. The medium and technique used to create the emperor's image, and the iconography of the imperial portrait, distinguished smaller groups of court title holders within the larger one. From the *megas domestikos* to the *megas stratopedarches* the emperor's image was engraved or beaten onto a metal plaque, gold or silver-gilt, attached to the front and back of the hat.<sup>104</sup> Surviving representations of these *skaranika* show a trefoil-shaped band (of metal) around the hat, with the silk of the hat exposed

<sup>99</sup> Ps.-Kod. 156.3–6, 160.14–15.

<sup>100</sup> 'Gold' is not actually mentioned with regard to the *skaranika* of these title holders. They could have been 'apricot' alone or 'gold-apricot'.

<sup>101</sup> See above, 332. Silk is specified as the fabric of the *skaranika* of the *megas primmikerios* and below (the apricot to yellow group). For the gold-red *skaranika* of the *megas domestikos* to the *megas stratopedarches* there is no mention of fabric. Table V.

<sup>102</sup> See ch. XI.

<sup>103</sup> See, e.g. the portraits of Alexios Apokaukos, *megas doux*; Theodore Synadenos, *protostrator*: (Pl. 13, 22). For Constantine Akropolites, *megas logothetes*, depicted on the silver-gilt revetment of an icon in the Tretyakov gallery, see Parani, *The reality of images*, fig. 76.

<sup>104</sup> Woodfin, 'The materials make the man', suggests that the plaque was made of one or the other of these metals. A metal plaque can be seen affixed to the headgear of the emir under the Ayyubids and the Mamluks. See Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 27–8; Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, pl. 31.

above it. (Pl. 13, 22) Below this group, from the *megas primmikerios* to the eparch, the image of the emperor is described as being ‘under glass’ or ‘transparent’. This material was far less expensive and therefore also less prestigious than that of the metal plaque of gold or silver; it was one of reverse painting on glass to imitate enamel: ‘verre eglomisé’.<sup>105</sup> Finally, from the *megas droungarios tes vigles* to the *protoierakarios* those who wore *skaranika* had an embroidered image of the emperor.<sup>106</sup>

A final differentiation can be observed within the gold-*skaranikon* wearers group. Hierarchical distinction was expressed in this group also through the imperial portrait. The iconography of the emperor’s portrait changed along with the material used to create it. The first two groups, from the *megas domestikos* to the *megas stratopedarches* and from the *megas primmikerios* to the eparch, had the standing and enthroned emperor front and back, either on a metal plaque (first group) or ‘under glass’ in imitation of enamel (second group). While the two groups shared the same imperial portrait, their hats were different in the material used for the portrait, metal or painted glass, and in the colour of their hats, gold-red or gold with another colour. However, the group below, from the *megas droungarios tes vigles* to the *protoierakarios* had a different iconography accompanied by a different material: embroidered images of the enthroned and horseback emperor. Surviving representations of *skaranika* show less variety than Pseudo-Kodinos describes: the emperor is either enthroned or in bust.<sup>107</sup> (Pl. 13, 22) It may be the case that his source for the *skaranika* derives from a time different from the surviving images.

The second group, the wearers of ‘red’ *skaranika*, officials from the *megas diermeneutes* to the end of the list, are sharply distinguished from group one by the fabric of their hats, their decoration, design and colour. Their *skaranika* are solid red, made of *chasdeon*, a fabric with a nap, such as velvet/velours or felt.<sup>108</sup> These *skaranika* have no gold embroidery as decoration, no imperial image, but rather a tassel. Furthermore, all the officials in this second group are coiffed in identical

<sup>105</sup> See commentary at n. 65. The identification of the image ‘under glass’ with the technique of ‘verre eglomisé’ was made by Woodfin, ‘The materials make the man’.

<sup>106</sup> Ps.-Kod. 58.14–20. *Chrysokladarikon syrmateinon* refers to embroidery made with gold wire and possibly to the name of the stitch. See above, 329–30.

<sup>107</sup> Constantine Akropolites’ *skaranikon* on the revetment of an icon (late 13th/early 14th century), in the Tretyakov gallery, Moscow, shows the emperor in bust. Constantine’s title is not recorded on the revetment. He was either *logothetes tou genikou* or *megas logothetes*. The *skaranika* of the officials in the Cozia fresco (1380) also represent the emperor in bust. The *skaranikon* of the *megas primmikerios* John, depicted on an icon of Christ Pantokrator in the Hermitage and dated to 1360–1370, has an enthroned emperor. See Parani, *The reality of images*, pl. 76; Appendix III, p. 335, no. 54; Babić, ‘L’Acathiste de la Vierge à Cozia’, 184 and fig. 5. See the commentary at n. 59. For the standing, enthroned and horseback emperor, see 351–2, 383.

<sup>108</sup> For the fabric, see the commentary at n. 98.

hats. There is no gradation within the group and it is immediately recognisable and distinct from the first. These hats are perhaps to be identified with those worn by the court officials standing by the throne of the emperor Michael VII Doukas in Coislin 79, f. 2r, an eleventh-century manuscript.<sup>109</sup>

The distinctions between the 'gold' and 'red' *skaranika*, therefore, are multiple, based on differing fabric (silk or velvet), colour (gold and another colour or red alone), decoration (portrait of emperor or tassel), medium of decoration (metal, imitation enamel, embroidery, or cloth tassel). Just as colour marks the higher court officials from the lower, so too does fabric used and medium of decoration employed. The observer would know at once to which hierarchical group the official belonged.

The *skaranikon* was a mark of precedence at the palace, at receptions and banquets,<sup>110</sup> but also elsewhere. In a *prostagma* of 1334, Andronikos III makes reference to the *skaranikon* to specify which court title holders should stand before the judges in court when presenting their cases: 'My Majesty ordains through the present ordinance that those of its officials who are after those who wear *skaranika* are to relate their cases standing up'.<sup>111</sup> The *prostagma* refers to those court title holders who do not wear the *skaranikon*. They could not sit in the presence of judges, men who were of a higher status than they.

Who were those officials who were 'after' the *skaranika*-wearers? In Pseudo-Kodinos' hierarchical list the only title holders who do not wear *skaranika* are the turban-wearers. Thus, on feast days they would have worn turbans in the palace. They are not, however, 'after' the *skaranika*-wearers but rather are interspersed among the gold-yellow *skaranika*-wearers, the last of the 'gold' *skaranikon* group. They are eight in number and appear in the hierarchical list separated from each other in some cases by other title holders who do wear *skaranika*. (Table V) The discrepancy between the description of the *prostagma* of 1334 and Pseudo-Kodinos' list may have to do, again, with the date of the latter's source. Another possibility is that the *prostagma* refers to all those who are not part of the ranked hierarchy and therefore do not wear *skaranika*.

A subversive attitude to the wearing of the *skaranikon* is recorded by Pachymeres concerning Berengar d'Entença, who had been given a position at court by Andronikos II. Invited by the emperor to come to the palace for Epiphany (6 January), and to take his place at court as *mezas doux*, wearing his insignia of office, he used his *skaranikon*, instead, as a bucket to draw water from the sea, in mockery of the court and its ceremonial attire.<sup>112</sup> In contrast, Kantakouzenos

<sup>109</sup> Reproduced in colour in Parani, *The reality of images*, fig. 11 (facing p. 10).

<sup>110</sup> See n. 97 above.

<sup>111</sup> Zepos, *Jus I*, Nov. 43, 583. For the redating of the ordinance to 1334 see Lemerle, 'Le Juge général', 299–301. For 'standing', see 379–83.

<sup>112</sup> Pach. IV, 551.18–22. Pachymeres' text reads *skaramangion* at 551.21 and not *skaranikon*. Albert Failler kindly checked the manuscripts and says that there is no room for doubt that Pachymeres wrote *skaramangion*, the name of a garment, a caftan, worn at



relates how the patriarch John Kalekas, eager to give himself a promotion in the regency government of Anne of Savoy, devised a gold hat adorned with images of Christ, the Theotokos and John the Baptist.<sup>113</sup> His headpiece was clearly in imitation of *skaranika*.

## Staffs

The staff, like the hat, was a distinctive ensign of office for the court title holder of Pseudo-Kodinos' ceremonies. As is the case with hats, so too with staffs or batons,<sup>114</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos' work on hierarchy and ceremony is the only one to give a detailed description. With respect to staffs, as with respect to almost every aspect of court life delineated by Pseudo-Kodinos, it is difficult, not to say impossible, to determine the date from which they came to be used widely at court. Philotheos shows that the staff was an ensign of office (*brabeion*) for some court title holders: the *silentiarioi*, the *mandatoroi* and the *ostiarioi*.<sup>115</sup> The *Book of Ceremonies* mentions both the *silentiarioi* and the *ostiarioi* as holders of staffs.<sup>116</sup> In contrast, Pseudo-Kodinos describes the staff held by more than half of the court title holders he lists. The staff was also the symbol of patriarchal authority and was handed to the patriarch by the emperor at his appointment. Archimandrites,

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court in the tenth century. See above at n. 321 n. 17. However, by the fourteenth century the word was not in use. It is difficult to see how Berengar could have used his caftan to draw water from the sea. Failler suggests (*Relations historiques*, 550 n. 29) that the garment had a hood. The passage makes more sense if we imagine Berengar using his bucket-shaped *skaranikon* to draw water. Although one hesitates to accuse Pachymeres of confusion, his account of Berengar's actions suggests that he or a copyist, like some modern authors (see ODB 3, 1908, 1909), did confuse the *skaramangion* with the *skaranikon*. An indication that this is indeed the case is at Pach. IV, 545.26, where it is said that Berengar puts on the *skaramangion*. The verb used is ἐπιθέμενος, a verb that means 'to put on a covering or lid'.

<sup>113</sup> Kant. II, 218.13–21.

<sup>114</sup> Ps.-Kod. uses the same word for the staffs of the court title holders as well as that of the emperor: *dikanikion*. The etymology of the word derives from its origin as a symbol of justice, a staff carried by judges. See Eustathios of Thessalonike, ed. van der Valk, IV, 234.20–22: 'The sceptre is not only imperial but also a symbol of justice'. In addition to the emperor's *dikanikion*, Ps.-Kod. also mentions the emperor's *narthex*, held in his left hand, after his coronation, when he holds also the cross. Verpeaux translates '*narthex*' as 'baguette', without commenting on how it may have differed from the *dikanikion*. The empress mother of a newly crowned son held the *baion*, a gold staff with pearls and gems: see commentary at notes 648, 657. See Pl. 12.

<sup>115</sup> Ed. Oikonomides, 89.15; 89 n.30; 91.3–4; 96 n. 49; 127.10 and n. 79; 132 n. 98: ῥάβδος.

<sup>116</sup> Ed. Reiske, 10.1–4; 23.3–4; 67.13–14, etc.; 81.16–18; 100.2–3; 167.23–24; 389.1–3; 640.6–10: βεργία, βεργή.

*protosynkelloi* and abbots of imperial monasteries also received their staffs from the emperor's hand.<sup>117</sup>

A *terminus ante quem* for the widespread use of staffs by holders of court titles is provided by Michael VIII's *prostagma* of 1272 for his newly crowned son, Andronikos II. In this document Michael VIII states, 'those of the court title holders who [proceed] in front of you should carry the staffs (*dikanikia*) of their office, as they do before my Majesty'. A few lines later the emperor makes a reference to the staff (*rhabdos*) 'appropriate to the office' of the *epi tes trapezes*. The *prostagma* gives evidence, then, for the carrying of staffs by holders of court titles but gives no indication that this is a novelty; rather, the opposite seems the case. The staff is a conventional part of the officials' attire.<sup>118</sup>

The *prostagma* appears to express a continuation of earlier practice but, as with the ceremonies mentioned in the document, it is not possible to say how old this practice was. In the case of staffs, unlike hats, the visual record does not help; representations of court title holders carrying staffs are rare, even in the fourteenth century.<sup>119</sup> The Vat. gr. 1851 is the exception. It depicts a member of the court standing next to the enthroned emperor and holding a staff. It could be the earliest (twelfth century) visual example of a staff-carrying court title holder.<sup>120</sup>

One development concerning staffs can be dated with some confidence, that is, Andronikos II's 'innovation', the introduction of gold and silver batons for the foremost members of the senate. Pachymeres mentions it in the context of an account of Berengar d'Entença's promotion to *mezas doux* at Christmas 1304. According to Pachymeres, the emperor Andronikos II had, at some unspecified time, introduced gold and silver staffs for the 'first among the senators'.<sup>121</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos shows that only the *mezas domestikos*, the *mezas doux*, the *protostrator* and the *mezas stratopedarches*<sup>122</sup> carried gold and silver staffs. They are indeed at

<sup>117</sup> For the patriarch: Ps-Kod. 254.3–10; for the others: 258.9–12. See also Walter, *Art and ritual of the Byzantine church*, 26–9. A staff is depicted in the hand of a seated bishop or patriarch, to the emperor's right, in the Paris. gr. 1242 representation of John VI Kantakouzenos and an ecclesiastical gathering. See Pl. 2.

<sup>118</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 38.19–22; 38.25–26. Compare the situation outlined in the *prostagma* with the emperor's escort in the sixth century: Mary Whitby, 'On the omission of a ceremony in mid-sixth century Constantinople', 462–88.

<sup>119</sup> Parani, *The reality of images*, 67 and n. 57, comments that only despots are ever depicted holding staffs. By contrast, it is only for the despots, *sebastokratores* and caesars that Ps.-Kod. does not mention staffs.

<sup>120</sup> Vat. gr. 1851, f. 2v. See Spatharakis, *The portrait*, pl. 161. For a 12th c. date see Jeffreys, 'The vernacular εἰσιτήριοι for Agnes of France, 101–115; for the 14th c., see Hennessy, 'A child bride and her representation in the Vatican Epithalamion, cod. gr. 1851', 127–162. See 365 for a discussion of this manuscript.

<sup>121</sup> Pach. IV, 545.22–24: ἀργυροχρύσοις βακτηρίαις τοὺς τῆς γερουσίας πρωτίστους... ἐνσεμνύνεσθαι.

<sup>122</sup> For the distinctive features of the appearance of these title holders, observable in their headwear, see Table V.



the top of the court title holders and are also differentiated from the rest by their gold-red *skiadia*. The staffs of the other officials below these court title holders were made of wood and were decorated and coloured in differing ways.<sup>123</sup>

The staff, a symbol of office, like the hat, was given to the court title holder by the emperor upon his promotion. Andronikos II gave Philes Palaiologos the staff (*bakteria*) of the *protostrator*.<sup>124</sup> If the person newly promoted was away from Constantinople the staff was sent to him, along with the other symbols of office. Thus it was that Roger de Flor received the chrysobull of his appointment along with 'the staff of office and the banner and hat'.<sup>125</sup>

The staffs held by the court title holders, as described by Pseudo-Kodinos, display great variety. They can be divided into three groups: the gold and silver staffs of the *megas domestikos*, *megas doux*, *protostrator* and *megas stratopedarches*, the gilded wood staffs of the *megas primmikerios* to the *primmikerios tes aules*, and the plain wood staffs of the *tatas tes aules* to the *papias*, the last official mentioned in the section on attire. It is explicitly stated in the case of some court title holders that they do not carry a staff; in some other cases a staff is not described but there is no explicit statement that the official does not carry one. These gaps in information point to inconsistencies in Pseudo-Kodinos' text and therefore also to his source(s).

Within each of the three groups of staff holders there was also differentiation based on type of decoration and colour. The first group, the leading *archontes*, held the most precious staffs, made of the most expensive materials and decorated most elaborately. These staffs had gold or silver knobs, some engraved, and gold or silver segments along the staff. These staffs might have a silver 'cord' decoration wound around them. The second group had gilded wood staffs. No precious metals were used and there were no knobs. Instead, the staffs consisted of a gilded top segment,<sup>126</sup> followed by a segment or segments painted in two colours: gold with white, red, black or blue.<sup>127</sup> The painted decoration, winding around the staff, was in imitation of the 'silver cord' that wound around the staffs of the senators. The cheaper medium imitated the more expensive, on staffs, as on the *skaranika*. The third group, representing the lowest of the court title holders had, on the whole, the plainest wood staffs. They were neither gilded nor adorned with any engraved or

<sup>123</sup> See commentary at notes 76, 79, 82, etc. Ps.-Kod. distinguishes the top dignitaries from the other court title holders.

<sup>124</sup> Greg. I, 263.17–18.

<sup>125</sup> Muntaner, 21. Pach. (IV, 545.22) refers to the staff as 'the symbol of the dignity'.

<sup>126</sup> See the commentary at 58.7. Among them are those who have a 'gold' top segment.

<sup>127</sup> The colours described as gold-white, gold-red, gold-blue must have been painted onto the shaft of the wooden staff. The participle, 'wound around' (ἐντετυλιγμένος, κεκλωσμένος) could indicate stripes of gold and accompanying colour painted in a spiral or horizontally around the staff. See also Verpeaux, *Traité*, 157 n. 2.

painted decoration.<sup>128</sup> Some officials in this group did not hold plain wood staffs but had more elaborate ones.<sup>129</sup>

## The Banner

The banner was another ensign of the court title holders. The banners of the title holders are mentioned in both ceremonial and military contexts. At the Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis* they were brought and set up opposite the *prokypsis* platform.<sup>130</sup> This is the only occasion on which hierarchical order is not observed; the banners are not placed according to rank. Banners are likewise mentioned in chapter VI, on the duties of the *megas domestikos* in the army. On military campaign, 'the banners of all the court title holders'<sup>131</sup> are kept, each in its own case. They cannot be unfurled before the emperor's.

Thus, Pseudo-Kodinos indicates that every court title holder had his own banner. Muntaner also implies that a specific banner was associated with each title – at least at the higher end of the hierarchy – when he claims that Roger de Flor, promoted from *megas doux* to caesar, returned to the emperor the banner of the *megas doux* together with his staff and hat.<sup>132</sup> It can be inferred from Pseudo-Kodinos and Muntaner that the banner, along with the hat and staff, was an ensign of the court title holder. However, unlike the staff and hat, the banners of the court title holders are not described by Pseudo-Kodinos, apart from that of the *megas doux* which depicted the horseback emperor.<sup>133</sup> Banners are sometimes depicted on coins and seals. On a coin of John Komnenos Doukas, emperor at Thessalonike (1237/8–1241), the motif of the cross-in-circle is visible.<sup>134</sup> (Pl. 5) A gold-embroidered silk cloth of the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century has been identified as a Byzantine banner. It depicts Manuel Palaiologos, half-brother of Manuel II, petitioning the archangel Michael.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Most of these staffs may, however, have had knobs. That this was the case can be inferred from Pseudo-Kodinos' statement that a few officials' staffs did not have a knob: *The megas dioiketes* (64.13–14), the *papias* (68.3).

<sup>129</sup> *The megas adnoumiastes*, the *megas diermeneutes*, the *epi ton anamneseon*, the *hetaireiarches*, the *megas myrtaites*.

<sup>130</sup> Ps.-Kod. 130.10–12, 146.6–7.

<sup>131</sup> Ps.-Kod. 204.10. See, too, Ps.-Kod. 86.5–6: the *megas primmikerios* has his own banner in the imperial cortège.

<sup>132</sup> Muntaner, 403, 423, 434.

<sup>133</sup> Ps.-Kod. 70.10–11.

<sup>134</sup> The motif is also on seals of the last Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II: Bendall, 'The arms of the Latin emperor of Constantinople and a possible Byzantine prototype', figs. 1–5. For John Komnenos Doukas, see Akropolites, §§38, 39, 40. For the motif, attested in Byzantium from the 12th century, see the commentary at n. 41.

<sup>135</sup> Guillou, 'Inscriptions byzantines d'Italie sur tissu', 174–76, and plates 48–55.

By contrast, the imperial banners displayed at the *prokypseis* – six different types, twelve in all – and the ‘customary imperial banner’ are described by Pseudo-Kodinos in detail.<sup>136</sup> These banners show variety in design and decoration: the octopus and the dragon are mentioned also in earlier texts and are attested in military contexts. The octopus, at least, was three dimensional, in the shape of the creature whose name it bore. Its ‘eight points’ or streamers had images of the Hierarchs. The dragon is known from Choniates’ description to have been three-dimensional in the twelfth century also.<sup>137</sup> The other four banners were rectangular or square embroidered cloths fixed to poles. They had representations of the archangel [Michael], the martyrs Demetrios, Prokopios, Theodore Tiron and Theodore Stratelates, St George on horseback, and the emperor on horseback.<sup>138</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos mentions another imperial banner elsewhere in the text, ‘the customary imperial banner’; he says of it that it is a cross with ‘flint-strikers’.<sup>139</sup> This motif, the cantoned cross with a *beta* in each corner, is today the one most associated with the Palaiologoi. The *beta*-cross appears on coins and on stone. (Pl. 11, 24) The Byzantines made extensive use of letters and monograms for decorative purposes and would have understood the Bs as the letter *beta*.<sup>140</sup> Yet Pseudo-Kodinos is the only Byzantine author to describe the motif and his description of the four betas as flint-strikers (*pyrekbola*) points to a western heraldic interpretation.<sup>141</sup>

The heraldic interpretation given by Pseudo-Kodinos for the *beta*-cross raises the question of the existence of heraldic devices in Byzantium.<sup>142</sup> In addition to the ‘flint-strikers’, in the Palaiologan period images commonly associated with western heraldry were exhibited on buildings, coins and clothing. Rampant lions in roundels are found at the Pammakaristos monastery, founded by Michael Tarchaneiotes, ca. 1310. Likewise, the eagle, single or double-headed has been discussed as a heraldic symbol, as has the lattice device or gaming board, and the cross-in-circle.<sup>143</sup> (Pl. 2, 9, 11, 24) The motifs are ornamental and most often

<sup>136</sup> See the commentary on these banners at Ps.-Kod. 126.9–130.1. Babuin, ‘Standards and insignia of Byzantium’, 30–31, characterises Ps.-Kod.’s work as the ‘best description of Byzantine flags ever’.

<sup>137</sup> Chon., *History*, 397.11–12. See the commentary at Ps.-Kod. 128.4.

<sup>138</sup> See the commentary at 128.2–4.

<sup>139</sup> See the commentary at ch. III note 111.

<sup>140</sup> Grierson, *Catalogue*, V/1, 87–8.

<sup>141</sup> A western text of 1330 describes the emblem of the ‘king of Salonica’ as a golden cross on purple cloth with four golden flintstrikers’. Babuin, ‘Standards and insignia of Byzantium’, 38 and n. 165.

<sup>142</sup> See the discussions, with older bibliography cited by Babuin, ‘Standards and insignia of Byzantium’, 34–41; Ousterhout, ‘Byzantium between East and West and the origins of heraldry’, 153–170; Kyriakidis, *Warfare in late Byzantium*, 57–9; Grotowski, *Arms and armour*, 247–49; Rochette, *Le Ciel et le sang*, 290–303.

<sup>143</sup> See below, 342–44, for a discussion of these motifs.

accompanied by monograms in Byzantium. Although the devices may have had imperial associations, it is impossible to fix one with a particular individual or family.<sup>144</sup> Westerners did, however, interpret the motifs as coats of arms, fitting them into a codified system that they never had in Byzantium.<sup>145</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos' explanation of the *beta* in each corner of the cross as flint-strikers is thus all the more striking.<sup>146</sup>

### Attire of the Despot, *Sebastokrator*, Caesar

The holders of dignities (*axiomata*), the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, at the top of the hierarchy were distinguished from the court title holders<sup>147</sup> in dress, as in other ways. Their attire includes items not mentioned for the court title holders: the *tamparion* – cloak or *chlamys*<sup>148</sup> – stockings and shoes. In addition, their tents or canopies are described, as are their horses' trappings.<sup>149</sup> The *chlamys* was specific to their status. The other articles of clothing they wore were the same as those of the holders of court titles, that is, the *skiadion*, *skaranikon* and caftan. The major differences between the despot, *sebastokrator*, caesar and the rest lay, rather, in the colour of their clothing and the decoration of their garments and hats. They wore colours exclusive to them, red 'garments' for all three, and violet-white shoes and horse tack for the despot, blue for the *sebastokrator* and caesar. Their *skiadia* were decorated with pearls and their shoes with eagles. Their tents or canopies and their horses' trappings were adorned with devices that had imperial associations, eagles and *chartaria*, here identified with the lattice design.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>144</sup> See, for example, the facing rampant lions that decorated the *epanoklibana* of the *tzakones*: Ps.-Kod. 98.6–8.

<sup>145</sup> For western interpretations, see Ousterhout, 'Byzantium between East and West and the origins of heraldry', 159 (Wijnbergen Armorial: ca. 1265–1270); 168–169 (Pero Tafur: 1430s).

<sup>146</sup> Rochette, *Le Ciel et le sang*, 303, suggests that Ps.-Kod. drew on a Byzantine protocol or document which reflected western usage in an effort to integrate the emperor with those who used coats of arms.

<sup>147</sup> The *megas domestikos* is a special case among the court title holders. See below, 344–45.

<sup>148</sup> Pach. II, 417.10–12 mentions the *chlamys* given by the emperor to his brother, the despot John. Ps.-Kod. uses the word *tamparion*, not *chlamys*. On the equivalence of the terms, see the commentary at n. 20 and Parani, *The reality of images*, 63–4. The visual record shows Palaiologan despots and *sebastokratores* wearing a *chlamys*, thus supporting Ps.-Kod.'s reference to this garment in connection with dignitaries of the court. See also the seal of the despot Constantine Palaiologos and the painting of the *sebastokrator* Constantine Palaiologos in the Lincoln Typikon: (Pl. 4, 7) Parani, 'Cultural identity and dress', 95–134, discusses the disappearance of the *chlamys* from the wardrobe of the emperor and court officials after the 12th c.

<sup>149</sup> See the commentary at ch. II, note 26.

<sup>150</sup> See the commentary at ch. II, note 45.

Just as the emperor could bestow on his dignitaries some of his own titles, such as caesar, *despotes*, and *sebastokrator*, composed of *sebastos* and *autokrator*,<sup>151</sup> so too he granted to them the right to wear the colours and precious materials that constituted his attire. The attire of the dignitary closest to him, the despot, had the most features in common with that of the emperor. The despot's *rouchon*, cloak and stockings were red. Red eagles and pearl-embroidered eagles decorated his shoes, saddle, saddle cloth, saddle cover and tent (or canopy). The *sebastokrator*, next in the hierarchy, wore a red *rouchon* and had shoes with embroidered (or woven) eagles on a red field and a saddle cover with red eagles. The pearls and the eagles were worn only by the emperor and his dignitaries. Matthew Blastares makes this connection explicit in his hierarchical list when he states that the pearls on the hats of the dignitaries and the eagles on their shoes 'proclaim their imperial designation'.<sup>152</sup>

The eagle, described by Pachymeres as an 'imperial symbol'<sup>153</sup> decorated the footwear of the emperor<sup>154</sup> and the clothing and accessories of the holders of dignities.<sup>155</sup> The eagle design Pseudo-Kodinos mentions was probably that of the double-headed eagle, whose earliest depiction dates from the late twelfth or thirteenth century.<sup>156</sup> It appears on the footstool or *soupedion* of an emperor identified as Alexios III or John III, depicted in a fresco at Mileševa.<sup>157</sup> It also occurs on some coins of Andronikos II.<sup>158</sup> The cloak in which the first Latin emperor of

<sup>151</sup> On her father's creation of this title see Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 3.4.3: Σεβαστοὶ γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀνέκαθεν ἐπιθετικῶς ὀνομάζοντο. For all three titles see ch. III, notes 103–105.

<sup>152</sup> See Verpeaux, *Traité*, Appendix III, 319.4–320.12.

<sup>153</sup> Pach. II, 631.4–5.

<sup>154</sup> Ps.-Kod. 78.10–80.1: emperor's boots for *prokypseis* and *peripatos*. There are no extant images of emperors wearing footwear decorated with eagles (Maguire, 'The heavenly court', 253–54) but an *ekphrasis* of the joust of Manuel I describes pearl-embroidered eagles on his shoes (ed. Schreiner, 'Ritterspiele in Byzanz', 237I). If the bronze medallion published by Whittemore ('A Byzantine bronze medallion with an imperial representation', 184–192, here at 186) and dated by him to the 12th c. is Byzantine and genuine, it would be the only known example of the eagle on imperial footwear.

<sup>155</sup> Ps.-Kod. 38.5, 40.2, 44.7. In addition, the *protoierakarios* had a left-hand glove embroidered with violet eagles but this was a mark of his service as a falconer.

<sup>156</sup> For the motif in Seljuk art see Evans, *Faith and Power*, cat. no. 243, p. 397.

<sup>157</sup> For Alexios III, see Cvetković, 'Vizantijski car i freske u priprati Mileševe', 297–309. For John III Batatzes, see Djurić, 'Srpska dinastija i Vizantija na freskama v manastiru Mileševi', 13–27. Anna Christidou drew this image to my attention.

<sup>158</sup> Bendall and Donald, *The later Palaiologan coinage*, 206–207; Grierson, *Catalogue*, V/1, 85–6: 'The virtual absence of the double-headed eagle from Palaiologan coins testifies to the minor role of state symbolism, as distinct from imperial symbolism, in the thought-world of the time'.

Constantinople, Baldwin I, was dressed in 1204 was adorned with eagles.<sup>159</sup> In his *prostagma* of 1272 Michael VIII refers to the red eagle that decorates the imperial throne.<sup>160</sup> If these references are to the double-headed eagle, the motif could well have been in use in an imperial context from the twelfth century. Examples of the double-headed eagle are more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the motif appears on the footstools of emperors and on the garments of members of the court.<sup>161</sup> (Pl. 2)

Another device, said by Pseudo-Kodinos to decorate the tents (or canopies)<sup>162</sup> of the *sebastokrator* and caesar, were *chartaria* which can tentatively be identified with a lattice design<sup>163</sup> that is found first on the coins of John III Batatzes and also on Palaiologan coins and on stone carvings, particularly in connection with the Palaiologan monogram and the double-headed eagle.<sup>164</sup> (Pl. 9, 24) It also appears on (representations of) garments.<sup>165</sup> (Pl. 8) Although the design is associated closely with members of the imperial family, there are no examples of it on an imperial garment or accessory.

A third motif with imperial associations, in addition to the eagle and the lattice design, is the cross-in-circle. It decorates the large candle that is carried before the emperor, according to Pseudo-Kodinos, but also the *skiadion* of despots who are relations-in-law of the emperor.<sup>166</sup> This motif can be seen on a number of objects from the thirteenth century. It occurs on the coins of John Komnenos Doukas of Thessalonike (1237/8–1241)<sup>167</sup> (Pl. 5) and on embroidered silks of the thirteenth

<sup>159</sup> Robert of Clari, §96:114. It was presumably a Byzantine cloak. See Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 144–45.

<sup>160</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 37.2–38.4. Heisenberg (21–22) argues that the double-headed eagle on the footstool of Theodore II (cod. Monacensis gr. 442 f. 7 v; pl.1) is a later addition.

<sup>161</sup> Chotzakoglou, 'Die Palaiologen und das früheste Auftreten des byzantinischen Doppeladlers', 60–68, with illustrations and the older bibliography; Ousterhout, 'Byzantium between East and West and the origins of heraldry', 166–67. See commentary at 38.1.

<sup>162</sup> See commentary, n. 30.

<sup>163</sup> Grierson (*Catalogue*, V/1, 91–2) refers to it as 'lattice'; Ousterhout, 'Byzantium between East and West and the origins of heraldry', 153–70, esp. 161, and figs. 5, 8, as a 'gaming square pattern'.

<sup>164</sup> The combination of the lattice and the double-headed eagle can be found in an early 15th c. manuscript for the wedding of Mehmet II. The backdrop curtain of the bride has the criss-cross motif, while her brother's garments bear the double-headed eagle. See Redford, 'Byzantium and the Islamic world, 1261–1557', 389–396; Ousterhout, 'Byzantium between east and west and the origins of heraldry', 166–67.

<sup>165</sup> See the commentary at n. 45 for references.

<sup>166</sup> On the candle, as on the *skiadion*, the colours of the cross-in-circle are red, gold and white. The design is made of pearls on the gold-red *skiadion* of the despots, while it is made of gold leaf and cinnabar on the white candle. See the commentary at n. 41 and n. 298.

<sup>167</sup> See commentary at ch. II n. 41.

century and later, most prominently on Michael VIII Palaiologos' gift to Genoa in 1261.<sup>168</sup> It appears also on a seal of the last Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II, after 1261, on his shield and horse's caparison.<sup>169</sup> However, an earlier, literary, example of the motif on the *chlamys* of the emperor Manuel I, shows that the design decorated silks already from the twelfth century, if not earlier.<sup>170</sup>

As important as the exclusive colours and motifs worn by the dignitaries (*axiomatikoî*) were the pearls they alone had a right to wear. Thus, Pachymeres states that the despot brother of Michael VIII, John, took off and put aside the symbols of the despot, namely the *kalyptra* 'of pearls'. He wore in its place the 'common *kalyptra* of gold wire',<sup>171</sup> a reference to the *skiadion* or *skaranikon* worn by most of the court officials, the *syrmateinon*. The despots who were relations-in-law of the emperor wore *skiadia* decorated with crosses and circles of pearls.<sup>172</sup> Pearls likewise adorned the despot's *skaranikon* which was gold and covered in precious stones, as well as his *stephanos*, the crown with which he was promoted.<sup>173</sup> Only the emperor and the despot had headwear of such expensive materials and luminosity.<sup>174</sup>

### The *Megas Domestikos*

The attire of the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar is distinguished from that of the rest of the court title holders also in another way, by the structure of the narrative of Pseudo-Kodinos' text. A section on modes of addressing the holders of dignities follows the description of their clothing and separates them from the

<sup>168</sup> See Hilsdale, 'The Byzantine embroidered silk in Genoa', figs. 1, 10–13 and p. 177. For other examples, esp. Andronikos II's gift of an *epitaphios* to Ohrid, see Evans, *Faith and Power*, cat. no. 188, pp. 314–15.

<sup>169</sup> Bendall, 'The arms of the Latin emperors of Constantinople and a possible Byzantine prototype', 327–29, figs. 4, 5.

<sup>170</sup> Schreiner, 'Ritterspiele in Byzanz', 236–37: τὰ στίγματα τοῦ χρυσοῦ πρὸς κύκλον ἀπευθυνόμενα, τὰ δὲ τῶν κύκλων ἐντὸς ὅλην αὐτὴν ὑπεζωγράφει (τὴν) τοῦ βασιλέως εὐσέβειαν. Ὁ γὰρ τῷ σταυρωθέντι κατ' ἔχνος ἀκολουθῶν τῷ πόθῳ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος αὐτὸν συνεσταύρωσε.

<sup>171</sup> Pach. II, 417.15–17; II, 435.19–25. The latter passage shows that 'gold wire' (*chrysosyrma*) is the equivalent of *syrmateinon*.

<sup>172</sup> Ps.-Kod. 42.4–5.

<sup>173</sup> Ch. II, 40.7–42.1 (despot sons and brothers of the emperor); ch. VIII for the *stephanos*.

<sup>174</sup> The emperor's boots were also decorated with pearl eagles (see Ps.-Kod. 78.11–13) and, according to Pach. (III, 153.32–155.2), he had red gloves adorned with pearls, an 'imperial symbol'. The exceptional position of the *megas domestikos* is obvious from the pearls he wore on his *skaranikon*. See below for other marks of distinction.



rest of the court officials.<sup>175</sup> After this section the first title holder mentioned is the *megas domestikos*. He is at the head of the hierarchy of the court title holders, after the ‘dignitaries’. A group of title holders, led by the *megas domestikos*, was distinguished from the other court title holders by their hats – gold-red *skaranika* with the portrait of the standing emperor engraved or embossed onto metal plaques – and their gold and silver batons. However, the attire of the *megas domestikos* is unique among the men of this group. He shares more features with the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar in his dress than with his fellow title holders. These are a *skiadion* with pendants, a *skaranikon* with pearls on the forehead and also around the images of the emperor and angels on the metal plaque attached to his *skaranikon*. Furthermore, of all the court title holders, his *skaranikon* alone is adorned with images of the standing emperor, on the front and the back, and of angels.<sup>176</sup> His caftan is violet and white like that of the despots and has borders. All these features of the attire of the *megas domestikos* raise him above the others and place him closer to the holders of ‘dignities’, the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar. The reason for his distinguished attire is given by Pseudo-Kodinos. Andronikos II bestowed these garments on his nephews, the *panhypersebastos* and the *protovestiarios*. When John Kantakouzenos became *megas domestikos* he was given their attire and raised above them in rank.<sup>177</sup> Whether, however, the position and the garments of the *megas domestikos* remained the same after John Kantakouzenos became emperor is open to doubt.

## The Emperor

Imperial clothing is not discussed by Pseudo-Kodinos in ch. II where the attire of the court title holders is described but he refers to what the emperor wears at various points throughout the text. Pseudo-Kodinos reveals that the emperor had a variety of hats and items of clothing from which to choose. Indeed, he wore the same articles of clothing and headgear that his officials wore:<sup>178</sup> the caftan, *epilourikon*, and *granatza-lapatzas*, the *skiadion* and turban. The *phyalin* was exclusive to him<sup>179</sup> as well as a range of headpieces, that is, the *krinonia*,

<sup>175</sup> Ps.-Kod. 46.11–48.11.

<sup>176</sup> Only the *skaranikon* of the *megas domestikos* has this image.

<sup>177</sup> Ps.-Kod. 26.13–28.5.

<sup>178</sup> The same is true earlier. See Odorico, ‘Vêtements et couleurs’, 1031. Adam Usk (ed. and trans. Given-Wilson, 118–121) comments on this aspect of imperial dress when he remarks that the emperor Manuel II and his men at the court of the king of England in London (Christmas 1400) ‘always went about dressed uniformly in long robes cut like tabards which were all of one colour ... and disapproved greatly of the fashions and varieties of dress worn by the English.

<sup>179</sup> For the caftan and *skiadion* of the emperor, see 126.1; for the *epilourikon* and turban, 138.1, 174.13. For the *granatza-lapatzas*, see commentary at n. 449. On the *phyalin*,



*tetraphylon*, names suggestive of flowers; on other occasions, the *tropaïouchia*, *Justinianeion* or the *hyperteron*, names with triumphal connotations.<sup>180</sup>

While the written record shows variety in imperial attire, visual representations of the Byzantine emperors of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries depict them always in the same way, wearing crown, *loros* and *sakkos*.<sup>181</sup> It is not until the fifteenth century, when John VIII is drawn and his bust is cast by Pisanello and Filarete, that a Byzantine emperor is shown wearing garments and hats that differ from the ceremonial attire in which he was traditionally depicted by Byzantine artists.<sup>182</sup>

## The Crown

Just as Pseudo-Kodinos distinguishes the ‘crowns’ of the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar from their *skiadia* and *skaranika*, so too he takes care to differentiate the crown, the *stemma* of coronation,<sup>183</sup> from all other headpieces worn by the emperor. The crown had changed in shape in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos, from a jewel-encrusted band, the diadem, to the hemispherical shape.<sup>184</sup> While most authors writing in the early fourteenth century continue to refer to the crown as a diadem, Pseudo-Kodinos clearly means an article of clothing, a belt, when

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a jewel-encrusted collar, worn by the emperor and his uncrowned son, see commentary at 142.7. The emperor did not, however, wear the *skaranikon*.

<sup>180</sup> The *Book of Ceremonies* also gives evidence of a variety of headpieces the emperor might wear. See Dagron, ‘Couronnes impériales’, 158. The names of the headpieces mentioned in the 10th-c. ceremonial book differ from those in Ps.-Kod.’s text, however, making identification difficult. See Détoraki, ‘La terminologie du vêtement dans le *De Ceremoniis*’, 213–16. The *tiara*, also known as *toupha*, (Zon. III, 566.15–567.1) worn by emperors making a triumphal entry into Constantinople (Haldon, *Three Treatises*, 147.838–839) but also on other occasions (*De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 104.22; 107.20; 188.10–11) is perhaps the *tropaïouchon* mentioned by Ps.-Kod. It is described by an 11th-c. Muslim visitor to the capital as a crested crown that ‘protrudes’ over the face: Grabar, ‘The shared culture of objects’, 123–24. See also Tzetzes (*Chiliades* VIII, 307–309) who identifies the head-covering of the statue of the horseback Justinian on the column as a *tiara*. On the basis of these descriptions, the headdress presented to the mounted emperor in the Bamberg silk can be identified as the *tiara* or *toupha*. For a colour reproduction see *To Βυζάντιο ως οικουμένη*, fig. 23, p. 73.

<sup>181</sup> Parani, *The reality of images*, plates 3, 23.

<sup>182</sup> Evans, *Byzantium*, cat. no. 318 A, B, 319, 320, 321, pp. 527–36.

<sup>183</sup> Only the *stemma* is translated as ‘crown’ in this work. For usage in the 10th-c. *Book of Ceremonies* and its sources, see Dagron, ‘La couronne’, 157–9.

<sup>184</sup> Parani, *The reality of images*, 27–30. The change can be seen in the portrait gallery of emperors in Mutin. gr. 122, a manuscript of Zonaras’ chronicle. See Spatharakis, *The portrait*, plates 115–116, 117.

he uses this word.<sup>185</sup> The ‘new’ meaning for diadem is a usage he shares with the author of the coronation protocol on which he draws, as does Kantakouzenos.<sup>186</sup> Ignatios of Smolensk, describing the coronation of Manuel II in 1392, likewise uses ‘diadem’ for an article worn on the body.<sup>187</sup> The patriarch Germanos II (1223–1224) shows that he is aware of this meaning.<sup>188</sup> Thus, while some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century authors continue to call the crown the ‘diadem’,<sup>189</sup> already in the thirteenth century the ‘new’ meaning of the word was known.<sup>190</sup>

Although the emperor had a choice of garments and hats to wear, Pseudo-Kodinos stipulates that when he wore the *stemma*, he also always wore the *sakkos* and diadem (*loros*) and held the cross and *akakia*.<sup>191</sup> Byzantine emperors are always visually represented dressed in this manner. However, occasions for such dress were few in the ceremonial life of the court: Palm Sunday, promotions of patriarchs, despots, *sebastokratores*, caesars, and ‘similar occasions’.<sup>192</sup> If the emperor was in mourning during the Christmas and Epiphany celebrations or on Palm Sunday and, one must presume, on the other occasions mentioned, he wore a white garment, and his *skiadion*, or a white *epilourikon* and turban.<sup>193</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos gives his fullest discussion of imperial attire in his protocol for the Christmas Eve *prokypsis* where he lists the items an emperor might wear.<sup>194</sup> His enumeration includes an interpretation of the significance of the articles of clothing. The *Kletorologion* and the *Book of Ceremonies* also provide interpretations of the emperor’s clothing but with a difference. While the earlier ceremonial books assign a religious symbolism to the garments and insignia, Pseudo-Kodinos lists attributes of the imperial office, imperial virtues such as a ‘mirror of princes’ might endorse. For him, the *loros*, which he calls a diadem, shows that the emperor is a soldier; for Philotheos and the *Book of Ceremonies* it signifies the winding cloth of

<sup>185</sup> Ps.-Kod. 134.13–17. See Parani, *The reality of images*, fig. 3. She identifies Ps.-Kod.’s diadem with the simplified *loros*.

<sup>186</sup> See the discussion, 428.

<sup>187</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 108–109 (text): ‘he donned the purple and the diadem and [placed] on his brow ...’; 424–5 (commentary): ‘necklace or belt’.

<sup>188</sup> Ed. Lagopates, 304.12; see also commentary, note 353.

<sup>189</sup> Greg. II, 788.22; III, 204.13, 16; Chalkokondyles, I, 192.14–19.

<sup>190</sup> See the commentary at 134.17. Another possible example of this usage which is also from the 13th c. is Holobolos’ reference to Michael VIII, ‘adorned’ in Hagia Sophia in 1261 ‘with crown and diadem’ (στέφει καὶ διαδήματι): ed. Treu, 77.18–20.

<sup>191</sup> Ps.-Kod. 136.6–7.

<sup>192</sup> Ps.-Kod. 170.22–23, 242.4–5, 244.8–9. In the tenth century, according to the *Book of Ceremonies*, the emperor wore crown and *loros* on Easter Sunday and Pentecost, as well as on other feast days when important guests were present: ed. Reiske, 25.18–22; 26.3–4; 187.13 (Easter); 62.12–16; 68.5–6; 69.23–25 (Pentecost); 591.2–4 (other occasions). See Parani, *The reality of images*, 23.

<sup>193</sup> Ps.-Kod. 174.3–4 (Christmas and Epiphany); 174.12–13 (Palm Sunday).

<sup>194</sup> Ps.-Kod. 134–140.

Christ.<sup>195</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos describes the *akakia* as similar to a scroll,<sup>196</sup> tied with a handkerchief (Pl. 1)<sup>197</sup> and filled with earth. Philotheos and Pseudo-Kodinos interpret the significance of the *akakia* in a divergent way. The former makes indirect reference to the earth in the cloth when he says it represents ‘the resurrection of our earthly essence’;<sup>198</sup> the latter, the first to mention the earth contained in the *akakia* directly,<sup>199</sup> declares that it signifies the humble and mortal nature of the emperor. Close to Pseudo-Kodinos’ interpretation is that of Symeon of Thessalonike who likewise calls attention to the transitory nature of power and the humility that should derive from the knowledge of its nature.<sup>200</sup>

Dagron sees in these differences of interpretation a ‘reflection of the evolution of the imperial institution’ in the context of the concerted effort made by the patriarchs and the clergy in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to ‘divest imperial power of sacred connotations’.<sup>201</sup> However, it should be noted that the interpretations of the imperial attire in the *Kletorologion* and the *Book of Ceremonies* are embedded in the protocols for the Easter ceremonies, where reference to the Resurrection is to be expected, while Pseudo-Kodinos’ discussion is found in a more mundane place, in the enumeration of the items of clothing in the emperor’s wardrobe. Furthermore, Pseudo-Kodinos’ connection of the *akakia* with the mortality of the emperor relates to a tradition preserved in Arab authors going back to the late ninth century.<sup>202</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos transmits a different but co-existing tradition. His explanation of the significance of the emperor’s dress cannot by itself be taken as evidence for the loss of sacred connotations.

<sup>195</sup> Philotheos, 201.12–13; *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 637.17–638.1.

<sup>196</sup> For the *Book of Ceremonies* it is a scroll or *tomos*, a reminder and representation of the life-giving law: ed. Reiske, 638.13–14.

<sup>197</sup> See the commentary at 140.1.

<sup>198</sup> Philotheos, 201.15–16.

<sup>199</sup> Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 169.

<sup>200</sup> Symeon of Thessalonike, 356A.

<sup>201</sup> Dagron, ‘From the *mappa* to the *akakia*’, 209–219, esp. 217, 219.

<sup>202</sup> Harun Ibn Yahya, in the 9th c., describes a procession in which ‘The emperor holds in his hand a box of gold containing earth’. The vizir who walks behind him says to him in Greek, ‘Remember death’. See Vasiliev, ‘Harun-ibn-Yahya and his description of Constantinople’, 159. Al-Bakri, writing in the late 11th c., gives a similar account: Wasserstein, ‘Byzantium and al-Andalus’, 92. Peter Damien, in the 11th c, likewise mentions a receptacle ‘full of bones and dust’ which every new emperor receives along with the crown and sceptre: *De brevitae vitae*, PL 145, 479–80, cited by Dagron, ‘From the *mappa* to the *akakia*’, 216.

## The Imperial Sword

Another ensign mentioned in the list of imperial garments is the sword. It has a prominence in Pseudo-Kodinos' text that is absent from earlier ceremonial works. Pseudo-Kodinos relates which official carries the emperor's sword and brings it to the emperor from the wardrobe of the palace where it is kept. First among the court title holders to bear the sword is the *megas domestikos* but, if he is not present, the privilege devolves onto either the *protostrator* or, in his absence, the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* or the *parakoimomenos tou koitonos*.<sup>203</sup> The *megas domestikos*, or one of the others in his absence, holds the sword, standing by the door of the emperor's apartments, on the day before Christmas. When the emperor goes to stand next to his throne in the *triklinos*, the *megas domestikos* stands to his left with the sword.<sup>204</sup> These comments are made in relation to the ceremonial for Christmas Eve but it is possible that the same arrangement held on all ceremonial occasions. The sword plays a prominent role also in the Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis*, when it was held on the platform by a bareheaded son of a court title holder (*archontopoulon*). The sword, but not its holder, appeared to the assembled crowd.<sup>205</sup>

It is difficult to determine when the imperial sword began to play a prominent part in court ceremonial. The carrying of the emperor's sword by the *megas domestikos*, the *protostrator* or one of the *parakoimomenoi*, or 'one of the other magnates accustomed to hold the imperial sword' is recorded already in Michael VIII's 1272 *prostagma* for Andronikos II, in the context of the procedure to be followed when the emperor is absent from Constantinople,<sup>206</sup> yet its origin could be older: the *prostagma* refers to it as 'customary'. Already in the tenth century the emperor's baggage-train was said to have included two swords, one for processions and one for the road.<sup>207</sup> Coins depicting emperors wearing swords in combination with the imperial attire date from at least the mid eleventh century.<sup>208</sup> The prominence of the sword as an imperial ensign is associated also with the Latin emperors of Constantinople, Baldwin I and Baldwin II. At his coronation in Constantinople Baldwin I was preceded by Hugh of St Pol carrying his sword.<sup>209</sup> When Baldwin II fled the city in 1261 he left behind him his *kalyptra* topped

<sup>203</sup> Ps.-Kod. 78.10 (wardrobe); 88.3–4, 7–8.

<sup>204</sup> Ps.-Kod. 118.9, 120.4

<sup>205</sup> Ps.-Kod. 144.3–5.

<sup>206</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaioiogenzeit', 38.6–11.

<sup>207</sup> Haldon, *Three treatises*, 108.218–219. See, too, the discussion of the emperor and his sword in Magdalino, 'The bath of Leo the Wise', 116.33–36 (text), 111 (commentary).

<sup>208</sup> Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 174; Magdalino and Nelson, 'The emperor in Byzantine art of the twelfth-century', 154–160.

<sup>209</sup> Robert of Clari, ed. and trans. Noble, §96:115; Hendy, *op. cit.*, 174, cautions against seeing these examples as indications of Latin practice. He argues that they are, rather, reflections of Byzantine practice.

by a red gem, red shoes and his red-sheathed sword. It was only upon seeing these imperial insignia that people became convinced that the city had fallen.<sup>210</sup> In Asia Minor Theodore II received the Tatar ambassadors sitting on a high throne, holding a sword.<sup>211</sup> In Hagia Sophia, Andronikos III transmitted to the four men he instituted as ‘catholic judges’ the Holy Gospel and the imperial sword.<sup>212</sup>

The ceremonial prominence of the sword in the fourteenth century, as described by Pseudo-Kodinos, was therefore not new. Visual evidence supports the protocol he delineates. John VI Kantakouzenos is shown enthroned surrounded by churchmen and court officials, one of whom, to his left, holds a red-sheathed sword.<sup>213</sup> (Pl. 2) Likewise, the frescoes (1380) at Cozia in Wallachia, showing the imperial court, represent a court official holding the sword. In both of these images the sword is held high, hilt-upwards. The image in Vat. gr. 1851, f. 1r<sup>214</sup> could be the earliest example of this practice, if the manuscript dates to the twelfth century. In this manuscript also a man stands next to the enthroned emperor, on his left, holding a sword hilt upwards. (Pl. 10) Parani suggests that this manner of holding the sword derives from court ceremonial. The person who held the sword in the *prokypsis*, hidden from sight by the balustrade, would have had to hold the sword high up like a standard. Thus, this style of presenting the sword might date to the time of the introduction of the *prokypsis* to court ceremonial.<sup>215</sup>

## Imperial Candlestick and Candle

As prominent as the sword in Pseudo-Kodinos’ ceremonies is the double-wreathed candlestick with large candle, another ensign of the emperor known from the twelfth century commentary of Theodore Balsamon<sup>216</sup> but given ceremonial context by Pseudo-Kodinos. At Christmas and Epiphany and on Palm Sunday a large candle was carried in front of the emperor onto the *prokypsis* and the *peripatos*.<sup>217</sup> The candlestick and candle were seen in combination with the sword also at Christmas Eve in the *triklinos* and at the Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis*. In the *triklinos* on Christmas Eve, the emperor stood at his throne and the *meas domestikos* by his side

<sup>210</sup> Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, §87:185.26–186.4; Pach. I, 209.2–13.

<sup>211</sup> Pach. I, 187.22–189.15–19.

<sup>212</sup> Greg. I, 437.21–438.5.

<sup>213</sup> For discussion of the miniature of John VI with churchmen, often described as a representation of the council of 1351, see Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine*, 70–73, 242; Drpić, ‘Art, hesychasm and visual exegesis’, 221.

<sup>214</sup> For the image, see Spatharakis, *The portrait*, pl. 164.

<sup>215</sup> Parani, *The reality of images*, 146–48. The sword is held in the same way by an attendant of the prince in a frontispiece to an Arabic translation of a treatise by Galen, early 13th c.: Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, pl. 31. See below, 401–11, on the *prokypsis*.

<sup>216</sup> See the commentary at 118.2.

<sup>217</sup> Ps.-Kod. 140.8–11, 172.1–3. See the commentary at n. 473.

holding the sword, while the *lampadarios*, below the *megas domestikos*, held the double-wreathed candlestick with the large lit candle decorated with a red and gold design of cross-in-circle.<sup>218</sup> For the Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis* the sword and candle appeared on the platform with the emperor but they were held by kneeling men hidden by the balustrade. Thus, sword and candle seemed to be suspended in air.<sup>219</sup> This combination of imperial insignia is attested also in the romance of *Livistros and Rodamne* where a painting of Eros the king shows him holding a sword and a red candle. The latest dating of the text to the middle of the thirteenth century makes this image of the king the earliest attestation of the combination of these two insignia in Byzantine ceremonial.<sup>220</sup> It is possible, however, that the combination of sword and candle was older, as an oration of Theophylact of Ohrid addressed to the *porphyrogennetos* Constantine, son of Michael VII Doukas, suggests. In discussing the imperial virtue of *philanthropia*, Theophylact makes reference to the sword which the emperor should not use readily and the candle that precedes the emperor and should be used to give light but not to burn.<sup>221</sup> Although the oration does not specify a ceremonial context, the fact that both sword and candle are mentioned together in this late eleventh century text, suggests that they were already present in displays of the emperor at that time.

### ***Dibellion***

A third object that is linked with the presence of the emperor is his *dibellion*, a spear decorated with two tufts. It was carried by the *skouterios* along with the emperor's round shield and it was present at the *prokypseis*, below the platform, but also whenever the emperor left the palace. It was always carried before the emperor, wherever he was. Like the large candle, it announced his presence.<sup>222</sup>

### **The Imperial Portrait**

The emperor had in common with his court title holders many items of clothing and accessories but also certain colours and refinements: the 'dignitaries', the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, wore the colour red or violet, and had garments decorated with gold and pearls, while those below them, the higher holders of court titles also wore red and gold hats which bore the emperor's portrait. The wearing of the emperor's portrait on the *skaranikon*, like the flying of banners depicting the horseback emperor and the holding of shields with the same image, were marks

<sup>218</sup> Ps.-Kod. 120.6–8. For the design on the candle, see 343–44.

<sup>219</sup> See commentary at n. 375.

<sup>220</sup> Ed. Agapitos, 570–573. See the commentary at 144.5.

<sup>221</sup> Ed. Gautier, 209.26–28; Parani, ““Rise like the sun, the God-inspired kingship””.

<sup>222</sup> Ps.-Kod. 104.11–12, 130.3, 200.16–17, 202.3–4. On the *dibellion*, See 105 n. 233.

of the court title holder's appointment to office and his bond with the emperor, the source of his authority.<sup>223</sup> They were also signs of the honour accorded to them by the emperor, for not all court officials wore the *skaranikon* and not all those who wore *skaranika* displayed the emperor's portrait on them.<sup>224</sup> In late antiquity the imperial portrait would be worn on the body on buckles, fibulae or on clothing<sup>225</sup> but in the Palaiologan period it was the hat that carried the image. There is no evidence for the wearing of the imperial portrait by court officials in the centuries between.<sup>226</sup>

The emperor gave to the men at court a share in the imperial office in the form of their attire. He also gave away some of his own garments and accessories to the court title holders, 'as a gift' and 'a mark of honour'.<sup>227</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos mentions four instances of such imperial gifts. The *komes* of the imperial horses received the emperor's old saddles, bridles and covers at Easter when the emperor had new ones made;<sup>228</sup> the *megas primmikerios* was often given the emperor's staff to keep after a reception;<sup>229</sup> the *protokynegos* could have from the emperor any garment that had become stained with blood when the emperor went hunting;<sup>230</sup> after the Christmas banquet the *megas domestikos* was given as a gift a gold or silver plate.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Parani, 'Cultural identity and dress', 104–105, 121 n. 80; Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 6–7, who says of the imperial portrait on the 'uniforms' of the court officials that it marks the wearer 'as with an imperial seal'. See also the remarks of Maguire, 'Magic and money in the early Middle Ages', 1039–1040: '... these images displayed upon the person were not only a sign of the emperor's overlordship but also a conduit of his protection'. The practice is attested also for the Sasanian kings. See Rose, 'Sasanian splendor', in Gordon, *Robes and honor*, 46.

<sup>224</sup> Below the *megas droungarios tes vigles* some court title holders wear the turban. Ps.-Kod. states that they do not wear the *skaranikon*: Ps.-Kod. 60.2, 10, 62. 16–17, 23–24, etc. See Table V for the plain red *skaranika* with no image.

<sup>225</sup> Johansen, 'Rings, fibulae and buckles with imperial portraits and inscriptions', 229–42.

<sup>226</sup> Woodfin, 'Presents given and presence subverted', 33–50, esp. 44, discusses a mid-Byzantine silk cape bearing multiple portraits of an emperor in roundels. He argues that such articles were not only given as gifts to western rulers but were also worn by Byzantine courtiers. Although there is earlier textual evidence for gifts to foreign rulers of clothing which bore the imperial portrait there is none for officials of the court. In any case, when it was worn in earlier periods the portrait was discrete, a single image on a part of the clothing or on the fastening of the garment, not a multiple image stamped all over the garment.

<sup>227</sup> The practice appears to be widespread. See Gordon, 'A world of investiture', 1–19, esp. 5, 9, in Gordon, *Robes and Honor*, and the essays in the same volume by Rose, 'Sasanian splendor', 46 and Eastmond and Jones, 'Robing, power and legitimacy in Armenia and Georgia', 149; Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 57.

<sup>228</sup> Ps.-Kod. ch. III, 76.11–14.

<sup>229</sup> Ps.-Kod. ch. III, 84.9–12. The staff of the *megas primmikerios* was the same as the emperor's. See the commentary at n. 152.

<sup>230</sup> Ps.-Kod. ch. III, 104.9–10.

<sup>231</sup> Ps.-Kod. ch. IV, 162.7–10.



## Women at Court

Absent from Pseudo-Kodinos' description of attire is any reference to the empress's garments or those of the other female members of the court, the wives of the dignitaries and court title holders. He mentions only the garments of the widowed empress mother of the newly crowned emperor and the red shoes of the imperial bride-to-be.<sup>232</sup> Yet the women at court had parallel ceremonial practices,<sup>233</sup> although the sources do not often mention these, passing references are sufficient to establish their existence. Pachymeres relates an incident that occurred on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paul (29 June) in 1292 in Nymphaion. The story he narrates indicates that while on this day the *grandeas* (*megistanes*) were received by the emperor, their wives had their own reception with the empress.<sup>234</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos also gives some idea of the ceremonial life of the wives of the court officials, when he describes the reception of an imperial bride-to-be.<sup>235</sup>

## The Colours of the Court

Although, then, the attire of the female members of court, including that of the empress, is not described by Pseudo-Kodinos, an idea can be gained of the spectacle afforded by the male court officials when they gathered in the palace for a reception on a feast day. Pseudo-Kodinos' description of their *skaranika* gives an impression of the palette of colours.<sup>236</sup>

In Pseudo-Kodinos' time, as earlier, colours were recognised for their position between white and black or light and dark. Colour was essentially unstable. The only fixed points were those of light and dark. The colour scale was established by a process of association, as can be seen from the tenth-century Souda's entry for 'grey':

That the simple colours are opposites, like white and black, while the composite colours are between them ... Of these there are those nearer white, like yellow, those nearer black, like dark blue,

<sup>232</sup> At the coronation of her son the widowed empress mother wore a dark *himation* and a violet cloak: Ps.-Kod. 224.3–4. See Parani, 'Cultural identity and dress', 97 and n. 6. On the *himation*, see Ball, *Byzantine dress*, 49. For the red garment of the imperial bride, see below, 436.

<sup>233</sup> The *Book of Ceremonies* gives descriptions or protocols for some ceremonies. See the discussion by Maguire, 'Images of the court', 190–191.

<sup>234</sup> Pach. III, 171–73. On this incident see also 382. For an earlier period, see the comments of McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 203 and n. 71.

<sup>235</sup> See ch. XII and discussion at 435–37.

<sup>236</sup> No comment can be made about the colours of their caftans, since each title holder after the *protovestiarios* was allowed, it seems, to choose his own silk garment. See above, 321–22.



and the rest are between them, such as grey, red ... For grey, being mixed, is in-between, while red or green are not wholly made by mixture of opposites but are said to be in-between, since they do not partake of either of the extremities.<sup>237</sup>

Souda's definition shows that colour words are imprecise in relation to hues.

Although the word 'purple' (*porphyra*) in modern usage has retained a monopoly on imperial symbolism, Byzantine authors variously use 'red' and 'purple' to describe the imperial colour.<sup>238</sup> In Pseudo-Kodinos red (*kokkinos*) is the imperial colour.<sup>239</sup> The word *porphyra* appears only in connection with clothing of members of the clergy.<sup>240</sup> The emperor wears a few red items, his '*rouchon*', identified in this study as a caftan,<sup>241</sup> his shoes. The large candle held in front of the emperor had a gold and red motif, red crosses in gold medallions.<sup>242</sup> The men closest to the emperor, those who hold dignities, also wear a red *rouchon* but of them all it is the despot alone who has the right to wear, in addition, a red cloak and stockings, while his canopy (or tent) and saddle cover are also decorated with red eagles. The foreign imperial bride-to-be was dressed in red before she entered the city to go to the palace.<sup>243</sup> Red is the colour of the hats worn by the court title holders at the top of the hierarchy: gold and red *skiadia* and *skaranika*.

The gold and red combination is well attested in mosaics, painting,<sup>244</sup> and embroidery. The most highly prized gold was that with a reddish cast.<sup>245</sup> Gold wire when wrapped around a red fibre core produced a similar effect. Gold leaf

<sup>237</sup> Ed. Adler, IV, 709. Pseudo-Kodinos (54.11–13) demonstrates the same perception of colour when he defines 'apricot' as being between red and white, just as grey is between white and black.

<sup>238</sup> The process used to produce purple dye gave results that range from bright red through blue to violet. Dyes could be combined to produce the colour of 'congealed blood'. See Bridgeman, 'Purple dye', 164 n. 11, 165 n. 13; Gage, *Colour and meaning*, 69.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. Kant. I, 197.11: red silk cloths on the platform at coronation (*erythreis*: equivalent of *kokkinos*); Kant. I, 202.20: the emperor wears the *stemma* and the *porphyra* ('the purple', i.e. the *sakkos*) at his coronation. See ODB 3, 1759–60; Failler, 'Les insignes et la signature du despote', 171–86.

<sup>240</sup> Ps.-Kod. 118.2, 170.11.

<sup>241</sup> See commentary at 36.2.

<sup>242</sup> Ps.-Kod. 120.7–8.

<sup>243</sup> Ps.-Kod. ch. XII: 'red shoes'. Vat. gr. 1851 shows the bride in red clothing. In his paper, 'A question of hues: the mosaic panel of John II and Proska-Eirene', read at the conference on John II Komnenos (King's College London, January 2013), Alex Rodriguez pointed out that empresses are depicted wearing red from the eleventh century. The earliest example is in cod. Sinaiticus gr. 364 showing Constantine IX, Zoe and Theodora. Zoe is in red. See Spatharakis, *The portrait*, 99–102, who dates the manuscript to 1042.

<sup>244</sup> Gage, *Colour and meaning*, 71; *idem.*, *Color and culture*, 43.

<sup>245</sup> Gage, *Colour and meaning*, 71.

was grounded in red, as were gold-figured embroideries.<sup>246</sup> Thus, the aesthetic preference for gold and red in combination was well established and this combination dominates the hats of those closest to the emperor in status, and therefore also in position.

It can be seen that those closest to the emperor wore the brightest hats with the greatest luminosity. It was here that the play of light was greatest, on the shimmering silk,<sup>247</sup> on the gold embroidery,<sup>248</sup> on the metal plaques of the *skaranika* and on the silver and gold batons. Light radiated from the bejewelled and glittering attire of the emperor to those closest to him in physical proximity and status. The further away from the emperor one stood, the less luminosity there was. The last group in the hierarchy wore solid red *skaranika* made of velvet or velours, with no adornment apart from a tassel.

The visual effect of the clothing and adornments of the emperor on the beholder is a subject treated by Byzantine authors and foreign visitors to Constantinople. They speak of the glitter and the flashing of light that emanated from the surfaces of gold, pearls, gems and silks.<sup>249</sup> In the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela remarked on the 'light' that derived from the emperor's crown: 'at night time no lights were required, for every one could see by the light which the stones gave forth'.<sup>250</sup> Robert of Clari, in describing the 'very rich cloak', in which Baldwin I was dressed for his coronation in 1204, commented that the precious stones shone so that 'it looked as if the whole cloak was on fire'.<sup>251</sup> By reacting to light, the reflective surfaces of these precious materials affirmed their material presence.<sup>252</sup>

The colours worn by the emperor include the two extremes of the scale, white and black. The emperor wears white when he is in mourning for a close relative. The practice is reported in fourteenth-century accounts as a 'custom' but there is no evidence for emperors in white mourning attire before Kantakouzenos.<sup>253</sup> At the

<sup>246</sup> Buckton, *Byzantium*, 208–209: no. 225, 14th century belt or border. See also Ps.-Kod. 44.7–8, for the shoes of the *sebastokrator* which have eagles embroidered in gold against a red background.

<sup>247</sup> For the effect of light and shadow on silk see Hills, *The light of early Italian painting*, 96, 99.

<sup>248</sup> Johnstone, *Byzantine embroidery*, 71: 'Byzantine craftsmen ... seem to have been acutely conscious of the subtleties required to release the latent fire in any golden surface.'

<sup>249</sup> See, e.g., Holobolos on the coronation of Michael VIII: ed. Treu, 93, 19–21; 93. 26–29; *ekphrasis* of the joust of Manuel I: Schreiner, 'Ritterspiele in Byzanz', §IIIc, 236.

<sup>250</sup> Souda, ed. Adler, 13.

<sup>251</sup> Ed. and trans. Noble, §96, p. 115. On this garment of Byzantine origin, see Hendy, *Catalogue*, 4/1, 143–44.

<sup>252</sup> See Evangelatou, 'Between East and West', 152, on the gold background of icons.

<sup>253</sup> See the commentary at ch XI. White as a colour of mourning is not attested before Kantakouzenos nor after. It was certainly no longer a colour of mourning by the reign of Manuel II. Bridgeman, '"Belle considerazioni"'. Dress in the works of Piero della Francesca', 219, suggests that white silk which seems to have been considered the traditional raiment of

other end of the spectrum, the emperor's tunic or *sakkos*, worn when he wears his crown, on Palm Sunday, Christmas and Epiphany, and at coronation, is described as *melan*, black.<sup>254</sup> The black *sakkos* symbolizes the mystery of the imperial office, according to Pseudo-Kodinos. The word *sakkos* used to refer to the emperor's tunic, rather than *divetesion*,<sup>255</sup> its name in the *Book of Ceremonies*, creates an association with penitence; the word originally referred to sackcloth.<sup>256</sup> Indeed, from John VI's time on the emperor's tunic appears darker than previously: 'dark almost black' in Paris. gr. 1242 and in the Louvre *ms. Ivoires* 100, f. 2 r showing Manuel II and his son John VIII.<sup>257</sup> The change to a darker *sakkos* may date from John VI's reign.<sup>258</sup>

## The Origin of Garments

While most of the information about court attire is presented by Pseudo-Kodinos in chapter II, he also introduces into the description of ceremonies, in chapter IV, a historical explanation of the origins of certain garments (*epilourikon*, *granatza/lapatzas*), hats (turban, *skaranikon*), and objects (*pilatikia*, *drakonteion*).<sup>259</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos traces their pedigree to Cyrus the Great who adopted them from the Medes and the Assyrians. They passed on to Alexander the Great when he conquered the Persian empire and from him to the Roman emperors when Macedonia became part of the Roman empire.

In providing this genealogy, Pseudo-Kodinos follows the traditional notion of the succession of four world empires found in the Book of Daniel and in Byzantine world chronicles.<sup>260</sup> But he also reproduces perceptions of Byzantium that were held at the time of his writing by the Ilkhanids and the Mamluks. Kantakouzenos, referring to the Mongols' desire to take imperial brides, claimed that this was so because they believed the Roman emperor to be the successor of Alexander of the Macedonians.<sup>261</sup> Kantakouzenos in his *History* gives evidence for a similar belief

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rulers in Italy, may have derived from the Palaiologoi who visited western Europe, Manuel II and his sons John VIII and Demetrios, all of whom are reported as wearing white.

<sup>254</sup> Ps.-Kod. 140.4.

<sup>255</sup> Parani, *The reality of images*, 13, 23, 24.

<sup>256</sup> Kazhdan, ODB 3, 1830.

<sup>257</sup> Parani, *The reality of images*, Appendix 2, nos. 43. 47. 48. 51. 52; Flusin, 'Nicolas Mésarités. Éthiopée d'un astrologue', 230–231 and n. 56. Cf. Walter, *Art and ritual*, 17–18.

<sup>258</sup> Drpić, 'Art, hesychasm, and visual exegesis', 32, points to the monastic influence on theology of the period and to the dominance of monks in the church council presided over by John VI in Paris. gr. 1242. See also 14, 364.

<sup>259</sup> Ps.-Kod. 134–142, 148–150, 164–166. See also above, 12–14, for a discussion of his interest in origins of practices.

<sup>260</sup> See the commentary at n. 386.

<sup>261</sup> Kant. I, 188, 10–14. The belief in the Byzantine emperors' descent from Alexander the Great was much older among Muslims. Writing in the eleventh century but drawing

among the Mamluks when he transmits the letter of the sultan that refers to him as 'the sword of the Macedonians'.<sup>262</sup> In his *Universal History* of the early fourteenth century, Rashid al-Din calls the Byzantine emperor the 'ruler of Macedonia', immensely rich and in possession of a large army.<sup>263</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos makes reference to a view of Byzantium held by contemporaries in the Muslim world in order to establish the antiquity and the Roman origin of various garments worn at court, attire that had a distinctly non-Roman appearance. In the fourteenth century even the emperor might wear a turban or a caftan,<sup>264</sup> while the traditional Roman article of clothing, the *chlamys*, all but disappeared.<sup>265</sup>

The adoption of an 'oriental' style of dress was not new in the early fourteenth century. Turbans, *skaranika* and the caftan were already worn at court in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to judge from written and textual evidence.<sup>266</sup> What has changed, according to Parani, is that these articles of clothing predominate in the fourteenth-century court at the expense of more traditional Roman outfits. Parani suggests that the context for this development is the 'empire of Nicaea'.<sup>267</sup> She makes the further point that the change in style was not reversed in 1261, despite the efforts of the first Palaiologan emperors to reconstitute certain aspects of Byzantine ceremonial of the twelfth century.<sup>268</sup>

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on a Muslim writer of the previous century, al-Bakri claimed that the kings of the Greeks and, after them, the kings of Rum inherited from Alexander the seed of horses that had belonged to him. See Wasserstein, 'Byzantium and al-Andalus', 92. Likewise, the *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (§98:114) which records information about diplomatic gifts from the Fatimid period, states that the Byzantine emperor sent al-Mustansir three saddles 'from the saddles of Alexander [the Great]'.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>262</sup> Kant, III, 94.1–17; Korobeinikov, 'Diplomatic correspondence', 61–7.

<sup>263</sup> Ed. Jahn, 21–22.

<sup>264</sup> As Mango ('Discontinuity with the classical past in Byzantium', 51) states: 'It comes as a shock to see the humanist scholar Theodore Metochites decked out in caftan and huge turban like a Turkish pasha'. See commentary n. 356 above. How much more shocking it is, then, for us to imagine the emperor dressed in this fashion. See above, 345–46, for the emperor's attire. However, the combination of turban and caftan was not worn by the court title holders: see the commentary at n. 87.

<sup>265</sup> Alexios I is the last emperor to be depicted wearing the *chlamys* (Vat. gr. 666): Parani, *The reality of images*, pl. 12. In Ps.-Kod. only the 'dignitaries', despots, *sebastokratores* and caesars, are said to wear it. See above 341, and commentary at n. 20.

<sup>266</sup> Parani, 'Cultural identity and dress', 109–110 and n. 49 and Parani, *The reality of images*, 57 n. 27; 60–61 and n. 38 (caftan); 67–68 and plates 77c (turban), 77e (*skaranikon*). For Seljuk forms of domestic architecture among the aristocracy of the Angelos court, see Magdalino, 'Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace', 108–109.

<sup>267</sup> The earliest example of a court official represented wearing *skaranikon* and caftan is Constantine Akropolites, late 13th/early 14th century. See above n. 59.

<sup>268</sup> Parani, 'Cultural identity and dress', 119–120.

This last comment prompts the suggestion that it cannot be a question of a 'return' to twelfth-century modes of court dress in the time after 1261 because what was worn in the fourteenth century, as described by Pseudo-Kodinos, was already worn in the twelfth.<sup>269</sup> Change in court dress can be observed from the reign of Alexios I Komnenos. He was the last emperor to be depicted in a *chlamys*, but also the emperor under whom a new-style crown was adopted, a crown that departed radically in shape from the Roman diadem.<sup>270</sup> A further consideration is that the thirteenth century court in exile is often identified as the place of and time when ceremonies and practices originated because it occupies such an unusual position in the history of the empire. The gap of the thirteenth century, in addition to the existence of a ceremonial book in the fourteenth, the first in four hundred years, creates the impression of innovation and novelty in the early Palaiologan period. What we may be witnessing, instead, is the first surviving articulation of practices of dress and ceremonial that were in place before 1204.

## Conclusion

Pseudo-Kodinos' presentation of the attire of members of the court indicates many differences from earlier times. Some of these differences are lexical, changes in the words used to designate elements of dress: *seia* instead of *prependoulia/ormathoi*, *kabbadion* instead of *skaranikon*, *tamparion* for *chlamys*, *sakkos* for *divetesion*. In other cases, the original meaning of the word has changed. In Pseudo-Kodinos' time *toubia* are ribbons on horses' legs, not leggings; the diadem is a *loros*, not the crown. Other differences are intrinsic to the organisation of the court, that is, to the way in which status at court is signified. A shift has occurred from the garment on the body to the head and the hat. When the emperor bestows a position and title in the fourteenth century he no longer gives also the garment that was an ensign of that office. Now he gives the hat, together with the staff of office and banner. These changes from earlier practice are difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint in time because of the inexorable gap in documentation of court protocol from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries. However, it is argued here that the changes were gradual and underway already from the eleventh century. In Pseudo-Kodinos we see the fourteenth-century expression of those earlier developments.

<sup>269</sup> See the remarks of Jeffreys, 'The vernacular εἰσιτήριοι of Agnes of France', 103.

<sup>270</sup> On the *chlamys* in the 14th c. see Parani, *The reality of images*, 64; above at n. 20.

# Sources for the Study of Ceremonial

Pseudo-Kodinos' text is the first and only surviving work on the ceremonial of the imperial court since the tenth-century works by Philotheos and Constantine VII. While their texts relate to the Great Palace in the southeast corner of the city, Pseudo-Kodinos' is a book on hierarchy and ceremony for the palace at the other end of the city, the Blachernai, which was inhabited with greater frequency from the late eleventh century but continuously from the period after the reconquest of the capital in 1261.<sup>1</sup>

The historian of late Byzantine ceremonial has to come to terms with difficulties common to the study of ceremony at any time and place<sup>2</sup> but also those specific to Pseudo-Kodinos' ceremonial book: that is, the strong influence that the tenth-century *De cerimoniis* exercises on the way in which later ceremonial is understood and perceived. Western medievalists consider students of Byzantium to be in an enviable position for having the *Book of Ceremonies*; in the medieval west extant ceremonial books are late and derive from the courts of Castile, Majorca, Aragon and Burgundy.<sup>3</sup> The *De cerimoniis* is a large text with a reputation that goes even beyond the academic community; the fourteenth-century ceremonial book is a slim work, barely known even to students of Byzantium. The *Book of Ceremonies* has an ascribed author, a learned emperor, Constantine VII, and two prefaces, one for each book. In these much-quoted prefaces Constantine explains the purpose of the work, emphasising the importance of maintaining order in the palace.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, the fourteenth-century work has no known author, no preface, no discussion of the purpose of the work or the circumstances of composition or compilation. Implicitly or explicitly the *Book of Ceremonies* is the model against which all other works are compared.<sup>5</sup>

The historian who tries to write about Byzantine ceremonial from the perspective of the later centuries is caught in a double bind. Any attempt to discuss ceremonial must take into account the *Book of Ceremonies*, yet comparison may be

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<sup>1</sup> See 367–78, for a discussion of the palace and ceremonial spaces. For use of the Blachernai from the 11th century on, see Macrides, 'The citadel of Byzantine Constantinople', 277–304.

<sup>2</sup> See 360–61.

<sup>3</sup> Vale, *The princely court*, 202–207; Paravicini, 'Europäische Hofordnungen als Gattung und Quelle', in Kruse and Paravicini, *Höfe und Hofordnungen*, 14–15.

<sup>4</sup> For Constantine VII as the author of the prefaces and instigator of the compilation, see the Introduction, 1–2 and n. 1; Featherstone, 'Further remarks on the *De cerimoniis*', 113–21.

<sup>5</sup> For this argument see Macrides, 'Ceremonies and the City', 217–35.

misleading. The work of André Grabar is a case in point. In his article of 1971 on the ceremonies of Pseudo-Kodinos,<sup>6</sup> the first to appear on the subject and the only study of its kind until 2007,<sup>7</sup> Grabar stated that one cannot directly compare the two works because their contents do not correspond. He could not avoid or resist direct comparisons, however, and concluded, on the basis of those comparisons, that Pseudo-Kodinos' work provides evidence of the 'impoverishment' of the content of the ceremonies.<sup>8</sup>

The *Book of Ceremonies* shapes expectations and judgments about other ceremonial works but any comparison with Pseudo-Kodinos must be based on a sound knowledge of both texts. However, the *Book of Ceremonies* is only now the object of intensive scholarly attention, with a new edition in preparation with commentary, an English translation and numerous studies.<sup>9</sup> Although its compilatory nature and its sources of differing dates had been recognised and already identified by Bury,<sup>10</sup> the extent to which the ceremonies collected in it were in practice in Constantine VII's time is still under discussion and revision.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Pseudo-Kodinos' work, although ostensibly a 'book of ceremonies' is a text that differs a great deal from the *Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>12</sup> Until these differences are made explicit, all comparisons will give a distorted picture of the ceremonies of the imperial court both in the tenth and in the fourteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

Beyond the difficulties that arise from modern perceptions of late Byzantine ceremonial, are the problems common to the study of ceremony at any time or place. Ceremonial books are composed of protocols which, because of their pervasive use of the present tense, are timeless; they are therefore thought to provide prescriptions for what should take place rather than descriptions of

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<sup>6</sup> Grabar, 'Pseudo-Codinos et les cérémonies de la cour byzantine', 195–221, here at 196–97.

<sup>7</sup> Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 1–14.

<sup>8</sup> Grabar, 'Pseudo-Codinos et les cérémonies de la cour byzantine', 201.

<sup>9</sup> Reiske edited the entire work in one volume. Vogt, *Le livre des cérémonies*, published book I only, with French translation and commentary. All references here are to the Reiske edition. The English translation by Moffatt and Tall, is based on the Reiske edition and page numbers. A new edition with commentary is under preparation by G. Dagron, B. Flusin and J. Haldon.

<sup>10</sup> Bury, 'The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos', 209–27, 417–39.

<sup>11</sup> Featherstone, 'De cerimoniis and the Great Palace', 171–72.

<sup>12</sup> Mullett's formulation, 'I take the view that every text changes the genre in which it is written' seems apt in this context also. See Mullett, 'Novelisation in Byzantium: narrative after the revival of fiction', 5.

<sup>13</sup> Macrides, 'Ceremonies and the City', 217–35.



what is taking place.<sup>14</sup> The historian has the difficult and often impossible task of distinguishing prescription from description.<sup>15</sup>

Another difficulty, that of reconstructing ceremonies from protocols and other written sources, derives from the discrepancy between the nature of the sources, which are textual, and the nature of ceremony, which is performative.<sup>16</sup> A protocol may be based on one performance of a ceremony or on an amalgamation of several performances. Once it is written down, it is frozen in time. Yet, no two performances of a ceremony are alike and no single performance is likely to have been the same as the version preserved in the protocol.

The question of continuity or change in practice over time is another area of concern in ceremony studies. Descriptions of ceremonial in Byzantine narrative sources are few and far between, making it impossible to learn when a ceremony had its origins, whether it continued to be performed, whether changes occurred to it and when. Indeed, authors of narrative accounts mention ceremonies only when something out of the ordinary occurs.<sup>17</sup> It is the extraordinary that attracts the attention of the author, while that which is usual might be mentioned only in passing, if at all. Ceremonial practices can therefore go unrecorded for centuries. In addition, the phrase, 'as is the custom',<sup>18</sup> is difficult to construe when it is attached to a practice not otherwise attested or one that has not been mentioned for hundreds of years. Different authors report the same ceremonial performance in different ways, making it difficult to establish who the participants were and how it was carried out. Furthermore, continuity in practice or in material culture can be obfuscated by a change in vocabulary by authors writing at different times or even contemporary with each other. New words appear in the written record to describe items of dress and ceremonies that may be older.<sup>19</sup> Old words are used with new meanings.<sup>20</sup>

The hiatus brought about by the Latin conquest of 1204 creates a void in our knowledge of ceremonial life in the Byzantine empire. Little is known about the ceremonial life of the empires of Nicaea and Trebizond<sup>21</sup> and even

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<sup>14</sup> With respect to Pseudo-Kodinos, see 13–14.

<sup>15</sup> The *Book of Ceremonies* contains both timeless protocols and reports of ceremonies that took place and have preserved names and dates. Some of the latter are 5th–6th c., from the collection of Peter the Patrician; others are from the 10th c. For the former see Sode, 'Sammeln und exzerptieren in der Zeit Konstantins VII. Porphyrogennetos', 161–76; for the latter, see Featherstone, 'ΔΙ'ΕΝΔΕΙΞΙΝ: display in court ceremonial (*De ceremoniis* II, 15) 75–112.

<sup>16</sup> Howe, *Ceremonial culture in pre-modern Europe*, 3.

<sup>17</sup> McCormick, 'Analyzing imperial ceremonies', 8.

<sup>18</sup> See below, 362.

<sup>19</sup> See the discussion of 'pyramids', *skaranikon*, *kabalikeuma*, *prokypsis*, *peripatos*.

<sup>20</sup> See at 358.

<sup>21</sup> See 263 n. 769, 406 n. 90, for Panaretos on ceremonial at Trebizond.



less about the practices of the Komneno-Doukai in Thessalonike and Epiros.<sup>22</sup> George Akropolites makes some passing references to ceremonial at the empire of Nicaea and Pachymeres gives a description of Theodore II's reception of the Tatars.<sup>23</sup> The gap in the evidence created by the 57 years of the Latin occupation of Constantinople has created a tendency to label anything that appears in the sources for the first time after 1204 or 1261 as 'Latin' influence.<sup>24</sup> When ceremonies are mentioned for the first time after 1261, it is impossible to determine how long they had been in existence. The *prostagma* of 1272 of Michael VIII for his son is a central text in this respect. A unique document, a protocol issued by Michael for his newly crowned son,<sup>25</sup> it outlines how he should conduct himself both when he is in Constantinople with his father and when he is away. The court officials are to wear their customary attire and carry their staffs when they celebrate the Lord's feast days; the *prokypseis* and the *peripatos* are to be performed; the *skouterios* is to carry the emperor's spear and shield; the *megas domestikos* is to carry the emperor's sword and to serve him at table; the Varangians, paramonai and Vardariots are to accompany him in his riding out to receive petitions; trumpets and other horns are to sound. The *prostagma* mentions a number of practices never attested before, yet the word 'custom' or 'customary' is used three times. How long had the *megas domestikos* had these ceremonial functions? When did the emperor begin to perform the *prokypsis* and the *peripatos*?<sup>26</sup> The inclination to believe that these regulations were not new but were already in place before Michael's reign and perhaps before 1204 is strengthened by this emperor's self-identification as the 'New Constantine', a restorer of Constantinople to its pre-1204 appearance and working order. Not only do the orations addressed to him by Manuel Holobolos in the 1260s attest to his programme of renewal and restoration, but also many other sources show his efforts to return to the twelfth century situation.<sup>27</sup> Yet how can ceremonial practices that appear to be new but are said to be 'customary' be identified with earlier practice when neither the name of the ceremony nor evidence for its performance appears in earlier sources?

<sup>22</sup> Akrop. (§21:34.10–12) says of the emperor Theodore Komnenos Doukas that 'he did not understand hierarchy or protocol or the many ancient customs which have been established in the palaces'.

<sup>23</sup> Akrop. §52: 102.8–12 (entry into Nymphaion for Palm Sunday); §53: 105.20–21 (raising on the shield); §63: 133.24–27 (standing position next to emperor); §67: 139.25–140.1 (dismissal of ambassadors); §60: 124.1–24 (promotions); §84: 175.26–176.8 (Christmas and Epiphany at the Bulgarian court); §88: 187.1–188.3 (entry into Constantinople, 1261). Pach. I, 187–89 (embassy of the Tatars to Theodore II).

<sup>24</sup> See the cautionary remarks of Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 174.

<sup>25</sup> See 428–29 for a discussion of the context of this document.

<sup>26</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 37–9.

<sup>27</sup> Talbot, 'The restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII', 243–61; Macrides, 'The New Constantine and the New Constantinople – 1261?', 13–41.

The accounts of foreign visitors to Constantinople can contribute to better knowledge of ceremonial. The writings of these travellers preserve their perceptions and observations, comments on aspects of ceremonial, such as buildings, costume and practices that the Byzantine subjects of the emperor took for granted and therefore mentioned rarely, if at all. The question arises, however, as to the degree to which the comments of the foreigners are based on their own observations or are dependent on what they heard or on the written accounts of earlier travellers.<sup>28</sup>

Of the travellers' accounts Ibn Battuta's is the closest to Pseudo-Kodinos' work. He visited Constantinople in 1332 or 1334<sup>29</sup> in the company of the daughter of the emperor Andronikos III and had an audience before that emperor. He reports the reception of the travelling party upon arrival in Constantinople, his own audience before the emperor in the palace and his discussion with the 'father' of the emperor. He describes monuments, dress of members of the imperial family and musical instruments.

Ibn Battuta is the only traveller to Constantinople in the late Byzantine period to give an account of the palace's appearance, namely the interior of a hall in an unnamed palace where he was received by the emperor after a procedure that took him through four gateways and porticoes. Finally, accompanied by four men, he came to 'a large audience-hall, whose walls were of mosaic work, in which were pictured figures of creatures, both animate and inanimate. In the centre of it was a water-channel with trees on either side of it...'.<sup>30</sup> This account is reminiscent of Liudprand's depiction of his reception in the Great Palace in the tenth century. Liudprand and other authors who evoke a Byzantine reception at courts, western and eastern, make a feature of the seemingly endless succession of spaces through which the ambassadors moved, the mounting anticipation, the inaccessibility of the ruler.<sup>31</sup> Ibn Battuta's description of his reception as well as his delineation of the audience hall may owe more to earlier descriptions of the Great Palace than to his own experience in the Blachernai. Like all travellers, he also gathered information about the places he visited from others. His description of the palace

<sup>28</sup> Robert of Clari is a case in point. Although he spent years in Constantinople, his description of the city, both in the organisation of material and its content, owes less to personal observation than to what 'the Greeks say'. See Macrides, 'Constantinople: the crusaders' gaze', 193–212.

<sup>29</sup> Ed. Gibb, 502–514. The date is uncertain. See the discussion by Micheau, 'Ibn Battuta à Constantinople la Grande', 57–8. It has also been pointed out that Ibn Battuta makes errors of identification. He confuses the relationship of the reigning emperor and his predecessor, calling them father and son, and refers to Andronikos II as George. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos*, 52 n.4, 67–8, accepts Ibn Battuta's account as the report of a journey he undertook. Puech, 'Constantinople au 14e siècle vue par Ibn Battuta', 305–321, sees in most of the account a reflection of the 14th c. Constantinopolitan reality.

<sup>30</sup> Ed. Gibb, II, 505.

<sup>31</sup> Shepard, 'Byzantine diplomacy, A.D. 800–1204: means and ends', 57–8.

of his reception could have been taken from another author and pertain to the Great Palace of an earlier period.<sup>32</sup>

Visual representations are a source of knowledge about ceremonial and Palaiologan art, in particular, has been singled out as exceptional in its attention to realia.<sup>33</sup> Palaiologan frescoes and illuminations show details of court practice and dress, as well as ceremonies themselves. The Lincoln Typikon represents court title holders from the early fourteenth century in their court attire.<sup>34</sup> (Pl. 7, 22) The Chora monastery church depicts saints wearing courtly dress<sup>35</sup> and tomb paintings representing men and women of the court in their attire. (Pl. 3, 8, 14) An illumination in Paris. gr. 1242 shows John VI presiding over a church council, usually identified with that of 1351; it contains distinctive features of court dress and ceremony known also from Pseudo-Kodinos.<sup>36</sup> (Pl. 2) The fourteenth-century frescoes at Cozia, Wallachia, represent scenes from the Lenten presence of the icon of the Hodegetria at the palace.<sup>37</sup> The Palaiologan convention of presenting group portraits of the imperial family is, it has been suggested, related to the appearance of the emperor with his son(s) on the *prokypsis*.<sup>38</sup> Yet, although it may be the case that Palaiologan art is exceptional in representing reality, visual representations do not present the whole record. To take only one example, the Byzantine emperor had a variety of headpieces from which to choose, according to the ceremonial books,<sup>39</sup> yet he is invariably depicted in his crown. It is not until Pisanello drew John VIII Palaiologos that a Byzantine emperor was shown in other headgear.<sup>40</sup>

Vat. gr. 1851 has a central place in the discussion of ceremonial. The dating of the manuscript and its illuminations is important for the study of Pseudo-Kodinos

<sup>32</sup> Ed. Gibb, 505–506. On Ibn Battuta's combination of personal observation and information received from people he met on his travels, see Allouche, 'A study of Ibn Battuta's account of his 726/1326 journey through Syria and Arabia', 283–99.

<sup>33</sup> Asserted by Grabar, 'Pseudo-Kodinos et les cérémonies de la cour byzantine au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle', 203.

<sup>34</sup> Hutter, 'Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikons', 79–114; Spatharakis, *The portrait*, 190–206.

<sup>35</sup> Nelson, 'Heavenly allies at the Chora', 6–7, and 'Visual narrative and the political field of the Kariye Camii', 62: 'the plausibility of the mosaics depends upon their fidelity to such imperial ceremonies'.

<sup>36</sup> The cross sceptre and *akakia*, the double-headed eagle, the official standing by the throne to the emperor's left, holding the emperor's sword hilt upwards. Parani, *The reality of images*, 146–48, argues that the practice of holding the sword hilt upwards derives from ceremonial, from the *prokypsis*.

<sup>37</sup> See Babić, 'L'iconographie constantinopolitaine de l'Acatiste de la Vierge à Cozia (Valachie)', 173–89.

<sup>38</sup> Bryer, 'Greek historians on the Turks: the case of the first Byzantine-Ottoman marriage', 483, suggests that the late Byzantine portrait group representing the imperial family is the pictorial equivalent of the *prokypsis*.

<sup>39</sup> See the commentary at 138.1–4.

<sup>40</sup> Evans, *Byzantium: faith and power*, cat. no. 319–21, pp. 532–35.

because the manuscript is either the earliest attestation (twelfth century) of many features found in the ceremonial book or it reflects aspects of court dress and ceremonial known also from Pseudo-Kodinos. See Table III. This illustrated manuscript that celebrates the marriage of a foreign bride to a *porphyrogennetos* and is known as the 'Eisiterioi' or 'Epithalamion', has been dated on palaeographical and historical grounds variously to the twelfth, thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. A key to the dating of the manuscript is the identification of the bride. Three candidates have been suggested: Agnes-Anna of France, daughter of Louis VII, married to Alexios II, son of Manuel I Komnenos, in 1179;<sup>41</sup> the Hungarian princess Anna married to Andronikos II in 1274;<sup>42</sup> Maria-Kyratza of Bulgaria, married to John V's son Andronikos IV in 1356.<sup>43</sup> Michael Jeffreys and Maria Parani indicate that they favour a twelfth-century date. It is their view that the *realia* reflect twelfth-century practices and that 'strong visual clues link the elder emperor in the manuscript with Manuel I'.<sup>44</sup>

The architectural setting of ceremonies is central to the study of ceremonial. The spaces of the Blachernai palace are, however, hardly known. They can be reconstructed only from Pseudo-Kodinos' descriptions and some scattered references in the narrative accounts of the early fourteenth century. One building, the so-called Tekfur Saray, which has been identified with the 'palace of the Porphyrogennetos', still stands. It is the best example of secular architecture remaining in Constantinople, but its relationship to the palace complex to the north is unknown.<sup>45</sup> It contributes to an understanding of the Blachernai palace inhabited by the late Byzantine emperors inasmuch as it is a single block, multi-storey building with a courtyard and an extensive balcony on the façade facing the city. Thus it is a structural type that has been suggested for the ceremonies described by Pseudo-Kodinos.<sup>46</sup> (Pl. 23)

<sup>41</sup> Jeffreys, 'The vernacular εἰσιτήριοι for Agnes of France', 101–115; Hilsdale, 'Constructing a Byzantine *Augusta*: a Greek book for a French bride', 128–54.

<sup>42</sup> Strzygowski, 'Das Epithalamion des Paläologen Andronikos II', 546–67; Iacobini, 'La memoria del presente', 279–96.

<sup>43</sup> Hennessy, 'A child bride and her representation in the Vatican *Epithalamion*, cod. Gr. 1851', 115–150.

<sup>44</sup> M. Jeffreys and M. Parani, personal communication. They are preparing a monograph on the manuscript.

<sup>45</sup> Most scholars accept the identification of the Tekfur Saray with the 'house of the Porphyrogennetos' known from Kantakouzenos' history. See references at 373. Statements by Kant. (II, 138.6–7; II, 607.11–13; III, 290.15–16) indicate that the house of the Porphyrogennetos was not the palace in his time. Cf. Asutay-Effenberger, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel-Istanbul*, 134–42.

<sup>46</sup> See 367–78 for a discussion of the palace of the ceremonies.

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# The Palace of the Ceremonies

Two palaces are the sites of ceremonies in Pseudo-Kodinos, the Great Palace and the Blachernai, and each palace has its own official, the *prokathemenos*, listed in the hierarchical catalogue of court title holders.<sup>1</sup> In the protocols of the ceremonies, the Great Palace is mentioned once: the emperor sleeps there the night before his coronation in Hagia Sophia and he spends the night of his coronation there, after a banquet.<sup>2</sup> On the following day he goes to the ‘other palace’ and there distributes gold coins to the court title holders.<sup>3</sup> The festivities continue for several days.

The ‘other palace’, the Blachernai,<sup>4</sup> in the northwest corner of the city, diametrically opposite the Great Palace, is never identified by name in the description of ceremonies. Indeed, that the Blachernai is the site of Pseudo-Kodinos’ ceremonies can only be inferred from references in two passages to ‘the icon of the great martyr George’ in the courtyard.<sup>5</sup> The courtyard of the icon can be identified as the courtyard of the Blachernai palace only from Nikephoros Gregoras, who relates an incident from the reign of Andronikos II.<sup>6</sup>

Each palace has its own ‘book of ceremonies’ and, as neither palace has been extensively excavated,<sup>7</sup> it remains to the armchair archaeologist to reconstruct the palaces through texts. Yet, until now, although the *De cerimoniis* has been the object of intensive study in an effort to build up a picture of the Great Palace, little to no attention has been paid to Pseudo-Kodinos for the Blachernai. If anything, it has been assumed that the palaces were similar in layout and appearance. The differing degrees of interest shown in the palaces’ reconstruction can be attributed to two reasons: the relatively late date at which the Blachernai became the main

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<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Kod. 30.38–39.

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Kod. 210. 3–5, 236.1–3.

<sup>3</sup> Ps.-Kod. 238.3–5, 240.2–5. For the pattern of use of both palaces before the Palaiologoi, see Macrides, ‘The citadel of Byzantine Constantinople’, 281, 289–90.

<sup>4</sup> Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 128–30; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, 223–24, map p. 302; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 124–30; Schneider, ‘Die Blachernen’, 99–101; Runciman, ‘Blachernae Palace and its decoration’, 277–83.

<sup>5</sup> Ps.-Kod. 174.6–7, 238.5–10.

<sup>6</sup> See below, 369.

<sup>7</sup> The Great Palace excavations took place in 1935–1938 and 1952–1955. See Brett, Martiny and Stevenson, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine empire*; Talbot Rice, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors. Second Report*. For the Blachernai see Diremtekin, ‘Les fouilles dans la région des Blachernes’, 8–31.

residence of the emperors of Constantinople, the thirteenth century, after 1204,<sup>8</sup> and the nature of the ceremonial texts themselves. The *De ceremoniis* serves the archaeologist-historian much better than Pseudo-Kodinos does; it provides the names of many buildings and places in the Great Palace and thus contributes to reconstruction attempts.<sup>9</sup> By contrast, Pseudo-Kodinos mentions few proper names. In his text there are no traces of the four halls named in the *Book of Ceremonies*, built from the late fifth century on to accommodate the emperor and his court officials when they came to celebrate feast days in honour of the Theotokos in the neighbouring church of the Blachernitissa.<sup>10</sup> Rather he uses generic labels to designate the spaces in which the ceremonies take place: *triklinos* (hall), *ekklesia* (church), *kellion-ia* (bedchamber[s], apartment[s]), *aule* (courtyard).<sup>11</sup>

A sign of the difference in the palace layout of the two palaces, the Great Palace and the Blachernai, is the greater emphasis put on the courtyard by Pseudo-Kodinos. Of the rooms and spaces mentioned by him it is the courtyard that receives the greatest attention. The Vardariots guard the gate of the courtyard.<sup>12</sup> Access to the courtyard on horseback is limited to a chosen few, the emperor and his family, and also the patriarch after his promotion.<sup>13</sup> Special mounting and dismounting areas are specified for the emperor and family members: the *tetrastylon*, a 'well-known' place in the courtyard, marked the spot where the *sebastokrator* and the caesar dismounted.<sup>14</sup> Its name suggests a monument with four columns. The *pezeuma*, the emperor's dismounting area, was deeper within the courtyard.<sup>15</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos also makes reference to the fourth and fifth section of the courtyard. The latter may have been demarcated by special markings on the ground or pavement of the courtyard.<sup>16</sup>

The courtyard functioned as an extension of the palace where the same hierarchical considerations applied. It was the venue for the 'daily reception' of the palace guards and soldiers. While the court title holders held their receptions

<sup>8</sup> See Macrides, 'Ceremonies and the city', 217–35, for a discussion of the poor reception of Palaiologan Byzantium by historians and the attendant lack of interest in Pseudo-Kodinos. For the Blachernai as the 'main residence', see Macrides 'The citadel of Byzantine Constantinople'.

<sup>9</sup> Bardill, 'Visualizing the Great Palace', 5–48. For a diagram showing the rooms and their relative positions, see Bardill, fig. 1, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> These are the Holy *Soros*, the *Anastasiakos*, the *Danoubios*, the *Okeanos*: Reiske, 148.20–21, 149.9–10, 152.16, 21–2, 154.4, 155.6–7, 542.15–16, 17, 543.4, 20, 759.7–8; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 124–25.

<sup>11</sup> *triklinos*: 116.11; *kellion*: 116.6, 118.8, 170.20; *ekklesia*: 124.23, 132.3, 168.7, 170.14, *aule*: 132.12, 142.2, 168.4.

<sup>12</sup> Ps.-Kod. 100.1–2.

<sup>13</sup> See 389 and n.73.

<sup>14</sup> See 384, 389.

<sup>15</sup> See the commentary at 74.7.

<sup>16</sup> See 390.

inside the palace, in the *triklinos*, each of the palace guard units stood in rank outside, during the chanting of hymns for matins, the liturgy and vespers.<sup>17</sup> The courtyard<sup>18</sup> was also the scene of the *prokypsis* performance on 25 December and 6 January and of the *peripatos* on Palm Sunday. Special structures, known by the name of the ceremonies that took place on them, were used on these feast days. The *prokypsis*, an 'outdoor platform' on four columns, stood in the courtyard. The *peripatos*, a raised walkway on the outside of the palace facing the courtyard, connected the emperor's apartments to the palace church.<sup>19</sup>

The courtyard, the setting of ceremonies in Pseudo-Kodinos' text, is the part of the palace about which Pseudo-Kodinos is most specific; in it he identifies structures and objects by proper name. These names provide the key to the identification of the palace itself and some of its buildings.<sup>20</sup> The icon of St George and the chapel of the Virgin 'the Victory-Bringer' are in the courtyard.<sup>21</sup> Both icon and chapel are known also from Nikephoros Gregoras who transmits a story about the icon. The Latin emperor Baldwin II (1228–1261) heard St George's horse neigh on the eve of the recovery of the city by Michael VIII in 1261. Years later Andronikos II also heard the same horse. In his account Gregoras situates the icon of St George 'in front of the chapel of the Virgin Nikopoios' and states that it was made 'of old' by 'the excellent artist Paul'.<sup>22</sup>

The reference to the artist Paul makes it possible to date the icon and the building on which it was attached or painted. Paul of Otranto is attested as the painter of the fountain at the Evergetis monastery in Constantinople and thus was certainly alive in the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, the chapel and the icon painted or affixed on its exterior and facing the courtyard, were part of the palace buildings that were extant during the Latin occupation of the city. When

<sup>17</sup> Ps.-Kod. 100.2–3 with 96.5–8; also 168.1–4 (Epiphany); 178.2–4 (vigils).

<sup>18</sup> According to Gregoras' description of the *prokypseis* of 1341/2 (II, 617.8–9), the people (ὁ ὄμιλος) were present in large numbers.

<sup>19</sup> Ps.-Kod. 170.13–18. A similar arrangement, a raised walkway, can be found in other medieval palaces. A (covered) walkway also connected the Great Palace (Chalke) to Hagia Sophia (south gallery). See Mango, *The Brazen House*, 87–91. See also, 411–13, for the *peripatos* at the Great Palace, an outdoor elevated walkway.

<sup>20</sup> See above, 367.

<sup>21</sup> Ps.-Kod. 174.6–7, 14, 238.6–7. The *ekklesia* is to be distinguished from the chapel (εὐκτηρίον: Gregoras I, 304.10) of the Virgin Nikopoios, in the palace courtyard, and from the Blachernitissa, outside the palace, in the neighbourhood (Ps.-Kod. 196.10: ναὸς τῶν Βλαχερνῶν). The Latins appointed clerics to the 'church of St Mary' at Blachernai. See Van Tricht, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium*, 257, 310.

<sup>22</sup> Greg. I, 303.11–308.22 here at 304.8–12. See also Costanza, 'Nitriti come segni Profetici', 1–24. The story incidentally gives evidence for Baldwin II's occupation of the Blachernai. See note 25 below.

<sup>23</sup> The identification was made by Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 1–6. See also, Magdalino, with L. Rodley, 'The Evergetis fountain in the early thirteenth century: an *ekphrasis* of the paintings in the cupola', 432–46.



Michael VIII captured Constantinople, he initiated repairs to the palace and took up residence there from the 1260s.<sup>24</sup> The palace that he, like Baldwin II<sup>25</sup> before him, occupied had at its core the courtyard with icon and chapel.<sup>26</sup>

More is known about this courtyard from other authors. It was in the courtyard that Andronikos II built or rebuilt a palace building for which he is given credit by Nikephoros Xanthopoulos in the encomiastic preface to his *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>27</sup> Andronikos' building was used to imprison John VI's mother, Theodora, when the regency government of Anne of Savoy and John V took control.<sup>28</sup> It was from this building 'in the midst of the courtyard' that she heard the crowds at Christmas and Epiphany 1341/2 acclaim John V and revile her son.<sup>29</sup> The structure in the courtyard, the 'outdoor platform' on which John V appeared on these feast days was a construction that Xanthopoulos also attributes to Andronikos II.<sup>30</sup>

It seems, therefore, that the courtyard with the twelfth-century icon and chapel, the setting for several ceremonies described by Pseudo-Kodinos,<sup>31</sup> was the courtyard of the palace occupied by the Palaiologan emperors from Michael VIII's time on. It is, however, not clear whether John VI Kantakouzenos also lived in buildings of the palace that looked onto the same courtyard. When he came to the palace to take up residence, after the civil war, as Gregoras relates, he found the best rooms occupied by Anne of Savoy<sup>32</sup> and her son. He allowed them to continue to live in those rooms, while he inhabited some others 'next to the large *triklinos* of Alexios of old', the hall built by Alexios I Komnenos.<sup>33</sup> The

<sup>24</sup> Pach. I, 219.5–6; Greg. I, 87.23; 88.12–16; Zepos, *Jus*, I, 665. Michael was using the palace by 1265 at the latest. It was then that he held a synod in a hall of that palace, the *Alexiakos*, and that the patriarch Arsenios came on horse to the Blachernai to meet with the emperor (at the end of his second patriarchate, 1261–1265). See Pach. II, 341.23–45.12; 344 n.1; for the date, see Failler, 'Chronologie et composition dans l'Histoire de Georges Pachymère', 157–64; cf. Tinnefeld, 'Der Blachernenpalast in Schriftquellen der Palaiologenzeit', 278 and n. 10.

<sup>25</sup> Although the Latin emperors made use of both palaces, several references associate Baldwin II particularly with the Blachernai palace. See Macrides, 'The citadel of Byzantine Constantinople', 281 and n. 28.

<sup>26</sup> Gregoras' story shows that Michael VIII's predecessor, Baldwin II, and successor, Andronikos II, lived in this part of the palace. By inference, Michael VIII did also. Indeed, this 'part' of the palace may have been the whole of the Blachernai palace from the twelfth century on. See below, 371.

<sup>27</sup> PG 145, col. 585CD; Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 13–14.

<sup>28</sup> Kant. II, 164.20–165.1: 'the house built by the first Andronikos'.

<sup>29</sup> Greg. II, 616.16–617.9.

<sup>30</sup> PG 145, col. 585B; Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 13.

<sup>31</sup> Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis* and Palm Sunday *peripatos*: 226.22–228.3; Distribution of gold coins after coronation: 271.6–10.

<sup>32</sup> Both Greg. II, 711.6–9 and Kant. II, 202.20 refer to the *gynaikonitis* during Anne's regency, implying that there was a women's quarter in the palace.

<sup>33</sup> Greg. II, 783.24–784.10.

relationship of Kantakouzenos' part of the palace to that occupied by Anne and John V cannot be determined with certainty. However, the Alexiakos *triklinos* had been the venue of synods convened by Michael VIII and Andronikos II in 1265 and 1294, as also under Kantakouzenos in 1351.<sup>34</sup> Since Michael VIII used both the Alexiakos *triklinos* and, one can infer, the courtyard with chapel and icon, these would appear to be among the buildings he restored in 1261. Another *triklinos* that could have been used by Anne of Savoy and her son John V or by John VI is the one built by Manuel I.<sup>35</sup> These structures, the Alexiakos *triklinos* and Manuel's *triklinos*, together with the courtyard and chapel, may indeed have constituted the whole of the Blachernai palace, despite Robert of Clari's description of a vast sprawling complex of '200 chambers or 300', a description that is formulaic and, one suspects, owes more to hearsay than to observation.<sup>36</sup> It can be said with certainty, however, that the courtyard, which appears so frequently in the sources of the period, was the space around which many, if not all, of the Comnenian buildings stood.<sup>37</sup> The late Byzantine emperors, including John VI, resided in and made use of Comnenian buildings. It is in this palace that Pseudo-Kodinos' ceremonies took place.

Descriptions of the palace from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries give height as a defining characteristic of the Comnenian buildings. Manuel Komnenos' *triklinos* was 'built on the hill of the Blachernai'. Another one of his structures is said to be 'exceedingly tall'.<sup>38</sup> Odo of Deuil who was in Constantinople on the second crusade, speaks of the views from the palace: [it] affords its inhabitants the triple pleasure of looking out upon sea, fields, and city'.<sup>39</sup> At the time of the fourth crusade, Villehardouin referred to the Blachernai as the 'high palace'.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, descriptions of emperors inside the palace highlight their viewing, from above, scenes outside. Constantine IX Monomachos sat 'in a projecting chamber of the palace' looking out onto the siege of the usurper Leo Tornikios.<sup>41</sup> Alexios III looked 'from above' onto the body of the usurper John Komnenos the Fat, displayed below at the south gate of the palace.<sup>42</sup> The same emperor

<sup>34</sup> Pach. II, 339.23–341.1; 343.28–29 (1265); III, 209.26–211.7 (1294); Greg. II, 898.4–9.

<sup>35</sup> Chon. 206.48–49; Benjamin of Tudela, 13; Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 4–5.

<sup>36</sup> Ed. and trans. Noble, §83, p. 102–3. See Macrides, 'Constantinople: the crusaders' gaze', 193–212.

<sup>37</sup> For the Komnenoi and the Blachernai palace see Magdalino, 'Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace', 101–114.

<sup>38</sup> Chon. 544.12–13; Magdalino and Nelson, 'The emperor in Byzantine art of the twelfth century', 140–142.

<sup>39</sup> Ed. Berry, 64–5.

<sup>40</sup> Ed. Faral, I, §182: 184.

<sup>41</sup> Psellos, II, vi.109.1–4 (p. 21).

<sup>42</sup> Chon. 527.71–528.73–80.

observed a battle in 1203: 'he sat as a spectator to the action in the exceedingly tall buildings'.<sup>43</sup> Michael VIII celebrated his last triumph, that of 1281 over the forces of Charles of Anjou, by viewing from the palace above a procession of prisoners passing before him below on horseback.<sup>44</sup>

These texts give the impression of a palace that functions as much as a stronghold, protecting the emperor and those surrounding him, as it does a residence. Indeed, Isaac II planned to build a tower at the palace 'both as a defence for the palace, as he said, and support, as well as a habitation for him'.<sup>45</sup> Fourteenth-century accounts refer to the palace as a 'fortress' and a 'castle'. This designation reflects the appearance of the palace, its structure and the walls surrounding it, but also the context in which the authors were writing: the attempts of insecure new rulers to secure the fortress-palace.<sup>46</sup>

The descriptions show that the palace of the twelfth century was completely different in appearance and layout from the Great Palace with its low buildings, open spaces and gardens. The Comnenian palace buildings were tall palaces of the single block type, 'more akin to the châteaux of western royalty than to the residences of their ... late-antique ancestors'.<sup>47</sup> Two extant thirteenth-century examples of this type are the three-storey palace of the Laskarioi at Nymphaion in Anatolia<sup>48</sup> (Pl. 22) and the so-called Tekfur Saray, a Palaiologan building.<sup>49</sup> (Pl. 23) The palace at Trebizond likewise presents an example of a fortified palace. Bessarion's description emphasises the security and height of the palace's position on the acropolis, and the strength of the walls.<sup>50</sup> While the palace at Nymphaion had been considered to be the earliest example of the type, it is now recognised that Romanos Lekapenos' palace at the Myrelaion in Constantinople was a precedent and that middle Byzantine domestic architecture from the Peloponnese

<sup>43</sup> Chon. 544.9–13.

<sup>44</sup> Pach. II, 651.8–24.

<sup>45</sup> Chon. 442.38–44.

<sup>46</sup> Kant. II, 611.21–22; Greg. III 242.23.

<sup>47</sup> Ćurčić, 'Late medieval fortified palaces in the Balkans', 21.

<sup>48</sup> Çağatay, 'How western is it?', 357–62; Buchwald, 'Laskarid architecture', 264–68.

<sup>49</sup> Mango, 'Tekfur Sarayı', ODB 3, 2021–22; Bouras, 'Architecture in Constantinople in the thirteenth century', 105–112; Ćurčić, 'Late medieval fortified palaces in the Balkans: security and survival', 11–18; Ahunbay, 'Tekfur Saray. Istanbul, Turkey', in Ćurčić and Hadjistryphonos, eds., *Secular medieval architecture*, 248–51. Asutay-Effenberger, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel-Istanbul*, 134–42, argues that the Tekfur Saray, generally identified with the 'house of the Porphyrogenetos', was the imperial residence from the mid 14th c. If, however, the Tekfur Saray is to be identified with the 'house of the Porphyrogenetos', the palace in which Kantakouzenos, but also Anne of Savoy and John V, lived was distinct and separate from the latter. Kantakouzenos (II, 607.18–20), in his description of his entry into the city at the end of the civil war, distinguishes between the two.

<sup>50</sup> Lampros, 'Βησσαρίωνος ἐγκώμιον', 188.17–31; Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, 184–85.

and Cappadocia provides examples of the block-type houses of long and narrow proportions, arranged around a courtyard.<sup>51</sup>

Of these palaces it is the Tekfur Saray that gives evidence for a 'loggia of appearance'. It was from such a space that the emperors of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries looked out and down onto scenes outside the palace. On the eastern side of the main wing of the Tekfur Saray, facing the city, are the remains of a large balcony, high above the ground, supported on marble corbels and accessed through a door flanked by a pair of windows.<sup>52</sup>

The courtyard – a feature of the Tekfur Saray and other Palaiologan palaces<sup>53</sup> – at the Blachernai housed not only the chapel of the Virgin 'Nikopoios' and the *prokypsis* structure but also the building that held the *triklinos*, imperial apartments and church, as well as other buildings. Of the latter only the 'house' built or rebuilt by Andronikos II is mentioned; it served as a place of imprisonment for him and, later, for Theodora, mother of John VI Kantakouzenos.<sup>54</sup> To humiliate Andronikos II, his grandson Andronikos III permitted washerwomen to come into the courtyard of the palace 'whenever they wished to wash the garments of whomever they wished with running water'. Asses, horses, cows and hens of the neighbourhood were likewise allowed to roam at will in this courtyard.<sup>55</sup> One presumes that it was in the same courtyard that Nikephoros Gregoras waited years later, in 1351, under the midday sun, to be admitted to the synodal deliberations held in the Alexiakos *triklinos*. In that courtyard he spent the time pacing up and down in deep discussion, 'just like the Socratics in the Academy of old'.<sup>56</sup> At the end of the twelfth century the emperor Alexios III had used the courtyard of the Blachernai to put on a theatrical show for his newly-wed daughters and sons-in-law. As it was carnival time he staged mock horse races and gymnastic contests before an audience of the imperial family and close servants.<sup>57</sup>

Nothing is known of the location of the archives, the mint and treasury.<sup>58</sup> It seems that, just as in the Great Palace there was a law court, the 'covered Hippodrome'

<sup>51</sup> Ousterhout, 'The oecumenical character of Byzantine architecture: the view from Cappadocia', 211–32; Çağaptay, 'How western is it?', 359–60 and fig. 4.

<sup>52</sup> Ćurčić, 'Late medieval fortified palaces', 16 and figs. 71, 7b.

<sup>53</sup> Bouras, 'Palace of the despots, Mistra, Greece', in Ćurčić and Hadjityrphonos, eds., *Secular medieval architecture*, 242, gives as a measurement for the courtyard at Mistra ca 2500 sq.m.; Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine fortifications*, 64–5.

<sup>54</sup> Kant. II, 164.20–165.2; Greg. II, 617.6–7 (Theodora); Greg. I, 431.14–432.5 (Andronikos).

<sup>55</sup> Greg. I, 431.14–432.3.

<sup>56</sup> Greg. II, 896.15–898.7.

<sup>57</sup> Chon. 508.83–509.17.

<sup>58</sup> 'Archeion' is a word synonymous with 'palace' in Byzantine texts of all periods. See Souda, ed. Adler, s.v. αὐλή; Pach. I, 259.17–19. Choniates, the author who most uses the word, refers to both the Great Palace and the Blachernai (347.42, 58; 508.88) as such. That the designation implies the presence of an archive is indicated by the definition for

which was part of the palace, so too the Blachernai housed one. Kantakouzenos reports an incident that occurred one day when he was in the palace conversing with the empress Anne. A noise was heard outside and around the palace. The source of the commotion turned out to be litigants arguing.<sup>59</sup>

Gregoras mentions a mill on the grounds of the palace precinct and his description of Andronikos II's imprisonment shows that there was running water in the courtyard.<sup>60</sup> This is the closest one comes to learning about the service facilities of the palace. The court title holders and the dignitaries did not live in the palace buildings. They came to the palace every day but returned to their homes each evening.<sup>61</sup>

The existence of an outer courtyard, beyond the (inner) courtyard where the imperial residence was, is suggested by Pseudo-Kodinos' reference to *Ta Hypsela*, the 'High Places', a gate he describes as being 'outside' (the palace courtyard) and leading to the Blachernitissa, the famous church in the Blachernai district.<sup>62</sup> Gregoras also mentions, in connection with events of 1354, a 'lower palace' gate opening in the direction of the Blachernai church and giving access to the *kastelion* or 'fortress' above.<sup>63</sup> The lower palace gate may correspond with Pseudo-Kodinos' *Ta Hypsela*, leading up to the inner courtyard, with the imperial residence, through the outer courtyard of the palace; the latter may have housed the service buildings of the palace, an arrangement that is found in the better documented western medieval palaces.<sup>64</sup> It may be in this area that the stables were located.<sup>65</sup>

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*archeion* in the twelfth-century *Lexikon* of (Pseudo-) Zonaras: 'a *chartophylakeion*, where the public documents are kept': I, s.v. *archeion*.

<sup>59</sup> Kant. II, 83.19–84.1.

<sup>60</sup> Greg. III, 243.1–4; I, 431.22–24. For the fresh water to which the palace had access, see Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 82.

<sup>61</sup> Ps.-Kod. 246.2–5. The cases of Metochites and Choumnos, cited below 397, corroborate Pseudo-Kodinos' statement.

<sup>62</sup> Ps.-Kod. 178.17–180.3. He contrasts the emperor's reception of the icon 'at the gate of the palace courtyard' and his leave-taking of it on Easter Monday: 'he accompanies it as far as *Ta Hypsela* outside'. Ps.-Kod. 196.10–198.4: the emperor passes through *Ta Hypsela* on his way to the Blachernai church. The Varangians always wait for the emperor at *Ta Hypsela* when he leaves the palace to celebrate a feast day at a church or monastery (Ps.-Kod. 196.10–198.5; below 398–99). On the church of the Blachernai see also above at note 21.

<sup>63</sup> Greg. III, 242.19–24; Kant. (II, 611.20–612.1). Both authors use '*kastellion*' (see Trapp, *Lexikon*, s.v. *kastellon*) to refer to the fortified palace area. See Macrides, 'The citadel of Byzantine Constantinople', 277–304.

<sup>64</sup> Greg. III, 243.1–4. Whitely, 'Ceremony and space in the châteaux of Charles V', 188–190. At Trebizond, however, the servants' quarters were to one side of the courtyard that the imperial residence, the main building, occupied: Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, 185; Lampros, 'Βησσαριώνος ἐγκώμιον', 188.33–35.

<sup>65</sup> For the stables, see the commentary at 76.10.

Facing onto the (inner) courtyard<sup>66</sup> was the single-block structure that housed the emperor's apartments, the palace church and the *triklinos*. Of the three spaces, it is the *triklinos* for which Pseudo-Kodinos gives the most specifications. The *triklinos* was the main public space, the site of a number of different ceremonies: it was the venue for the daily receptions, for banquets and meals, but it could also act as a chapel on certain feast days when icons were brought on a stand.<sup>67</sup> The use of the same space for multiple purposes indicates that furnishings and decorations were movable.<sup>68</sup> The throne in the *triklinos* is an example; it did not have a fixed location. The *triklinos* was a room of many different functions. For the promotion of the patriarch of Constantinople the imperial throne was placed on the platform<sup>69</sup> at the entrance (ἄρχην) to the *triklinos*. On other occasions the throne was, it would seem, at the other end of the rectangular-shaped room, opposite the entrance. This impression is enforced by Gregoras who gives some detail about the spatial arrangement of the *triklinos* in the context of expressing disapproval of Andronikos III's infringement of ceremonial etiquette: 'It is obvious to everyone that the opposite ends of the imperial *triklinos* are both higher than the floor in between, up to three spans, and especially where the imperial throne stands'.<sup>70</sup> There was a similar arrangement at the palace at Trebizond where, according to Bessarion, the throne was at the end of the building 'high up' on a dais and enclosed by four columns and a pyramidal roof. The structure 'separates the emperors from their subjects as with a barrier'.<sup>71</sup> The throne in the *triklinos* of the Blachernai palace was also on a raised platform.<sup>72</sup> Silk curtains functioned as a partition between the emperor and the reception audience on certain occasions.<sup>73</sup>

The floor of the *triklinos* may have had markings of marble or some other stone, to indicate certain positions, just as the courtyard had monuments or markers of some sort, the *tetrastylon* and the *pezeuma*.<sup>74</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos mentions particular

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<sup>66</sup> At both Trebizond and the Tekfur Saray there is evidence that other buildings, 'most likely residential in nature' adjoined the central part of the palace. Ćurčić, 'Late medieval fortified palaces in the Balkans', 14; Lampros, 'Βησσαριώνας ἐγκόμιον', 188.33–35; Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, 185.

<sup>67</sup> Ps.-Kod. 116.4–118.9

<sup>68</sup> The *Book of Ceremonies* shows that the same situation prevailed in the Great Palace. See Featherstone, 'ΔΙ' ΕΝΔΕΙΞΙΝ. Display in court ceremonial (*De ceremoniis* II.15)', 81–112, for movable furnishings and decorations.

<sup>69</sup> Ps.-Kod. 250.18–252.1.

<sup>70</sup> Greg. I, 566.23–564.6.

<sup>71</sup> Lampros, 'Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, 185.

<sup>72</sup> Ps.-Kod. 120.2–6.

<sup>73</sup> Ps.-Kod. 244.3–4.

<sup>74</sup> See below, 389–90.

sections of the room: two-thirds into the *triklinos*, the third part from the wall, the middle of the room.<sup>75</sup> These statements imply some form of demarcation.

Pseudo-Kodinos gives a sense of the position of the *triklinos* relative to the other rooms. It was next to the church or close enough to make it necessary to chant softly with the doors shut while the emperor, enthroned in the *triklinos*, received the kiss on Easter Sunday.<sup>76</sup> The close relationship of palace church and *triklinos* is known from the Chrysotriklinos in the Great Palace; there the octagonal-shaped hall had a chapel in one of its vaults.<sup>77</sup> A closer model, however, in time and in form, is the first Comnenian *triklinos* in the Blachernai, the Alexiakos. Pachymeres seems to confirm the proximity of *triklinos* and church when he says that Michael VIII came out of the palace church when the liturgy came to an end and stepped into the (Alexiakos) *triklinos*.<sup>78</sup> Although it cannot be stated with certainty that the *triklinos* of Pseudo-Kodinos' protocols is the Alexiakos *triklinos*, the spatial arrangement of the latter with the palace church appears to be similar.<sup>79</sup>

Adjacent to the *triklinos* was the palace church, designated simply as *ekklesia* by Pseudo-Kodinos.<sup>80</sup> It features infrequently in his protocols. On Christmas Eve, after the hymns the emperor enters the church and receives blessed bread. If Christmas Eve falls on a Saturday or Sunday the emperor attends vespers in church.<sup>81</sup> On Palm Sunday the emperor goes to church for part of matins, having changed his attire during the singing of matins. He processes to the church from his apartments, along the *peripatos*.<sup>82</sup> Finally, on Easter Sunday, he attends matins and, after the 'kiss', the emperor goes to the church for the liturgy.<sup>83</sup> No mention is made of the church's appearance or layout but Pseudo-Kodinos indicates its position relative to the *triklinos*. He implies that it is next to the hall or very close since the doors of the church are shut and the liturgy is chanted softly while the emperor is seated on his throne in the *triklinos* receiving the kiss from the court title holders on Easter Sunday.<sup>84</sup> The palace church may have been the one mentioned by Kantakouzenos

<sup>75</sup> Ps.-Kod. 116.10, 250.18–252.6

<sup>76</sup> Ps.-Kod. 182.9–19. On the *ekklesia*, see 369 note 21.

<sup>77</sup> Featherstone, 'The Great Palace as reflected in the *De Cerimoniis*', 50–53: the chapel of St Theodore.

<sup>78</sup> Pach. II, 343.28–9.

<sup>79</sup> A similar spatial arrangement can be found in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo where royal hall and throne are juxtaposed with the chapel. Ćurčić, 'Some aspects of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo', 125–44, remarks that these 'components [are] rooted in palatine architecture in Constantinople'. He adduces as evidence the Chrysotriklinos. The Comnenian *triklinoi* are, however, closer to the Cappella Palatina both in time and in layout.

<sup>80</sup> Ps.-Kod. 132.2–3. See above, 369.

<sup>81</sup> Ps.-Kod. 132.2–3, 124.12–23.

<sup>82</sup> Ps.-Kod. 170.13–172.12.

<sup>83</sup> Ps.-Kod. 180.13–186.13.

<sup>84</sup> Ps.-Kod. 182.15–18.



as the church of the martyr Demetrios, or one dedicated to Thekla and founded by the emperor Isaac Komnenos.<sup>85</sup> These are the only known churches in the palace.

The arrangement of rooms at the Blachernai palace, the sequence church-*triklinos*-apartments, is also well known from western medieval palaces.<sup>86</sup> While the church was next to or very close to the *triklinos* it was also connected to the emperor's apartments by an outside raised walkway, the *peripatos*. A gallery or corridor may have run the length of the building, as in the palace at the Tekfur Saray.<sup>87</sup> The *triklinos* had an 'outer door', indicating that there was a vestibule outside the *triklinos*. It is there that matins were sung every month for the blessing.<sup>88</sup> Beyond the *triklinos*, one can surmise, were the imperial apartments.<sup>89</sup>

Apart from the silk hangings and coverings that Pseudo-Kodinos mentions occasionally he gives no further indication of the decoration of the palace rooms. Michael VIII is known to have ordered that his victories be depicted on the walls of the palace, his accomplishments since the beginning of his reign, including his latest at Berat in 1281. Only some of the paintings had been completed in the portico (προστώσις)<sup>90</sup> of the palace at the time of his death.<sup>91</sup>

## Conclusions

It is through the ceremonial use of space, as it is disclosed by Pseudo-Kodinos and authors contemporary with him, that the Blachernai palace, about which little is otherwise known, can best be reconstructed. The precisions given by Pseudo-Kodinos indicate a single block structure with *triklinos*, church and apartments connected to each other and linked also by an external passageway overlooking the courtyard. While the inner courtyard held the emperor's residence and other buildings, an outer courtyard leading to the 'lower palace' may have housed the service buildings of the palace.

The space afforded by this palace for ceremonies was compact: a single building that housed church, *triklinos* and apartments on the same level and that faced onto an enclosed courtyard. Such an arrangement puts in context Pseudo-Kodinos'

<sup>85</sup> Kant. II, 47.15–17; Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 3.8.5, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, 106; Magdalino, *Medieval Constantinople*, 78–9, notes 128, 129, 158.

<sup>86</sup> Whitely, 'Ceremony and space in the châteaux of Charles V', 191.

<sup>87</sup> Ahunbay, 'Tekfur Saray', in Ćurčić and Hadjistryphonos, eds, *Secular medieval architecture*, 248.

<sup>88</sup> Ps.-Kod. 190.13–18.

<sup>89</sup> Greg. II, 711.6–9 and Kant. II, 202.20 make reference to a women's quarter (*gynaikonitis*) in the palace.

<sup>90</sup> The portico of the Blachernai palace is also mentioned by Odo of Deuil (ed. Berry, 59) who speaks of a reception there of king Louis VII and some of his men in 1147.

<sup>91</sup> Pach. II, 649.30–651.4.



spare comments with regard to movement inside the palace.<sup>92</sup> It also makes sense of the attention he gives to the courtyard. The palace of the Palaiologoi which was also the Blachernai palace of the Komnenoi, exploited the height of its structures in the display of the emperor.<sup>93</sup> The Palaiologoi performed ceremonies that their Comnenian predecessors had performed and in the same spaces.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> See 398–401.

<sup>93</sup> See 445–448.

<sup>94</sup> For other aspects of Michael VIII's 'Comnenian revival' after 1261, see Macrides, 'From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi', 270–75.

# Expressions of Hierarchy

## Postures and Gestures

### *Sitting and standing*

Just as colours in the Byzantine palette gain in association with each other,<sup>1</sup> so too the rank of each court title holder is defined by association with that of others. Distinction was created visibly and materially through attire, headgear and other insignia of the officials, but also through posture and physical gestures. That all these expressions of rank were related to each other is shown by Anna Komnene when she describes the new titles her father invented and the promotions he made upon becoming emperor. Title, headgear, place in acclamations are mentioned together.<sup>2</sup> Muntaner, writing in the first half of the fourteenth century likewise associates these marks of rank. In reporting the promotion of Roger de Flor to the dignity of caesar, he speaks of the robes of office, their colour and adornment, the hat, baton, banner and seal of office, the signature of the caesar and how he was addressed. He does not omit to describe the sitting arrangements, giving, with respect to these, his longest description: ‘a caesar is an officer who sits in a chair near that of the emperor, only half a palm lower’.<sup>3</sup> Where a court title holder sat or stood, how high his seat was, how far into a space he entered, all these were privileges that depended upon the emperor. By bestowing them, the emperor created distinctions among his court officials.

Ceremonial texts and hierarchy lists of the ninth and tenth centuries were concerned with the place occupied by the title holder at imperial banquets.<sup>4</sup> Otto I’s envoy to Constantinople, Liudprand, bishop of Cremona, was an articulate observer of these seating arrangements at the table of the emperor Nikephoros Phokas. In his *Relatio* written for Otto he expressed indignation more than once that others had been given precedence over him. On one occasion he was seated fifteenth from the emperor who did not think him worthy ‘to take precedence over

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<sup>1</sup> See above, 353–56.

<sup>2</sup> *Alexiad*, 3.4.1–2: ‘He subordinated to him [the *sebastokrator*] the caesar and numbered him third in the acclamations after the autokrator. Further he ordained that they be crowned ... with the *sebastokrator* and the caesar differing greatly in the luxury of the diadem by which he himself was crowned.

<sup>3</sup> Muntaner, §212: 423. He mentions the caesar’s seat twice.

<sup>4</sup> Oikonomides, *Listes*, 25.

any of his own magnates'. On another day, he was even more insulted when the Bulgarian envoy was given precedence over him.<sup>5</sup>

At some undetermined and indeterminable time after the tenth century, however, the emphasis in hierarchical lists changed from positions of sitting to standing. Pseudo-Kodinos' text reflects this development. It is the standing positions at the twice-daily reception and on feast days that are central to his work.<sup>6</sup> The significance of appearing at the palace in one's standing position is given prominence by Pseudo-Kodinos, or his source,<sup>7</sup> when he comments that Choumnos did not take part in the receptions; thus the position of the *epi tou kanikleiou* was not known.<sup>8</sup> The maintenance of standing order in the presence of the emperor is occasionally mentioned in narrative accounts. Choniates relates how Frederick Barbarossa's ambassadors to Isaac II were made to stand in the emperor's presence, although they were bishops and relations of the German ruler. In reaction Frederick made the Byzantine ambassadors sit with him and did not allow even their cooks and grooms to stand.<sup>9</sup>

The maintenance of standing order had a continuous history even when other aspects of court life had been disrupted. George Akropolites relates an incident from the 'empire of Nicaea' that shows adherence to hierarchical order also when the emperor was travelling and away from the palace. On his way to Thessalonike, the emperor Theodore II welcomed Akropolites back into his presence after a period of estrangement, stating 'Do you not know where you are accustomed to stand? You know your place. Go to it'.<sup>10</sup> Thus, Akropolites was accepted into the presence of the emperor along with the other title holders; normality was restored in his relations with the emperor when Theodore indicated that he should take up his usual position.

Pseudo-Kodinos presents the list of court title holders in order, exposing the hierarchical *taxis* not once, but three times.<sup>11</sup> On all the occasions he describes in the palace, the court title holders stood in the presence of the emperor but the emperor received his *archontes* seated on his throne.<sup>12</sup> Michael VIII in his 1272 *prostagma* for Andronikos II makes provision for this arrangement when he ordains: 'When you are seated with My Majesty or alone, for none of your relations and great men should you stand up from your throne but you should receive each one of them

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Chiesa, §11, §19–20.

<sup>6</sup> Ps.-Kod., 156.1–2, 160. Indeed, according to Pseudo-Kodinos, the court title holders do not sit at the meals but rather stand. See 391–93. On the daily reception, see 395–98.

<sup>7</sup> See 275–280.

<sup>8</sup> Ps.-Kod. 32.6–9.

<sup>9</sup> Chon. 410.55–72.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Heisenberg, §63: 133.24–27.

<sup>11</sup> Chapters I, II, III.

<sup>12</sup> Greg. I, 97.3–5, describing a reception of the emperor in the palace, speaks of the 'emperor seated on the imperial throne, around him the entire senate in bright, adorned attire standing ...'.

seated, as a fully-constituted lord and emperor, in accordance with the measure of each person's greatness.<sup>13</sup>

While the court title holders stood in the presence of the emperor, the emperor stood in the presence of the holy. Thus, he stood when he listened to the hymns,<sup>14</sup> readings of the epistles, the Gospel,<sup>15</sup> the creed<sup>16</sup> and the *synodikon* on the Sunday of Orthodoxy.<sup>17</sup> The emperor stood for the elevation of the holy gifts in the liturgy<sup>18</sup> and in the presence of the Cross at the Adoration of the Cross.<sup>19</sup> When the patriarch came to the palace on Thursday of Renewal Week he found the emperor standing at his throne. It was standing that the emperor received the kiss of the bishops and other clergymen on this day,<sup>20</sup> while he sat for the *proskynesis* of his officials.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, for the monthly blessing in the palace the emperor stood.<sup>22</sup> In addition, Pseudo-Kodinos states that the emperor always stood when he conferred office, 'even if it is the most inferior one'.<sup>23</sup> For the four vigils the emperor stood in his chamber, while the title holders stood in the *triklinos*<sup>24</sup> but on all the other occasions mentioned above he stood in the *triklinos* in front of the standing *archontes*.

The standing emperor was never, however, on the same footing as his standing court; he did not occupy the same space. Nikephoros Gregoras specifies that the floor on which the throne rested was higher by three spans than the floor of the *triklinos*. In this way the standing emperor had 'something more than the others'.<sup>25</sup> At Christmas and Epiphany he appeared standing on the *prokypsis* platform<sup>26</sup> elevated considerably above everyone and visible from the knees upwards, while after the Christmas meal the emperor stood on a footstool when the '*panagia*' was brought to the *triklinos* and was raised.<sup>27</sup>

Gregoras also makes reference to the emperor's standing position, not only when listening to the hymns but also when speaking with subjects or with foreign ambassadors.<sup>28</sup> While Pseudo-Kodinos mentions the former, the emperor's standing position while listening to hymns, he does not provide protocols for the emperor

<sup>13</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 39.52–56.

<sup>14</sup> Ps.-Kod. 120.2–3; Greg. I, 567.4–5.

<sup>15</sup> Ps.-Kod. 226.9–11.

<sup>16</sup> Ps.-Kod. 232.11–13.

<sup>17</sup> Ps.-Kod. 200.9–11.

<sup>18</sup> Ps.-Kod. 232.14–15.

<sup>19</sup> Ps.-Kod. 168.9–13.

<sup>20</sup> Ps.-Kod. 188.3–4.

<sup>21</sup> Ps.-Kod. 182.13–19. See also 386–87, on *proskynesis*.

<sup>22</sup> Ps.-Kod. 190.16.

<sup>23</sup> Ps.-Kod. 244.15–17.

<sup>24</sup> Ps.-Kod. 178.12–16.

<sup>25</sup> Greg. I, 567.23–567.5. See above, 375.

<sup>26</sup> See 369.

<sup>27</sup> Ps.-Kod. 162. For the emperor's elevation in Palaiologan ceremonies, see 401.

<sup>28</sup> Greg. I, 567.4–6.

who addresses his subjects or foreign ambassadors. It is therefore not possible to corroborate Gregoras' statement. However, no other Byzantine author makes reference to the emperor standing while conversing with his subjects or ambassadors.<sup>29</sup> Foreign travellers to Constantinople in the early fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Ibn Battuta, Clavijo and Tafur report that they came before an enthroned emperor who spoke with them through an interpreter.<sup>30</sup> Gregoras makes the comment in the context of criticising the behaviour of Andronikos III who allowed his subjects, even common people and servants, to climb up onto the platform where he stood but who also descended onto the floor of the *triklinos* and put himself on the same level as his subjects. He does, however, indicate that it was usual for emperors to stand when speaking with their subjects and others. If this is so, the change in practice must have been introduced at some time after the Komnenoi.

The standing or sitting position one adopted documented one's status relative to that of the person in whose presence one was. An incident that occurred at the palace at Nymphaion early in the reign of Andronikos II demonstrates this point. Pachymeres relates that on the feast of Peter and Paul, 29 June (1292), the women of the court had a reception with the empress as did the men with the emperor. Strategopoulina, a niece of the emperor John III, was seated, awaiting her turn, when the wife of the *porphyrogennetos* Constantine arrived. As the one higher in rank – the *porphyrogennetos*' wife was second only to the empress, while Strategopoulina was a widow whose husband was not known to have held a title when he lived – the wife of the *porphyrogennetos* expected the older woman to get up from her seat and stand. However, Strategopoulina did not do so, giving as an excuse her age and illness. Her failure to acknowledge the position of the younger woman of high status deprived the wife of the *porphyrogennetos* of the recognition she was owed. Strategopoulina was punished for her behaviour through the humiliation of the man who was said to be her lover, Constantine Maurozomes. He was stripped bare, paraded around the agora and beaten.<sup>31</sup>

The same hierarchical considerations determined also the deportment of the dignitaries – despots, *sebastokratores* and caesars. They could not attend the promotion of the patriarch in the palace because 'it is inappropriate for them to be standing' while the patriarch is sitting but 'they are not permitted to sit' while the acclamation of the emperor takes place.<sup>32</sup> Since the patriarch and emperor were enthroned when they received the acclamations, the dignitaries would have found themselves in an impossible situation were they to participate in the ceremony.

<sup>29</sup> Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 14.4.5–7, goes into great detail about her father's long-suffering patience in listening to the Latins' endless talk. He is always enthroned.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Battuta, trans. Gibb, II, 506; Clavijo, ed. Lopez Estrada, 34; trans. Le Strange, 61; Tafur, trans. Letts, 117. Likewise, at the time of the first crusade, Albert of Aachen (§16:84–85) refers to the emperor Alexios I, 'seated as was his custom', when he received high-ranking crusaders.

<sup>31</sup> Pach. III, 171–77.

<sup>32</sup> Ps.-Kod. 252.11–14.

The need to stand in the presence of those of higher rank was also the subject of legislation. An ordinance of 1334 issued by Andronikos III stipulates that the title holders who are 'after' the *skaranikon*-wearers must stand when they relate their cases in the law court. It can be inferred from this statement that the *skaranikon* wearers, title holders who were higher in status, could sit. This regulation would appear to show that the latter group had a status commensurate with that of the judges, while the former were lower in status than the judges before whom they appeared.<sup>33</sup>

The hats worn by the court title holders provided, in another medium, a reflection of the physical reality of the court. Paired images of the standing emperor and the enthroned emperor were displayed on the *skaranika* of the higher court title holders, according to Pseudo-Kodinos' description. The image of the standing emperor, when it was paired with the enthroned emperor, had a higher status and signified greater position and honour than that of the enthroned emperor. The relative value of the two images is evident from the position of the standing image on the *front* of the hat.<sup>34</sup> Only the highest holders of an *offikion*, from the *megas domestikos* down to and including the eparch, had the right to wear the image of the standing emperor on the front of their hats.<sup>35</sup> The *skaranikon* of the *megas domestikos*, the highest holder of an *offikion*, had the standing emperor twice, on the front and on the back.<sup>36</sup>

The enthroned emperor was a 'secondary' type on the hats of the officials, appearing on the back of the *skaranika* of the top holders of *offikia* and on the front of the second group, from the *megas droungarios tes vigles* to the *protoierakarios*.<sup>37</sup> Although the emperor participated in a great deal of court ritual enthroned, as an iconographic theme the enthroned emperor disappeared from coins with Basil I.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, Grabar comments that if it were not for Pseudo-Kodinos' description of the *skaranika* which bore the enthroned emperor, and the surviving images of such *skaranika*, we would be under the illusion that this iconographic type disappeared after the Macedonian period.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Zepos, *Jus* I, Nov. 43, 583. For the date, and discussion of the passage, see above, 335 and n. 111.

<sup>34</sup> See 333–34. On coins also the standing emperor appears on the obverse, the side normally reserved for the main type: Grierson, *Catalogue*, III/1, 107–109; Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 16–23.

<sup>35</sup> Extant images of the *skaranika* of court title holders show the emperor enthroned and not standing, even though the *skaranikon*-wearers belong to the highest group of court title holders. See Pl. 13, 22. The discrepancy with Ps.-Kod.'s text may have to do with the date of the author's source. The images date to the early 14th c., while Ps.-Kod.'s source could be later, closer to his time.

<sup>36</sup> On the attire of the *megas domestikos* who was at the head of the court title holders after the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, see 344–45.

<sup>37</sup> Ps.-Kod. 58.11–64.4.

<sup>38</sup> Grierson, *Catalogue*, III/1, 107.

<sup>39</sup> Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 28.

Just as the standing emperor stood higher than anyone in his presence, thanks to the raised end of the *triklinos*, the enthroned emperor sat higher than everyone else. Muntaner indicates that the caesar sat on a throne half a palm lower than the emperor.<sup>40</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos does not discuss the sitting positions of the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, but he does mention arrangements for the patriarch who was the only person outside the imperial family who might sit in the emperor's presence.<sup>41</sup> He too sat lower than the emperor. Pseudo-Kodinos refers to at least two kinds of thrones,<sup>42</sup> 'thrones of the customary type for daily use' and gold thrones 'not like the other thrones but four to five steps high'.<sup>43</sup> The latter were used for the coronation and for the promotion of the patriarch. On the day of his promotion the patriarch-elect sat on a throne resting on the floor of the *triklinos*, opposite the emperor, while the emperor appeared on a throne elevated by a platform and by steps.<sup>44</sup> It is this special throne that is represented on the *skaranika* which bear the enthroned emperor, for the throne in the image is described as 'elevated' and 'golden'.<sup>45</sup>

Hierarchical order was expressed also outside the palace, in the courtyard and beyond. Each of the palace guard units had its own place in the courtyard and stood in its position while the twice-daily receptions took place inside the palace. In this way the order in the courtyard mirrored that in the interior of the palace.<sup>46</sup> In both places too space was demarcated.<sup>47</sup> Areas of the courtyard were marked: the *pezeuma*, the *tetrastylon*, the fourth and fifth section. The demarcations may have been made with coloured stone, like the 'rivers' in Hagia Sophia, the coloured marble lines that indicate stopping places for the processions.<sup>48</sup> (See the plan, 385).

<sup>40</sup> See above, 379.

<sup>41</sup> Kant. I, 40.18–41.7 describes how Andronikos II, angry with his grandson, would not allow him to sit in his presence, although he permitted the senators and 'those in office' to do so. It can be inferred from this episode that court title holders could sit in the presence of the emperor with his permission. Cf. Greg. I, 97.3–5, where the court title holders stand in the enthroned emperor's presence.

<sup>42</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos uses one word, *θρόνος* for throne. In contrast, the *Book of Ceremonies* uses a variety of words and refers to several types. See Dagron, 'Trônes', 79–203.

<sup>43</sup> Ps.-Kod. 218.7–11, 234.8–9. He refers also to 'other thrones' (218.8) on which the mother of the newly crowned emperor and other members of the family sit in Hagia Sophia. It is not clear to what extent these thrones are different from the two types he mentions.

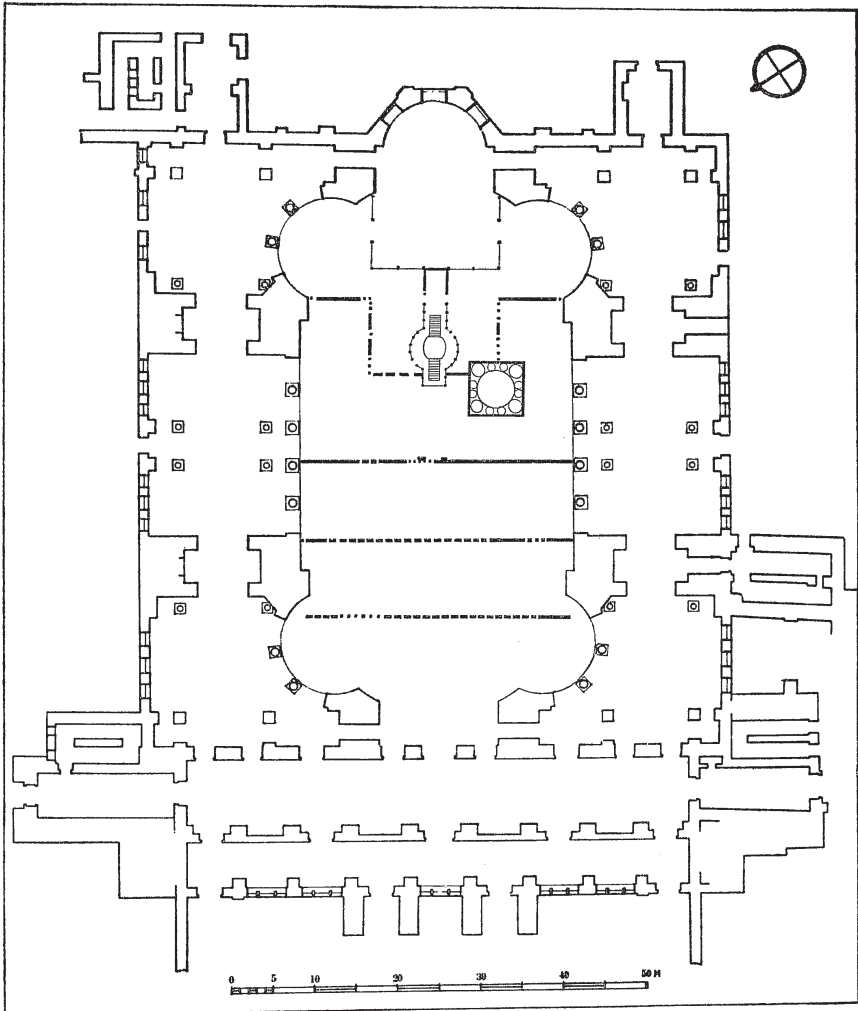
<sup>44</sup> Ps.-Kod. 250.18–252.7. I understand Pseudo-Kodinos to mean that a golden throne higher than others by four to five steps was placed on a platform. The patriarch 'ascends' the platform and after his investiture with his staff by the emperor, he 'descends': 254.9–11. The platform at both ends of the *triklinos* is described by Greg. I, 566.23–564.6. It was 'up to three spans' higher than the floor.

<sup>45</sup> Ps.-Kod. 58.13.

<sup>46</sup> Ps.-Kod. 96.5–8, 100.2–4.

<sup>47</sup> See below, 389–90.

<sup>48</sup> For the latter, see Majeska, 'Notes on the archaeology of St Sophia at Constantinople', 299–308; Dagron, 'Emperor and priest', 97.



A. Constantinople,  
St. Sophia, Ground Plan

— Green Line Preserved  
 - - - Line of Strip Preserved in Pavement  
 . . . . . Conjectural Continuation of Strip

Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, floor plan (courtesy of George Majeska)



*Proskynesis*

Graded distinctions applied also to *proskynesis*, a gesture and posture central to Byzantine ceremonial, perhaps the best known of all.<sup>49</sup> *Proskynesis* could assume a number of postures – from inclination of the head to total prostration<sup>50</sup> – and express a variety of attitudes – reverence, supplication, subservience – making the word difficult to translate. In Pseudo-Kodinos' protocols everyone performs *proskynesis* before the emperor, with the exception of the patriarch; the emperor performs *proskynesis* before the holy.<sup>51</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos rarely specifies the different forms *proskynesis* may have taken in his time, most often simply stating, 'they perform *proskynesis*'. In two protocols, however, he is explicit about the postures and gestures adopted, that is, on Easter Sunday and on the Thursday in the week after Easter, Renewal Week. Both ceremonies involved ritual kissing, the first by all the court title holders, 'each one down to the humblest',<sup>52</sup> the second by bishops. The *proskynesis* at the Easter Sunday reception which Pseudo-Kodinos names the 'kiss', called for movement from the floor to the emperor's face, in three stages. The title holder began by kissing the foot of the emperor, then his hand and finally his cheek. Pseudo-Kodinos expressly states that it is the right side of the emperor that the title holder kisses, his right foot, hand and cheek.<sup>53</sup> The kiss that was bestowed by the bishops who came to the palace on the Thursday after Easter was on the hand and cheek of the emperor. The kiss on the hand marks the relationship of a superior to an inferior, as Symeon of Thessalonike remarked when he objected to the bishops kissing the 'worldly' hand of the emperor with their blessed lips: it was 'servile'.<sup>54</sup> But kissing the emperor's foot accentuated even more clearly the distance between recipient and bestower. By contrast, a kiss on the mouth expressed equality.<sup>55</sup> Only emperor and patriarch kiss on the mouth.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>49</sup> ODB 3, 1738; Avery, 'The *Adoratio Purpureae*', 66–80; Guiland, 'La cérémonie de la προσκύνησις', 251–59; Cutler, *Transfigurations*, chap. 3: 'Proskynesis and Anastasis', 53–110, here at 110.

<sup>50</sup> Odo of Deuil describes three postures which he calls 'gestures of honour': lowering the head and body humbly, kneeling and prostration: ed. Berry 56–7. He refers to these acts of *proskynesis* as *polychroniae*. Ps.-Kod. indicates that the *polychronia* acclamations to the emperor were accompanied by *proskynesis*. See Ps.-Kod. 152.10–12.

<sup>51</sup> Ps.-Kod. 132.1–3. The emperor kisses icons, the Gospel, the Cross, the patriarch and archbishops after he has received the Eucharist.

<sup>52</sup> Ps.-Kod. 182.17.

<sup>53</sup> The 'right' side is the preferred side: Matt. 25.32–33; Mark 16.19; Acts 7:55–56. Likewise it is the right foot of each of the twelve poor invited to the palace on Holy Thursday that the emperor washes and kisses: Ps.-Kod. 176.4–17.

<sup>54</sup> PG 432CD, 433A.

<sup>55</sup> On the hierarchy of kisses, see Carré, *Le baiser sur la bouche*, 27–31.

<sup>56</sup> Ps.-Kod. 188.7–9.

The kind of *proskynesis* one performs indicates, then, one's status with respect to the emperor. The different and diverging protocols for the participation of the Genoese and Venetians in the court ceremonies illustrate this point well. The Genoese podestà and his followers participate in the Easter Sunday kiss 'in the manner of the court title holders': they kiss the foot, hand and cheek of the emperor. Likewise they kiss his foot and hand when they first arrive in Constantinople and have their first reception before the emperor; thereafter when they come to the palace on a daily basis they kneel two times, at the entrance to and in the middle of the *triklinos*.<sup>57</sup> The Venetian baillie, on the other hand, kneels before the emperor only on the occasion of his first reception with the emperor and never again. He never kisses the foot of the emperor nor does he attend the 'many years' at Christmas, nor the 'kiss' at Easter.<sup>58</sup> In the contrast between the Genoese and the Venetians can be seen the different positions of each: the Genoese are treated like other subjects of the emperor; Venetians do not attend the main feast day ceremonies, when they would have had to perform *proskynesis*, nor do they honour the emperor with a salute from their ships.<sup>59</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos' explanation of the significance of these gestures, one of the few explanations of gesture he offers, gives the impression that the Venetians are excluded from ceremonies and from performing *proskynesis*, while the Genoese are included as 'one of them'.<sup>60</sup> Citing an old treaty of Michael VIII, he claims that the emperor did not stipulate in that treaty the ceremonial role of the Venetians, as he did not intend to make a lasting peace with them.<sup>61</sup> It seems, however, that the explanation for this difference in ceremonial behaviour lies elsewhere. The Genoese are treated as subjects of the emperor while the Venetians are not subjugated to him and cannot be made to conform to ceremonial requirements.

## Horse Etiquette

Horses, horse tackle and horse-riding regulations receive much attention in Pseudo-Kodinos. All together there is a greater concentration of regulations concerning matters of horse protocol in Pseudo-Kodinos than in any other source, ceremonial or narrative.<sup>62</sup> The horses that constitute the cavalcade of the emperor when he rides out to receive his subjects' petitions are given prominence.<sup>63</sup> The image of

<sup>57</sup> Ps.-Kod. 184.4–12.

<sup>58</sup> Ps.-Kod. 186.2–8.

<sup>59</sup> Ps.-Kod. 154.2–4, 186.6–8.

<sup>60</sup> The expression is that of Oikonomides. See the commentary at n. 530.

<sup>61</sup> Ps.-Kod. 184.15–186.2.

<sup>62</sup> The *Book of Ceremonies* mentions the emperor mounting a horse to go to the other side of the city (e.g., ed. Reiske, 178.20; 191.19–20) but horses are not a prominent subject. On the other hand, horse etiquette features in Kantakouzenos' *History*. See Introduction, 4.

<sup>63</sup> See below, 399–400.

the riding emperor adorns a number of objects, banners, shields and the back of the *skaranikon* of the second group of title holders, from the *megas domestikos tes vigles* to the *protoierarkarios*.<sup>64</sup> The fourteenth century also sees the introduction of the horseback emperor as an iconographic theme on coins.<sup>65</sup>

Horses, and their tack and trappings indicated rank. They were among the gifts that an emperor might bestow. Byzantine emperors and Fatimid rulers exchanged them, as the *Book of Gifts and Rarities* records.<sup>66</sup> To show his appreciation to his general, the *kouropalates* Oumbertopoulos, the emperor Andronikos II gave him 'many gifts, not only [ceremonial] attire but also gold and horses and the title of *megas papias*'.<sup>67</sup> Just as the emperor might give items of his clothing or his staff to a court title holder, each year at Easter when the emperor renewed the tack of his horse, he made a gift of his used tack to the *komes* of the imperial horses.<sup>68</sup>

The clothes of a court title holder were only one sign of his position; his horse's appearance was another indication. Pseudo-Kodinos demonstrates the importance of the horse's trappings as an identifying element in a person's rank when he enumerates and describes the tack and trappings – spurs and spur straps, saddle, saddle cloth, saddle cover, caparison, stirrups, bridle – for the horses of the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar. Another characteristic of these high ranking men but also of the *panhypersebastos* and *protovestiaros*, was the matching colour of their shoes and their horses' trappings.<sup>69</sup> Narrative sources often make an allusion to the position of an individual by describing the trappings of his or her horse. To illustrate that the pope's representative, cardinal Pelagius, 'bore all the privileges of the pope' Akropolis describes his red-dyed shoes and his horse's saddle and reins which were also 'dyed in this colour'.<sup>70</sup> To underline the emperor John III's

<sup>64</sup> Banners: 70.11–72.1 (*megas doux*); 130.1 (*prokypsis*); shields: 242.9–10; *skaranika*: 58.13–14 and ff. The horseback emperor is rare as an iconographic theme before the fourteenth century. See Magdalino and Nelson, 'The emperor in Byzantine art of the twelfth century', 154–60. However, Whittemore, 'A Byzantine bronze medallion with an imperial representation', 184–92, adduces literary evidence for the riding emperor on banners in earlier centuries. See also the commentary at ch. III, n. 92. For the fifteenth century, see Vickers, 'Some preparatory drawings for Pisanello's medallion of John VIII Palaeologus', 417–28.

<sup>65</sup> The mounted emperor appears first on the Thessalonican coins of Andronikos III. See Morrisson, 'The emperor, the saint, and the city', 189; Grierson, *Catalogue*, V/1, 69–70.

<sup>66</sup> *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, §77, §98: 'the saddles of Alexander the Great'.

<sup>67</sup> Pach. III, 93.15–19.

<sup>68</sup> Ps.-Kod. 76.11–14. For his staff, see Ps.-Kod. 84.7–10 (to the *megas primmikerios*); for his clothing soiled in hunting, see Ps.-Kod. 104.9–10 (to the *protokynegos*). See Gordon, *Robes and honor*, 9, for the 'yearly cycle' of the gift of used clothes, weapons and horses by the Sasanian king to his followers. For the same practice among the Mamluks, see Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 56–7.

<sup>69</sup> Ps.-Kod. 36.3–38.9, 44.7–12, 52.1–2, 4–5.

<sup>70</sup> Ed. Heisenberg, §17:29.15–18.

feelings for Marchesina, the empress's attendant, Akropolites indicates that she wore red shoes and had a saddle and bridle of the same colour.<sup>71</sup>

The gate of the palace courtyard marked a boundary that only members of the imperial family could cross on horseback,<sup>72</sup> although the privilege might be extended exceptionally and on occasion to others.<sup>73</sup> Not only does Pseudo-Kodinos state that no one of the court title holders may enter or leave the courtyard on horseback<sup>74</sup> but narrative sources repeatedly make reference to this protocol also in earlier centuries.<sup>75</sup> Deviations from this rule are reported and noted as indications of character. Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, the guest of the emperor Manuel I, dismounted where the emperor was accustomed to do so, that is, in the courtyard. Manuel I, noting his 'arrogance', 'omitted many of the things that were yet to be carried out in his honour'.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, Orhan's son Halil who was the son-in-law of John V Palaiologos, could not bring himself to ride his mount into the courtyard of the palace as the emperor wished. Rather, he dismounted halfway and led his horse to the place where the emperor dismounted.<sup>77</sup>

For all those not allowed into the courtyard on horseback there was a specially designated spot for dismounting outside. For the Great Palace it was at the railing of the Chalke, at a place marked by a porphyry marble circle.<sup>78</sup> For the Blachernai the exact location is not specified. By contrast, Pseudo-Kodinos names places inside the courtyard which were the spots for dismounting of the emperor (*pezeuma*) and members of the imperial family, the *sebastokrator* (the *tetrastylon*) and caesar (near the *tetrastylon*).<sup>79</sup> Although he does not give their specific location, it is possible to infer from another source that the *pezeuma* was

<sup>71</sup> Ed. Heisenberg, §52: 104.6–8.

<sup>72</sup> This was widespread practice also among Islamic dynasties: Sanders, *Fatimid Cairo*, 14, 36.

<sup>73</sup> That the patriarch was allowed to enter the courtyard on horseback after his promotion (Ps.-Kod. 256.4–5) was a mark of honour. The same procedure was followed in the west when the patriarch Joseph attended the council of Ferrara-Florence. He entered the courtyard of the pope on horseback, while his officials dismounted: Syropoulos, §34, 234.31–236.1. The suppliers of drinks and the paid trainers at imperial weddings could also enter the courtyard mounted (Ps.-Kod. 268.5–8); in their case, it was a practical measure.

<sup>74</sup> The protocol is well established also in Near Eastern tradition: dismounting as a mark of respect and at designated places: Sanders, *Fatimid Cairo*, 14, 22–3, 36.

<sup>75</sup> *Book of Ceremonies*, ed. Reiske, 583.8–9; Psellos, *Chronographia*, II, §71:128.4–7; Chon., 51.84–86; Villehardouin, §185, §212, mentions dismounting at the gate of the Blachernai palace in 1203.

<sup>76</sup> Kinnamos 185.13–18.

<sup>77</sup> Greg. III, 506.7–20.

<sup>78</sup> *Book of Ceremonies*, ed. Reiske, 583.8–9: ἔξωθεν τοῦ καγκέλλου τῆς χαλκῆς; Mango, *The Brazen House*, 84–5.

<sup>79</sup> The *pezeuma*: 74.7, 198.5. The *tetrastylon*: 44.12–46.1, 46. 9–10.

deep inside the courtyard, beyond the centre.<sup>80</sup> It seems likely that these spots were demarcated by a monument – as the word *tetrastylon* implies – or a marking on the ground. Even when the emperor was away from the palace the dismounting spot for the *sebastokrator* was, according to Pseudo-Kodinos, designated by analogy with the *tetrastylon* in the courtyard.<sup>81</sup> His comment shows that outdoor protocol was maintained wherever the emperor was, as was indoor protocol, that of the standing positions.<sup>82</sup>

The spaces of the palace and its courtyard were reconfigured wherever the emperor was. So it was also with the mounted emperor. Just as the emperor's officials dismounted at the courtyard gate and entered on foot, so too they dismounted at a distance from the mounted emperor and approached him on foot. This protocol, attested by narrative sources<sup>83</sup> and Constantine Porphyrogenetos' treatise on imperial expeditions,<sup>84</sup> reveals not only that court protocol was maintained wherever the emperor was but also that the emperor was a living representation of the palace.

Narrative accounts show that the horse etiquette that was adopted with regard to an individual, like all the other protocols, was a 'notation'<sup>85</sup> of the place of that person in the hierarchy. The *megas domestikos* under John II Komnenos, John Axouch, was so powerful that many members of the imperial family would dismount and make *proskynesis* to him, if they encountered him by chance.<sup>86</sup> Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros who 'wanted all Romans to consider him emperor' 'poured abuse' on John Kammytzes and 'all but struck him' because Kammytzes, a subject of the emperor John III Batatzes, did not dismount when he encountered Theodore upon leaving Adrianople with the army of John III. For his loyal behaviour the emperor John rewarded Kammytzes with the title of *megas hetaireiarches*.<sup>87</sup> On rare occasions an emperor would dismount in the presence of another person. The emperor John III 'descended from his own carriage and stood on foot' with Eirene, the sister of Demetrios of Thessalonike who had come to plead leniency for her brother after John's conquest of the city in 1246. He 'honoured her by assuming a posture of humility like hers'.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Greg. III, 506.17–20: Halil led the horse from the centre of the courtyard to the *pezeuterion*.

<sup>81</sup> Ps.-Kod. 46.1–3.

<sup>82</sup> See 381, 384 above.

<sup>83</sup> Kant. II, 236.16–21; Greg. I, 359.4–11. For the 12th c. see Zon. III, 758.8–10.

<sup>84</sup> Ed. Haldon, 122.443–448; 54–6. When the emperor reviews the army, the *strategos* and other military officials dismount from their horses 'while the emperor is still some distance'.

<sup>85</sup> The expression is borrowed from Elias, *The Court Society*, 94.

<sup>86</sup> Chon. 9. 29–10.32.

<sup>87</sup> Akrop. §24:40.1–20.

<sup>88</sup> Akrop. §45:82.26–83.12.

Other aspects of court life that involved horses also show the ‘minute exactitude’<sup>89</sup> of arrangements that served to express precedence. Pseudo-Kodinos specifies the size of the saddle cloths for the horse of the *komes* of the imperial horses and the patriarch. The former covered the horse’s croup as far as the middle of the saddle; the latter reached as far as the horse’s head.<sup>90</sup> These graded distinctions were visible and applied also to the procedure by which the emperor mounted his horse. The act involved four title holders, the *komes* of the imperial horses, the *protostrator*, the *megas chartoularios*, and the *protokynegos*. The first three handled the horse and led it to a different section of the courtyard – the place where the emperor mounted,<sup>91</sup> then to the ‘fourth or fifth section’ and, finally, to the gate. The *protokynegos* held the stirrup while the emperor mounted. A similar procedure was involved inside the palace in ushering in the court title holders for the daily reception. Four officials were responsible for introducing the title holders in groups into the *triklinos* in four stages.<sup>92</sup>

### *Dining*

In Pseudo-Kodinos’ protocols the emperor dines alone. Not only does he sit at table by himself, at his ‘own’ table,<sup>93</sup> but he is also the only person to sit. Sharing the emperor’s table is an honour extended to no one in Pseudo-Kodinos’ court.<sup>94</sup> The court title holders – those who are included in the meals which take place five times a year on Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Easter Sunday and Pentecost<sup>95</sup> – stand in the *triklinos* in the presence of the dining emperor. After they receive their plates

<sup>89</sup> See Elias, *The Court Society*, 84.

<sup>90</sup> Ps.-Kod. 76.8–9, 256.1–2. Rules concerning coverings for horses applied also at the Abbasid court. See *Rules and regulations of the Abbasid Court*, ed. Salem, §133:78: ‘It was not customary to cover the rumps. The rumps of the animals were to stay uncovered’.

<sup>91</sup> Ps.-Kod. does not state where the mounting place is. When the emperor returns the same procedure is followed in reverse. On that occasion the emperor dismounts at the *pezeuma*. See Ps.-Kod. 74.4–7. It is therefore possible that the *pezeuma* was also the mounting place.

<sup>92</sup> Ps.-Kod. 88.12–90.8.

<sup>93</sup> Ps.-Kod. 240.4–5. In the 10th c., Thietmar of Merseburg comments in his chronicle on Otto III’s wish to ‘renew the ancient custom of the Romans, now mostly obliterated ... He dined alone at a semicircular table which moreover was elevated above the others’: IV § 47 (29): 162.25–8.

<sup>94</sup> For earlier examples of the honour bestowed on individuals in this way see Kazhdan and McCormick, ‘The social world of the Byzantine court,’ 178 and n. 53. Attaleiates (ed. Bekker, 165.1–3; ed. Pérez Martín, 122.16–18) reports that the sultan invited his captive, the emperor Romanos Diogenes, to dine with him on the same seat. Kant. (III, 28.12–17) gives an account of a meal with Orhan, his son-in-law. They ate together ‘at the same table’ while his four sons ate at other tables not far from the emperor. ‘The other distinguished Persians and Romans were reclining on carpets to eat, so as to be seen by the emperor’.

<sup>95</sup> Ps.-Kod. 166.7–12.

they depart.<sup>96</sup> From Pseudo-Kodinos' account it is not clear where the title holders eat or what they eat. Their retainers take their dishes and leave the *triklinos*.

Dining is thus a very different activity in Pseudo-Kodinos from the tenth-century banquets described in great detail by Philotheos in his *Kletorologion*.<sup>97</sup> Differences with the tenth century lie in the size of the guest list, the number of banquets per year, number of venues and number of courses. In the tenth century, to take only one example, Christmas was celebrated by 12 banquets, one for every day of the cycle.

The scale has changed dramatically but what remains are the expressions of hierarchical order that are articulated at every point. Pseudo-Kodinos describes two meals in detail, those on Christmas Eve and Christmas day. In these protocols status and order are expressed in a number of ways. Food is conveyed to the emperor's table by a relay of four men who pass the dishes one to the other and finally to the *megas domestikos* who serves the emperor personally.<sup>98</sup> The procedure is similar to the means by which the emperor's staff is brought into the *triklinos* and the emperor's horse is led to the *pezeuma*.<sup>99</sup> On Christmas Eve it is the lowest group of title holders, defined by their hats, which stays behind for the meal while the other two groups depart. On Christmas day all the *archontes* are present for the meal, as are the ecclesiastical officials who have assisted in the liturgy, the palace guards and soldiers. They are given plates which lie on the 'floor' next to the emperor's table and are then placed on the edge of that table.<sup>100</sup> In this way the plate comes from the emperor's table and is a gift from him.<sup>101</sup> The procedure involves stages that can be detected in other protocols, in the *triklinos* at receptions and in the courtyard with regard to horse etiquette: the plates are moved from the floor to the table and then into the hands of the recipients. Pseudo-Kodinos does not state whether all the meals follow the same pattern. He stipulates, however, that after

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<sup>96</sup> The only food mentioned is the bread given to the *protopapas* on Christmas day. It may be that the *minsoi* given to the court title holders are dishes of food but the fact that the plates are piled on the floor makes this unlikely. That the title holders were served food in another place where they also ate seems more plausible. They received their plates, as it were, 'from the emperor's table', a symbolic act which may have sufficed. See n. 100 below.

<sup>97</sup> Philotheos, *Kletorologion*; Kazhdan and McCormick, 'The social world of the Byzantine court', 175–76.

<sup>98</sup> Ps.-Kod. 158.13–18

<sup>99</sup> See above, 391.

<sup>100</sup> Ps.-Kod. 158.21–22, 160.23–24. The significance of this aspect of the meal is difficult to grasp. Should we understand that the empty plates are piled up on the floor and that the *megas domestikos* fills the plates from serving dishes that are on the emperor's table? Or is it the case that the plates are filled in another room where the title holders sit and eat? Or that the 'meal' is symbolic for everyone but the emperor?

<sup>101</sup> On the ritual of the ruler bestowing food on his subordinates, see the comments of Maguire and Maguire, *Other icons*, 33–4.



coronations and weddings ‘lavish meals’ take place with all the title holders dining ‘before’ the emperors who sit at their ‘own’ table.<sup>102</sup>

## Conclusion

Hierarchical considerations permeate every aspect of ceremonial life as it is presented by Pseudo-Kodinos. Distinctions are observed in external display, in gestures, in speech. The emperor addresses directly and in person only the top members of the court, the gold-red *skiadia*-wearers at the Christmas Eve reception, when they come to wish him ‘Many years’. The rest of the court hierarchy is addressed through an intermediary.<sup>103</sup> Receptions are always held in the *triklinos*, except on Christmas Eve when the emperor receives in his private chamber (*kellion*) and addresses directly (ὄν ἑαυτοῦ) only the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, as well as bareheaded *archontopoula* who are related to him.<sup>104</sup> Hierarchical distinction is maintained also in the distribution of purses of coins after the coronation. After his coronation the emperor personally scatters gold coins to his title holders in the courtyard of his palace. The previous day one of the title holders had distributed purses of mixed coins (gold, silver, copper) to the people and the army in the courtyard of Hagia Sophia, the Augusteon.<sup>105</sup> These two sets of actors and audience are graded. Once only does Pseudo-Kodinos concede that hierarchy is not observed. On Christmas Eve at the *prokypsis* the banners of the despots and title holders are set up at the base of the platform without regard for order, ‘not according to rank’.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Ps.-Kod. 240.2–5. The exception is the night of the coronation when only the emperor and empress dine; the title holders ‘stand by’ but ‘no dishes are served’: 236.10–238.2.

<sup>103</sup> Ps.-Kod. 150.13–152.5.

<sup>104</sup> Ps.-Kod. 156.17–19.

<sup>105</sup> Ps.-Kod. 214.13–216.4, 238.6–240.1.

<sup>106</sup> Ps.-Kod. 130.10–12.



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Plate 1

Bellinzona, Switzerland. Fossati drawing of mosaic, northeast arch, Hagia Sophia John V Palaiologos holding *akakia* (1354–1355) (photo Archivio di Stato del Cantone Ticino, Bellinzona [Svizzera], Fondo Fossati, no. 364)



Plate 2

Paris. gr. 1242 f. 5v, John VI Kantakouzenos presiding over a church council (after 1354) (photo Bibliothèque Nationale de France)



Plate 3 Constantinople, Chora monastery, wall painting Tomb F (after 1330) (© Dumbarton Oaks, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C.)



Plate 4 Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Lead seal of the despot Constantine Palaiologos, son of Andronikos II (c. 1292) (© Dumbarton Oaks, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C.)



Plate 5 Corinth, Greece. Coin of John Komnenos Doukas (13th c.) (Corinth Excavation, American School of Classical Studies, Athens; photo by courtesy of Julian Baker)





Plate 6      Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Chapel of the Magi, Benozzo Gozzoli, Magi's procession (1459) (photo courtesy of Alinari Archives, Florence)



Plate 7

Oxford, Lincoln College. ms. gr. 35, f. 1 v (Lincoln Typikon) The *sebastokrator* Constantine Komnenos Palaiologos and Eirene Komnene Branaina Palaiologina (early 14th c.) (Copyright Lincoln College, Oxford ms. gr. 35, fol. 1v)



Plate 8      Constantinople, Chora monastery, Unidentified saint wearing lattice motif (14th c.) (© Dumbarton Oaks, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C.)



Plate 9      Thessalonike, church of St Demetrios, crypt. Capital with lattice motif (late 13th–14th c.) (photo Bob Ousterhout)





Plate 10 Vat. gr. 1851 f. 1r. Enthroned emperor flanked by court title holder with emperor's sword (12th c.?) (c. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano)



Plate 11 Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts. Trachy of Andronikos II and Michael IX, Constantinople mint (late 13th c) (courtesy of the Henry Barber Collection)



Plate 12 Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts. Basilikon of Anne of Savoy and John V (regency of Anne of Savoy) (14th c.) (courtesy of the Henry Barber Collection)





Plate 13      Paris, gr. 2144, f. 11r. The *megas doux* Alexios Apokaukos (14th c.)  
(photo Bibliothèque Nationale de France)



Plate 14

Constantinople, Chora monastery. Outer narthex, arch. Unidentified saint with long sleeves (14th c.) (© Dumbarton Oaks, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C.)





Plate 15      Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Ivory pyxis. Musicians (early 15th c.) (© Dumbarton Oaks, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C.)



Plate 16      London, British Museum. Clephane horn: detail showing pard riding on hind quarters of horse (11th c.) (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

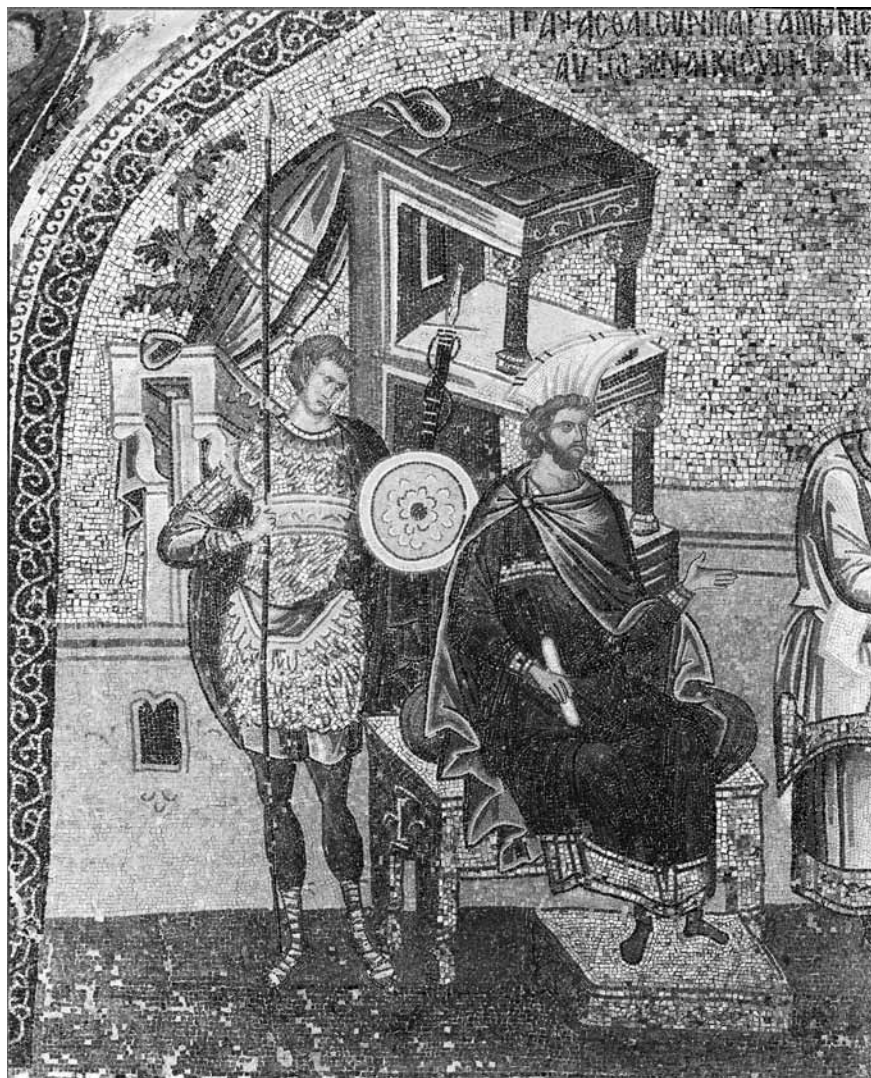


Plate 17      Constantinople, Chora monastery. Lunette, east wall outer narthex. The Enrolment for Taxation in Bethlehem. Cyrenius and guard. (14th c.).(© Dumbarton Oaks, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C.)



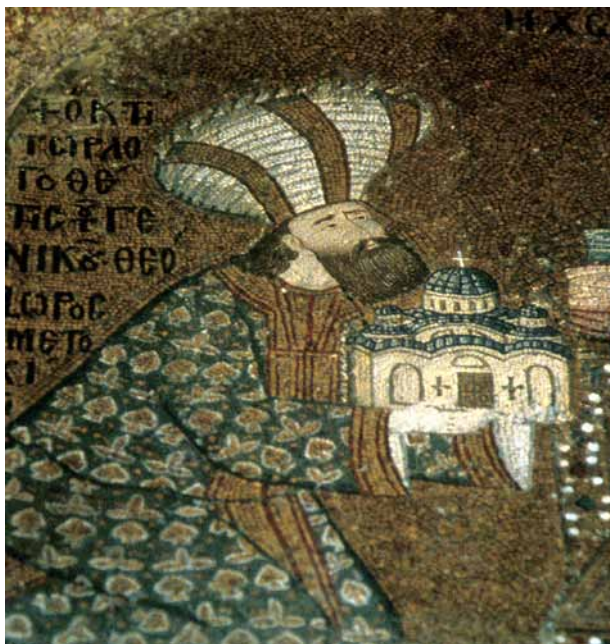


Plate 18 Constantinople, Chora monastery. Lunette, narthex. Theodore Metochites, donor portrait (14th c.) (© Dumbarton Oaks, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C.)



Plate 19 Ravenna. Church of S. Giovanni Evangelista. Mosaic floor panel illustrating a scene from the Fourth Crusade (1213) (photo Peter Mackridge)



Plate 20 Constantinople, Chora monastery. Inner narthex. Deesis, detail. The *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos (1315–1320/1) (© Dumbarton Oaks, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C.)



Plate 21 Nymphaion (Kemalpaşa), palace of the Laskarioi (13th c.)(image source: R. Macrides, ‘The citadel of Byzantine Constantinople’)





Plate 22 Oxford, Lincoln College ms. gr. 35, f. 8r (Lincoln Typikon). The *protostrator* Theodore Synadenos and Eudokia Doukaina Komnene Synadene Palaiologina (14th c.) (Copyright Lincoln College, Oxford ms. gr. 35, fol. 8r)





Plate 23      Constantinople, Tekfur Saray (late 13th c.) (photo Frouke Schrijver)



Plate 24      Samothrake, Chora. Byzantine tower with inscription of the Gattilusi (1433) (photo Bob Ousterhout)

# The Ceremonies

## The Daily Reception

Six of the 11 chapters are devoted to ceremonial (IV, V, VII, VIII, IX, X) while another, the chapter on functions (III), also contains information about the ceremonial practices and duties of court title holders. Pseudo-Kodinos begins his chapter on ceremonies celebrated ‘in the palace’ (IV) with Christmas, like Philotheos. His protocol for Christmas Eve and Christmas day is the longest in the entire work and incorporates the protocol for the daily reception. The most frequently performed ceremony was that of the daily reception (*parastasis*), the meeting of the emperor and his court officials which took place twice a day, at matins and at vespers.<sup>1</sup> Whereas in the *Book of Ceremonies* the reception occurs *after* matins and vespers,<sup>2</sup> in Pseudo-Kodinos the court gathers at the time of these two liturgical offices which are an integral part of the reception, as Pseudo-Kodinos’ statement indicates: ‘After the dismissal [of the office], if the emperor wishes either to make an address or to bestow an office (*offikion*) on someone, the reception continues.’<sup>3</sup> The imperial clergy, one presumes, were performing matins and vespers during the reception.<sup>4</sup>

In the *Book of Ceremonies* the procedure to be followed for the reception is outlined in two sections, one for the everyday and another for Sundays.<sup>5</sup> In Pseudo-Kodinos, description of the daily reception appears in chapter III on the functions, under the entry on the *protovestiarites* who serves at the reception. The receptions that take place on feast days are discussed briefly in chapter IV, a section concerned with the celebration of the holy days in the palace. The brief and by-the-way mention of the daily reception is another example of the difference in approach of the *Book of Ceremonies* and Pseudo-Kodinos.

Pseudo-Kodinos’ main concern in discussing the daily reception, as it emerges from the two sections of his text in which mention is made of it, is to explain how the *triklinos* or reception hall is filled on this occasion. On non-feast days there are four stages. Four title holders – the *protovestiarites*, the *megas hetaireiarches*, the *primmikerios tes aules* and the *hetaireiarches* – help to usher in different groups of title holders. This list of four begins with the highest title holder and proceeds to

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<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Kod. 90.9–12, 100.2–3, 122.6–7, 158.1–3.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Reiske, 518–22, 522–25.

<sup>3</sup> Ps.-Kod. 90.10–12.

<sup>4</sup> See below, 396–97, for the practice of holding receptions during matins and vespers.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Reiske, 518–22; 522–25; Featherstone, ‘The Great Palace as reflected in the *De Cerimoniis*’, 54–55.

lower ones; so too the groups of officials that each of these title holders summons into the *triklinos* begin at the top – the ‘pre-eminent’ – and end with the lowest – ‘those wearing the red *skaranika* and also all those below them’.<sup>6</sup> The emperor stands by his throne as the officials come into the *triklinos*.<sup>7</sup> When he asks for his staff, the command acts as a signal that the lowest title holders should enter.<sup>8</sup> Should it be a feast day, all the court title holders enter together, not in stages.<sup>9</sup> Thus, in his delineation of the procedure for the receptions Pseudo-Kodinos’ emphasis is on hierarchical order.

It can be inferred that the business of the court was conducted during the reception. Like the *Book of Ceremonies*, Pseudo-Kodinos says little about what business was discussed and how it was carried out. He gives a small indication when he says that after the dismissal of the office the reception continues ‘if the emperor wishes either to make an address or to bestow an office (*offikion*) on someone’. Likewise he comments that while the reception is taking place only the *protovestiarites* may bring ‘something important to the attention of the emperor’, something that an ambassador or someone else may have mentioned.<sup>10</sup> When the reception is to end the *protovestiarites* taps the ground with his staff.<sup>11</sup> Those lowest in rank depart first, reversing the order of their arrival.<sup>12</sup>

While the *Book of Ceremonies* is concerned with indicating the spaces of the palace that were opened in the morning in preparation for the daily reception and through which the court title holders moved, Pseudo-Kodinos focuses on the stages by which all the title holders are admitted into the emperor’s presence for the reception. Pseudo-Kodinos also indicates that while matins and vespers are being chanted inside, a parallel reception takes place in the courtyard of the palace. He relates that in the courtyard standing in order of rank are various units of palace guards: the *paramonai*, *tzakones*, *mourtatoi*, *kortinarioi*, and the *Vardariots*.<sup>13</sup>

Other, narrative, sources of the late eleventh, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries give evidence and corroboration of several practices relating to the daily reception. Michael Attaleiates, in reporting the usurpation of Botaneiates, relates that the emperor Michael VII was ‘presiding in the Blachernai palace on Sunday and conducting business, with all the senate present with him’.<sup>14</sup> The anonymous author of the *Synopsis chronike*, writing in the late thirteenth century, describes the reception that took place on a Sunday (‘the first of the days’), in the reign of

<sup>6</sup> Ps.-Kod. 88.10–90.8. For ‘red *skaranika*’, see 334–335.

<sup>7</sup> See the commentary at 88.12–90.2.

<sup>8</sup> Ps.-Kod. 90.4–8.

<sup>9</sup> Ps.-Kod. 122.6–12.

<sup>10</sup> Ps.-Kod. 90.10–12, 92.1–6.

<sup>11</sup> Ps.-Kod. 90.12–13. In the *Book of Ceremonies* the dismissal, the *minsai*, is given by the *papias* who shakes his keys: ed. Reiske, 520.18–521.7.

<sup>12</sup> Ps.-Kod. 90.13–92.1.

<sup>13</sup> Ps.-Kod. 96.5–8.

<sup>14</sup> Ed. Bekker, 256.11–19; ed. Pérez-Martín, 184.25–185.3.

Theodore II (1254–1258) in the ‘empire of Nicaea’, while the emperor was on campaign: ‘The clergy were celebrating the office of matins; it was towards the end, when it is the custom for most of the officials to come to the emperor and make obeisance. When they had made *proskynesis*, they stood.’<sup>15</sup> The author shows that receptions were also held when the emperor and his court were away from the palace. It seems from his account too that the practice of holding receptions as an integral part of matins and vespers was at least as old as the thirteenth century. The practice must have been introduced sometime after the tenth century.

The anonymous author refers to the *proskynesis* that the court title holders made to the emperor, as does the *Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>16</sup> It should be assumed that *proskynesis* was a part of the daily reception, even though Pseudo-Kodinos mentions it only when he gives the protocol for Christmas.<sup>17</sup> The same applies to two other features of the daily reception that Pseudo-Kodinos mentions in the Christmas protocol: the imperial sword and large candle next to and in front of the enthroned emperor.<sup>18</sup>

That the daily reception did take place twice a day in the fourteenth century is confirmed by Kantakouzenos who describes an incident in the reign of Andronikos III. Kantakouzenos reveals that the *megas logothetes* Theodore Metochites was accustomed to come to the palace in the winter ‘not twice’ but only once daily, because of the shortness of the day.<sup>19</sup> Kantakouzenos’ story shows that the twice-daily reception was the norm. In a letter that dates to the first two decades of the fourteenth century, Nikephoros Choumnos indicates that it was the norm for court title holders to attend receptions every day. Choumnos asks the *megas logothetes* Constantine Akropolites to tell the emperor that he intends to attend court on the next day, that is, Sunday. He had been ill and unable to come to the palace to ‘devote himself to his obligations’.<sup>20</sup>

By relating the four stages by which each group of officials from top to bottom is introduced into the *triklinos*, Pseudo-Kodinos highlights the significance of hierarchical order in the protocol for the daily reception. The reception was a daily

<sup>15</sup> Sathas, MB VII, 522.14–19. On the ‘Anonymous Sathas’ who is traditionally identified with Theodore Skoutariotes, see Zafeiris, ‘The issue of the authorship of the *Synopsis Chronike* and Theodore Skoutariotes’, 253–63; Macrides, *George Akropolites. The History*, 65–71.

<sup>16</sup> Ed. Reiske, 520.10–16.

<sup>17</sup> See 386–87 on *proskynesis*.

<sup>18</sup> See the commentary at 120.3–8. An indication that it was the norm for the imperial sword to be held next to the emperor on all occasions is Syropoulos’ account of (George) Philanthropenos, the *mesazon*, who ‘stood next [to the emperor] holding the imperial sword according to the custom’ in the *triklinos* where the council of Ferrara-Florence met: §26: 324.28–30.

<sup>19</sup> Kant. I., 62.22–63.3.

<sup>20</sup> Boissonade, *Anecdota nova*, no. 8: 99–100. I thank Alexander Riehle for bringing this letter to my attention.

opportunity to display one's position relative to others. Pseudo-Kodinos gives proof of this statement. In chapter I a note on the hierarchical list comments that the position of the *epi tou kanikleiou* was not known because Choumnos did not participate in the reception.<sup>21</sup> To participate was to observe and be observed.<sup>22</sup> To attend the daily reception was to affirm one's position, to enact one's status. The daily reception was an exhibition of the court to itself.

## Processions in the City

Pseudo-Kodinos uses the word *parastasis*, denoting 'presence', 'proximity', 'standing by', to refer to the daily reception, whereas the *Book of Ceremonies* calls the receptions 'processions'.<sup>23</sup> This difference in vocabulary to designate the same ceremony is significant. In Pseudo-Kodinos, movement, how the emperor and the court title holders go from one place to another, their itinerary both inside and outside the palace, and their means of travel – foot, horse, ship – is a subject left untouched. To judge by Pseudo-Kodinos' text, ceremonial is not about movement at all. Pseudo-Kodinos often and most simply uses the expression 'he goes' to indicate change of place. He makes an indirect reference to movement when he identifies the escorts of the horseback emperor, the Vardariots, the *akolouthos* and the Varangians.<sup>24</sup> According to Pseudo-Kodinos, the latter always accompany the emperor when he rides on horseback. In chapter V he presents a list of all the churches and monasteries in the city where the emperor celebrates feast days throughout the year.<sup>25</sup> However, it is only in the case of the Blachernai and the Petra, both nearby, that the Varangians are said to accompany the emperor all the way to the place of celebration. (See map, viii.) They return from there to the outer gate to await the emperor's return. In the other cases they go only as far as the outer gate of the palace and wait for the emperor there.<sup>26</sup> It has therefore been concluded that the emperor travelled to the more distant churches and monasteries by ship.<sup>27</sup> However, the passage can be interpreted in another way. It seems that the Varangians remained at the palace to guard it when the emperor left it for the more distant churches and monasteries stipulated in chapter V. He would still

<sup>21</sup> Ps.-Kod. 32.6–9.

<sup>22</sup> See Howe, *Ceremonial culture in pre-modern Europe*, 4, with regard to the audiences of ceremonies: 'To observe meant to participate'.

<sup>23</sup> Reiske, 518.2; 522.20: *προέλευσις*.

<sup>24</sup> Ps.-Kod. 100.15–102.1, 108.3–4.

<sup>25</sup> On these places see Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 6–11.

<sup>26</sup> Ps.-Kod. 196.10–198.5, 200.6–8.

<sup>27</sup> Berger, 'Imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople', 85. Kafescioğlu, 'Reckoning with an imperial legacy', 39, following Berger, *op. cit.*, surmises that late Byzantine emperors did not appear on the Mese but travelled by ship to the southeast area of the city and on horseback for short distances once there.

have travelled to those venues by horse or foot, accompanied by other units of the palace guards. Travel by ship is on occasion mentioned in the narrative accounts of the late thirteenth to fourteenth centuries but it is never the emperor who travels by this means in those accounts.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, in the ceremonial world of Pseudo-Kodinos' text, processions in the streets of the city do not figure in a direct way. This does not, however, mean that they did not occur in fourteenth-century Constantinople. The emperor's presence in the city in processions is indicated in an indirect way by a passage in Nikephoros Gregoras' *History*. Gregoras characterises the emperor Andronikos III (1328–1341) as someone who 'hated to see a crowd of people around him, whence he could not bear either to take part in imperial concerns and obligations or to carry out the customs of the imperial office on the great holy days, I mean the theatrical and popular processions ...'.<sup>29</sup> In this way Gregoras indicates that processions were very much an imperial obligation which some emperors, because of their character, might choose to avoid. Other emperors did take part in them.

Pseudo-Kodinos indirectly refers to the movement of the emperor in the city on horseback in the section on the functions of the court title holders, under the service of the *protostrator*. There he reveals the origins of the 'custom' for seven horses to be made ready every day for the emperor to mount whichever he chooses. He discloses the source for this practice and how the riding out is to be accomplished in various passages, separated from each other by other material concerning the right of the *komes* of the imperial horses to mount imperial horses and the items of imperial footwear and where they are kept.<sup>30</sup>

The emperor's riding out, then, which was also accompanied by the sound of trumpets and other horn instruments, as Pseudo-Kodinos reveals, was a specific type of imperial procession, one that involved an appearance of the riding emperor, in the city or outside, to receive petitions from his subjects. Pseudo-Kodinos shows that this is the case when he explains the reason for sounding the instruments: 'if one of the people has a demand or is being unjustly treated he can run and bring this to the attention of the emperor ...'. Another sign of the connection between riding out and petitions lies in Pseudo-Kodinos' reference to an incident in the reign of Theophilos as the origin of the seven horses 'in train'. Theophilos, an emperor famous for justice, rode every week to the Blachernai church and received petitions on the way, as several narratives relate.<sup>31</sup> Finally, the entry under the *epi ton deeseon* in chapter III ties the riding out of the emperor with petitioning. Pseudo-Kodinos recounts that the *epi ton deeseon* 'receives

<sup>28</sup> The only example of an emperor travelling by ship from the Great Palace to the Blachernai in the 12th c. and later is from the reign of Alexios III: Chon. 530.52–61. For the same journey by ship in earlier centuries, see the *Book of Ceremonies*: ed. Reiske, 180.3–4; 188.22–23; 551.6–10.

<sup>29</sup> Greg. I, 565.18–24.

<sup>30</sup> Ps.-Kod. 72.5–82.8.

<sup>31</sup> See Macrides, 'The ritual of petition', 359–60.



the requests of the petitioners and those who have been wronged as the emperor passes on horseback'.<sup>32</sup>

That the emperor received petitions while outside Constantinople but also in the capital is documented by chronologically scattered sources. The Roman practice is attested for Constantinople from the reign of Constantine I. Riding down the Mese he met with petitioners as he returned from a procession.<sup>33</sup> The tenth-century treatise on military expeditions attributed to Constantine VII describes the procedure for an emperor on campaign, while in the mid-thirteenth century, Theodore II, in the 'empire of Nicaea', refers in a letter to his daily routine which included mounting a horse and riding out to hear those unable to come to the palace.<sup>34</sup> The reference closest in time to Pseudo-Kodinos is the 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII for his son Andronikos II. Here the emperor lays out clearly who is to accompany his son in his riding out (*kabalikeuma*), that is, the Vardariots, *paramonai* and Varangians, and when the bugles and trumpets are to sound and why.<sup>35</sup>

Whether the emperor rode out in Constantinople or elsewhere to receive petitions in Pseudo-Kodinos' time, it is impossible to state. Narrative accounts refer to the patriarch coming to bring petitions to the emperor<sup>36</sup> but never mention the horseback emperor collecting petitions. The silence on this matter is, however, not an argument against the practice since, for the previous centuries only a few mentions survive.

With the exception of the *peripatos*, a procession that takes place on Palm Sunday on a walkway facing onto the courtyard of the palace,<sup>37</sup> movement outside the palace receives little mention. Movement within the palace is likewise a topic left untouched by Pseudo-Kodinos. By contrast, in the *Book of Ceremonies* labyrinthine processions winding through numerous named palace rooms and spaces, take up a large part of the work.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, reconstructions of that palace are heavily dependent on the itineraries of the *Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>39</sup> Not only does Pseudo-Kodinos not provide itineraries; his ceremonies take place in a small number of spaces. It has been suggested that by Pseudo-Kodinos' time the Blachernai palace, thought once to have been a large complex like the Great Palace, had contracted to a functional core: church, hall and living quarters.<sup>40</sup> However, here it is argued that the buildings of the Blachernai, at least from the eleventh/twelfth century on, did not resemble those of the Great Palace in any way. Here it

<sup>32</sup> Ps.-Kod. 106.5–6.

<sup>33</sup> Gelasios 3.18.4: 180.11–17. Millar, *The emperor in the Roman world*, 36–8, 475.

<sup>34</sup> Haldon, *Three treatises*, 124.491–126.496; *Epistulae*, ed. Festa, no. 44: 58.63–75.

<sup>35</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 139.29–44.

<sup>36</sup> Pach. II, 521.28–34 (reign of Michael VIII).

<sup>37</sup> See 411–13.

<sup>38</sup> Cameron, 'The construction of court ritual', 112, 131.

<sup>39</sup> For the latest reconstruction, see Bardill, 'Visualizing the Great Palace', 5–48. See also 367.

<sup>40</sup> Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 6.

is likewise suggested that the lack of itineraries and the silence about movement in Pseudo-Kodinos has to do with the spatial organisation of the Blachernai palace which differed considerably from the Great Palace. The Blachernai was a palace with the emphasis on verticality, on height, while the Great Palace was a low, atrium style complex, where horizontality is a defining characteristic.<sup>41</sup> Thus, movement in the Blachernai palace is upwards, a matter of ascending to the level of the *triklinos*. In Pseudo-Kodinos ceremonies that take place from a height are more dominant than is movement and its description.

### *Prokypsis*

Thus, ceremonial movement is indirectly and little represented in the text. It is, rather, the static tableau to which Pseudo-Kodinos gives most attention and space: the *prokypsis*. This is the first and only protocol for this ceremony. The *prokypsis* takes place on a platform, also called a *prokypsis*, which stands in the courtyard of the palace. For Pseudo-Kodinos only the two feast day appearances of the emperor, on Christmas Eve and Epiphany, on the platform outdoors are *prokypseis*.<sup>42</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos gives an extensive description of this ceremony in connection with Christmas Eve.<sup>43</sup> He sets out the groups of participants, their standing positions, and the stages in the preparations. Opposite the *prokypsis* banners are placed, those of the emperor, the despots, the court title holders and the demarchs. In front of all the banners stands the *skouterios* who holds the *dibellion* and imperial shield. The players of musical instruments stand in front of the banners, while the clergy are in front of them. Finally, the court title holders 'take position, each according to his rank, in the same way as in the *triklinos*'. The banners and the men<sup>44</sup> face the *prokypsis* structure, while the Varangians, holding their axes, are next to the pillars of the structure, looking away from it, guarding the emperor there as at the entrance to the palace and to his apartments.

<sup>41</sup> See 367–77.

<sup>42</sup> Many modern historians refer to other appearances of the emperor as *prokypseis*. For example, Kantorowicz, 'Oriens Augusti', 160–161; Dagron, 'Trônes', 187; Dagron, 'L'organisation et le déroulement des courses', 123 and n. 96, name the appearance of the emperor in the gallery of Hagia Sophia after his coronation a *prokypsis*. For Pseudo-Kodinos and his contemporaries, *prokypsis* was a self-contained ceremony performed outdoors on a particular structure made for this purpose. See 439.

<sup>43</sup> Ps.-Kod. 124.22–146.10. In three other sections mention is made indirectly of the *prokypsis*: the boots the emperor wears for the *prokypsis* and the *peripatos* (78.11–80.1); the *kortinarioi* also stand below the *prokypsis*, although they are 'of lower rank' (98.8–100.1); the mourning emperor (172.20–174.7).

<sup>44</sup> The banners are in no particular order, while the court title holders stand according to their rank. Ps.-Kod. 130.10–12.



The emperor goes up onto the stage with the *protovestiaros*. The latter acts as master of ceremonies in this performance, informing the audience of the stages in the preparation by holding strips of embroidered cloth, called *pilatikia*, outside the curtains that hide the emperor.<sup>45</sup> He shows the *pilatikia* three times: when the emperor first arrives on the stage, when he has changed his clothes and, finally, when the emperor is in position and the curtains are about to open. The *protovestiaros* also helps the emperor to change his clothes, providing him with items of clothing.

As the emperor dresses, Pseudo-Kodinos enumerates the items in the emperor's wardrobe and gives a commentary on each, providing a symbolic explanation.<sup>46</sup> Finally, when everything is in place, the curtains part<sup>47</sup> to reveal the emperor – holding the cross in one hand and *akakia* in the other, and visible from the knees up – as well as his son, whether he is crowned or not. If despots are present they are visible only from the chest up,<sup>48</sup> a stipulation that reveals, here also, hierarchical considerations. On the stage no other person appears although at least two others are present, the *lampadarios* who holds a large candle, and a bareheaded *archontopoulon*, one who is related to the emperor, who holds the sword. These men crouch below the balustrade and are hidden by it. Singers chant 'many years' and verses for the feast day<sup>49</sup> while musical instruments, trumpets, bugles, clarinets and kettle drums, alternate with the voices.<sup>50</sup>

Several elements of Pseudo-Kodinos' timeless protocol can be identified and put in a historical context. The structure from which the emperor emerges, the *prokypsis*, as Pseudo-Kodinos shows, was in the palace courtyard. It had columns and curtains, and was elevated: the emperor ascended it. The location of the structure in the courtyard of the palace could tie the protocol to a date during Andronikos II's reign or after if, as Nikephoros Xanthopoulos states, it was this emperor who was responsible for the construction of the structure: 'There is also

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<sup>45</sup> Although *pilatikia* are not otherwise known, the practice of hanging items of clothing or other objects outside, to indicate what is going on inside, is well attested. See the commentary at 134.1. See also Maguire, 'The disembodied hand', 230–35.

<sup>46</sup> See 347–48.

<sup>47</sup> Here the curtains are drawn back, opening sideways. They are not raised as at 234.14, 252.8–9. The sideways opening makes it possible for 'the emperor and only the emperor' to be visible first. (142.5–144.6). Thereafter, the other performers appear on the platform.

<sup>48</sup> The base of Theodosius' obelisk in the Hippodrome illustrates the balustrades of varying heights in the emperor's *kathisma*. See Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer*, figs. 19–22.

<sup>49</sup> A 15th c. manuscript preserves the verses, and the sequence in which the acclamations and verses were sung, for the *prokypsis* of John VIII Palaiologos and Maria Komnene. See the commentary, n. 381.

<sup>50</sup> See 439–41 for musical instruments.

the outdoor platform which you have established on four columns, a sight worthy of great account ...'.<sup>51</sup>

Furthermore, Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol relates to a specific part of the palace, the part inhabited by Anne of Savoy and John V in the regency government, before Kantakouzenos came to inhabit the palace in 1347.<sup>52</sup> Andronikos' 'outdoor platform' was in the courtyard of this palace.<sup>53</sup> Gregoras' account of John V's celebration of his first Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis* in 1341/2, soon after his elevation to the throne, shows this to be the case. Before Anne and John other Palaiologan emperors inhabited this part of the palace and used this *prokypsis* structure.<sup>54</sup> Gregoras comments that the platform on which John V appeared was the same one on which 'emperors before him were accustomed to emerge on this day'.<sup>55</sup> It is likewise possible that John VI made his *prokypseis* on the same platform.

Gregoras' account constitutes the only description of the Christmas-Epiphany *prokypseis* to survive, apart from Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol. As with most descriptions of ceremonies in the narrative sources, so too with Gregoras', the ceremony is only an accessory to the main story of the author. In Gregoras' account the *prokypsis* is the context for the death of Theodora, the mother of John VI Kantakouzenos. Her imprisonment by the regency government in a building 'in the midst of the courtyard', exposed her to the *prokypsis* ceremonies on Christmas Eve and Epiphany. From her room she could hear the crowds acclaiming John V on the twenty-fourth, but the acclamation 'was mixed with abuse against Kantakouzenos and his mother'. She fell ill and died twelve days later, 'shortly before the sounding of the trumpets', at the Epiphany appearance of John, when she heard the same mixture of acclamations and abuse.<sup>56</sup>

Thus, Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol may date from the late thirteenth-early fourteenth century, to the reign of Andronikos II, since the ceremony took place on the structure built by this emperor. It was on 'the little open air house of the palace' that emperors also before John V were 'accustomed to emerge (προκύπτειν) on this day'.<sup>57</sup> It might even be older, if Xanthopoulos gave Andronikos credit for building a new structure when he actually rebuilt or renovated. Furthermore, the protocol

<sup>51</sup> Xanthopoulos, PG 145, 585B-C; trans. Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 13.

<sup>52</sup> Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 4–5. See 367–78 for discussion of the palace of Pseudo-Kodinos' ceremonies.

<sup>53</sup> See 370.

<sup>54</sup> Macrides, 'The citadel of Byzantine Constantinople', 282–83. It is possible that Andronikos II renovated the structure but was given credit by Xanthopoulos for being its original builder. See Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 5, makes this suggestion. In this case the *prokypsis* structure could have been in use at least from Michael VIII's reign.

<sup>55</sup> Greg. II, 616.19–20.

<sup>56</sup> Greg. II, 616.16–618.5.

<sup>57</sup> Greg. II, 616.19–20.

describes a ceremony that was being performed in the fourteenth century and as recently as 1341/2. Gregoras does not mention the banners, the positions of the court title holders, the singing of verses – all elements known from the protocol – but his account shows that the *prokypsis* took place ‘in late afternoon’ when it would have been dark, that acclamations were performed and trumpets were sounded. He adds also an important precision to the picture given by Pseudo-Kodinos. He indicates that among the audience-participants of the spectacle were also the people of the city and the army.<sup>58</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos’ protocol leaves out this vital element of the ceremony. According to Gregoras, ‘the gathering of the people flowed together and merged like streams’.<sup>59</sup> They would have filled the palace courtyard and added their voices to those of the court title holders in the acclamations.

The 1341/2 *prokypseis* described by Gregoras are the closest in time to Pseudo-Kodinos’ protocol. However, the twice-yearly *prokypseis* at Christmas and Epiphany took place also earlier, at least from the reign of Michael VIII. In his 1272 *prostagma* for Andronikos II, Michael stipulates that his son should perform *prokypseis* on dominical feast days, that is on Christmas and Epiphany, also when he is away from the capital.<sup>60</sup> The poems by Manuel Holobolos for this emperor and his sons relate to these two dominical feasts.<sup>61</sup> Evidence for this practice can be found too among the emperors of Trebizond. Panaretos reports that Alexios III performed *prokypseis* at Christmas and Epiphany when he was away from the palace.<sup>62</sup>

*Prokypsis* was therefore performed at least from Michael VIII’s reign and probably earlier. The *prostagma* of 1272 refers to *prokypseis* on the two feast days as a well-established custom.<sup>63</sup> However, there is no evidence for the connection of *prokypsis* and the dominical feast days before the thirteenth century. In his study of *prokypsis*,<sup>64</sup> Heisenberg interpreted Choniates’ account of the reception

<sup>58</sup> Greg. II, 616.20–21.

<sup>59</sup> Greg. II, 617.8–9.

<sup>60</sup> Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzeit’, 38.13–19: αἱ δεσποτικά ἐορταί, ἐν αἷς γίνονται ... αἱ προκύψεις.

<sup>61</sup> Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca*, V, 159–82; Treu, ‘Manuel Holobolos’, 546–47. For the dates of these poems see Failler, ‘La proclamation impériale de Michel VIII et d’Andronic II’, 249–252; cf. Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 69 and n. 151.

<sup>62</sup> Panaretos (ed. Lampsidis, 72.5–7) relates that in 1347 he and all those with the emperor performed the *prokypseis* for Christmas and Epiphany at Kerasous and (Cape) Jason, while travelling. See Bryer, ‘Greek historians on the Turks: the case of the first Byzantine-Ottoman marriage’, 483, for the suggestion that, when at Trebizond, the emperor performed *prokypseis* in the *Epiphaneia* court of the palace. See Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, 184 and fig. 44.

<sup>63</sup> Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzeit’, 38.18: ὡς ἔθος. However, Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 45, suggests that Michael VIII established *prokypsis* for the first time as a regularly staged ceremony.

<sup>64</sup> Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzeit’, 82–132, here at 85.

by Alexios III of the German ambassadors on Christmas day 1196 as a late twelfth-century example of this ceremony. Historians since Heisenberg have accepted this view. However, the passage says nothing more than that on Christmas day the emperor wore his bejewelled clothing to impress the ambassadors.<sup>65</sup> It is the fourteenth-century metaphrast of the text who reads into Choniates' description of the change of imperial attire a ceremony he was familiar with from his own times: 'now called *prokypsis*.'<sup>66</sup> If it were not for this comment of the later metaphrast no one would see in Choniates' words a description of *prokypsis*.

Although the Choniates passage does not indicate that a *prokypsis* was performed on that occasion in front of the ambassadors of the German ruler, there is evidence for the ceremony before the Palaiologoi, at Nicaea. The title of a poem of Nicholas Eirenikos written on the occasion of the marriage of John III Batatzes and Constanza-Anna, daughter of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, in 1241 refers to *prokypsis*.<sup>67</sup> This is the only poem in the collection that is identified as being for a *prokypsis* ceremony. The verses refer to the appearance from a height of the empress-moon who receives her light from the giant sun opposite her, the emperor John. From this poem it appears that the *prokypsis* was the bride's alone. The emperor did not appear with her. Among Eirenikos' verses written for the wedding, only this one is said to be for a *prokypsis*. Another poem in the collection describes the parting of curtains to reveal the giant sun and the moon; it combines features of the *prokypsis*, light imagery and the sudden appearance of the imperial couple. Yet the setting for the performance of these verses is indoors, within the palace, according to the title, and the ceremony is not identified as a *prokypsis*.<sup>68</sup>

*Prokypsis*, therefore, as it appears from the wedding poem of the mid-thirteenth century, was performed also by an imperial bride on her wedding day. This suggestion is supported by the statement of Kantakouzenos, writing about his daughter's *prokypsis* in 1346, on the occasion of her marriage to Orhan. In his *History* Kantakouzenos gives an account of Theodora's *prokypsis* which took place at Selymbria before he sent his daughter to her husband:

<sup>65</sup> Chon. 477.66–87.

<sup>66</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 85. On the work of the 14th c. metaphrast who, in Heisenberg's time, was thought to be Choniates himself, see Davis, 'Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates 'translated': the fourteenth-century Byzantine metaphrases', 55–70, here at 59.

<sup>67</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 102–103. The manuscript dates to the 13th c.: Rostagno and Festa, 'Indici dei codici greci laurenziani non compresi nel catalogo del Bandini', 173–80. For the date of the marriage see Macrides, *George Akropolites. The History*, commentary, 274–75.

<sup>68</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 104.94–108. Theodore II, in writing about the wedding celebrations, makes a reference to festivities in the 'forecourt', perhaps an allusion to the staging of the *prokypsis* there: Tartaglia, *Opuscula*, 191.911–192.916.

The emperor ordered that a *prokypsis* be made of wood in front of the city, on the plain, so that the betrothed daughter of the emperor, might stand on it and become visible to all. It is the custom for emperors to do this for daughters who are getting married ... The next day, Theodora, the one to be wed, went up onto the *prokypsis*, while the emperor alone was on horseback. All the others were on foot. When the curtains were opened – for the *prokypsis* was covered on all sides with gold silk fabric – the bride appeared. Large candles were lit on either side of her. Eunuchs held these, kneeling, so that they did not appear. Trumpets sounded to the greatest extent and pipes and wind instruments and all that has been invented for people's pleasure. When these ceased to play, singers sang encomia written for the bride by certain learned men.<sup>69</sup>

Wedding *prokypseis* are, therefore, attested for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,<sup>70</sup> yet Pseudo-Kodinos does not mention this ceremony. In his text only the emperor and his son and despots could perform *prokypsis* on the occasion of the dominical feast days of Christmas and Epiphany.<sup>71</sup> The lack of reference to the bride's wedding *prokypsis* could have to do with the fact that he does not include protocols for all occasions: he describes the procedure for welcoming a foreign bride but not for an imperial wedding.

Both the Eirenikos verses and the example from Kantakouzenos show that the performance was a *prokypsis* only if it took place on a *prokypsis* platform, outdoors.<sup>72</sup> No other appearances from a height, of which there are many examples,<sup>73</sup> were considered to be *prokypseis*. The outdoor structure was essential for the fourteenth century performances. It can be inferred that this was also the case for the thirteenth century wedding *prokypsis* at Nicaea.

The name of the ceremony appears for the first time in the title of the Eirenikos verses. Yet, there are indications that the ceremony itself was older and had its

<sup>69</sup> Kant. II, 586–88. Bryer, 'Greek historians on the Turks: the case of the first Byzantine-Ottoman marriage', 471–93, esp. 482–84. See 439, for the musical instruments.

<sup>70</sup> Panaretos (78.27–31), reporting the marriage of Manuel to the daughter of David, king of Tiflis, in 1378, refers to the 'imperial *prokypsis*' at the time of the bride's coronation: 'She was crowned on the imperial *prokypsis* and named Eudokia ... and the next day the wedding took place ...' He refers to the 'platform' on which she was crowned as a *prokypsis*.

<sup>71</sup> See 410.

<sup>72</sup> See 441.

<sup>73</sup> The appearance of the bride on the *prokypsis* platform described above in the cases of Constanza-Anna and Theodora Kantakouzene, has often been confused with the appearance of the imperial couple from the gallery of the church after the coronation. The latter is not called a *prokypsis* in any source and is distinct from the wedding *prokypsis* of the imperial bride. See below, 408. For the illustration in Vat. gr. 1851, 7r, which has (wrongly) been interpreted as showing a bride at her *prokypsis*, see Jeffreys, 'The vernacular εἰσιτήριον for Agnes of France', 111.

origins in the reign of Manuel I Komnenos.<sup>74</sup> The evidence derives from the poems of Manganeios Prodromos. Although this author does not make use of the noun *prokypsis*, a neologism that first appears in the sources in the thirteenth century,<sup>75</sup> the verb προκύπτω, to ‘emerge’ or ‘peep out’, is used in combination with words that appear also in the verses of Eirenikos and Holobolos, in particular, ‘stage’ (σκηνή), ‘giant’ (γίγας), ‘disc’ (δίσκος).<sup>76</sup> The emperor is said to ‘emerge from the stage like a giant sun from a disc’. The occasions on which the emperor is celebrated in this way differ greatly, in comparison with later *prokypsis* performances, as do the sites of the performances. The contexts and places are the following: the palace, after a triumph; the palace after Manuel introduces his daughter Maria into a new building of the palace; an unknown place but probably the palace on the occasion of the marriage of John Komnenos,<sup>77</sup> son of the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene; an appearance on the gate of Antioch after his arrival there. But most significant is the description of a *prokypsis*-like ceremony that names Manuel ‘the innovator of the ceremony just celebrated’.<sup>78</sup>

Thus, the shared ‘technical’ vocabulary and metaphorical language in Manganeios Prodromos’ poems and the thirteenth-century verses point to the existence of the ceremony from the reign of Manuel. Like the thirteenth and fourteenth century cases of *prokypsis*, the twelfth-century ceremony could be part of wedding festivities but also other ceremonial contexts not attested in later practice. Like later occurrences of the ceremony, those in Manuel’s time took place on a height, although it is not clear whether a specific structure was used, and the ceremony has no name as yet.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, the identity of the palace where the performances were held, is not revealed. There is good reason to believe that it was the Blachernai palace.<sup>80</sup>

Many have seen in *prokypsis*, with its emergence of the emperor from a height and its comparison of the emperor with the sun, a ceremony that replaced the appearances of the emperor in his *kathisma*, appearances which were becoming fewer already in the tenth century and were greatly reduced by the twelfth when

<sup>74</sup> First argued by Jeffreys, ‘The Comnenian prokypsis’, 38–53; Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 240.

<sup>75</sup> Jeffreys, ‘The Comnenian prokypsis’, 40–41.

<sup>76</sup> Jeffreys, ‘The Comnenian prokypsis’, 42–53; Eirenikos: Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzeit’, 102.70; 103.73; Holobolos: Boissonade, 163.2; 167.23.

<sup>77</sup> It appears that Manuel himself performed the *prokypsis* and that other people were associated with him, perhaps the bride and groom. (I am indebted to Michael Jeffreys for this information.) Manuel’s performance therefore differs from later wedding *prokypseis* where only the bride stands on the platform.

<sup>78</sup> Jeffreys, ‘The Comnenian prokypsis’, 52; Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 240.

<sup>79</sup> In a personal communication Michael Jeffreys has confirmed his earlier conclusions concerning the origins of *prokypsis* in the reign of Manuel, ‘at some time around the passage of the Second Crusade in 1147’.

<sup>80</sup> Macrides, ‘The citadel of Byzantine Constantinople’, 285, 289, 296.

Manuel was hailed as the innovator of a ceremony.<sup>81</sup> The *kathisma*, the elevated box of the emperor, with a balustrade, from which the emperor surfaced like the sun on the horizon, was a part of the palace and was connected to it by a spiral ramp.<sup>82</sup> It was there that chants of ‘*Anateilon*’, ‘Rise’, invited the emperor to appear before the start of the races.<sup>83</sup> These chants, identical with those for the emperor and his close family in the gallery of Hagia Sophia after his coronation, have misled historians to think that the imperial appearance in the gallery of the church after coronation is a *prokypsis*.<sup>84</sup> Although the emperor came into view from the height of the gallery, from a temporary wooden platform with curtains, no contemporary author calls his appearance a *prokypsis*. *Prokypseis* could take place only outdoors and only on platforms specially built for the occasion.

Indeed, there are many ceremonies or parts of ceremonies that share features with *prokypsis*; the Hippodrome appearance from the *kathisma* and the coronation appearance known from later sources are only two. The raising on a shield involved the elevation, to the accompaniment of acclamations, of the emperor-to-be who had changed his clothing. Descriptions of the ceremony make use of light symbolism.<sup>85</sup> The elevation of the enthroned emperor in different clothing is a feature of the emperor’s reception of ambassadors, known from the *Book of Ceremonies*, but also from Liudprand’s report of his audience before Constantine VII.<sup>86</sup> In the thirteenth century, Pachymeres’ account of Theodore II’s reception of the Tatar ambassadors in Asia Minor indicates that

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<sup>81</sup> For the *kathisma* appearances, described as the emperor’s ‘*anatole*’: *Book of Ceremonies*, ed. Reiske, 304.21–23; Featherstone, ‘The Great Palace as reflected in the *De cerimoniis*’, 58; Mango, ‘Daily life in Byzantium’, 346–47. Cf. Magdalino-Nelson, ‘The emperor in Byzantine art of the twelfth century’, 164–65.

<sup>82</sup> Dagron, et al., ‘L’organisation et le déroulement des courses’, 114, 119–21.

<sup>83</sup> Ed. Reiske, 316; Dagron, et al., ‘L’organisation et le déroulement des courses’, 27–9. Corippus’ poem on Justin II’s accession to the throne presents the new emperor’s appearance at the Hippodrome ‘to see the people’, as an epiphany: ‘he came out amid his own light’. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini*, 56.278–299; commentary, 171–74.

<sup>84</sup> Ps.-Kod. 234.7–236.4. Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzzeit’, 89–91; Kantorowicz, ‘Oriens Augusti’, 159–61; Dagron, ‘Trônes’, 184–85.

<sup>85</sup> Corippus, *In laudem Iustini*, 51.137–52.158; Kantorowicz, ‘Oriens Augusti’, 152–54, 159. Two marble roundels, one at Dumbarton Oaks and the other in the Campiello de Ca’ Angheran in Venice, dated to the 12th c., show an emperor against a large disk decorated with radiating quatrefoils representing rays of light. Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 145–49, discusses the roundels in the context of solar imagery and identifies the emperors as Alexios I and John II Komnenos but he does not associate them with raising on the shield, perhaps because when he wrote, this ceremony was not thought to be performed in the 12th c. On continuity for raising on the shield, see 418–21. For the roundels see also Vikan, *Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, no. 40, 104–108.

<sup>86</sup> Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, ed. Chiesa, §5: 147, especially ll. 77–80. For the throne see Dagron, ‘Trônes’, 187–88 and n. 46, who is sceptical that a mechanism was involved in the elevation of the throne.



a similar procedure was in place, even if the throne was less elaborate than the one Liudprand experienced. The emperor Theodore, in an attempt to produce the maximum discomfort and apprehension in the Tatars, appeared suddenly from within the parting curtains, elevated on his throne and holding a sword. Some of these elements – the elevation, the curtains and the sword – are reminiscent of Pseudo-Kodinos' *prokypsis*.<sup>87</sup>

Another ceremony that shared certain features with *prokypsis* is that of the Brumalia, known from the *Book of Ceremonies*. In this winter festival, a name day celebration, the emperor appeared on a balcony (πρόκυμμα), from behind a curtain (παρακυπτικόν),<sup>88</sup> with lit candles, music and chants for the occasion.<sup>89</sup>

Thus, many ceremonies made use of the elevation of the emperor, his sudden appearance from behind curtains, artificial light, music and acclamations. However, the one that seems to be closest to *prokypsis* and, it has been suggested, is at the origin of this ceremony is the *parakypstikon*. The day before the Hippodrome games the leaders of the Blues and Greens received the emperor in their respective courtyards on the terraces of the lower palace, acclaiming him with the accompaniment of organ music. The emperor looked down from his throne, enclosed in a box with balustrade, baldachin and curtains.<sup>90</sup>

*Prokypsis* may have evolved from this reception of the emperor by the leaders of the demes. In Pseudo-Kodinos' representation of the Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis* elements of the performance are certainly reminiscent of a Hippodrome connection: the emperor emerges in his own space, the palace or a construction that belongs to the palace. The emperor's body appears only partially, either in bust or from the knees upwards, framed by the structure, its columns, balustrade and baldachin. The emperor communicates by gesture, waving his handkerchief. Music accompanies the acclamations.<sup>91</sup> Standing in their places to witness the emperor's appearance are the demarchs, representatives of the neighbourhoods of the city, as well as the title holders and the banners that represent the army units.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Pach. I, 187.22–189.25.

<sup>88</sup> The word *parakypstikon* also denotes the room or rooms above the *kathisma* where people could watch the games by looking through the window. See the discussion in Cameron, *Porphyrus the Charioteer*, 52–3, 200–201.

<sup>89</sup> Ed. Reiske, 600; Magdalino, 'The bath of Leo the Wise', 111. For the celebration of Brumalia until the 10th c., see Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, 'Winter in the Great Palace', 117–32.

<sup>90</sup> *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 296–303. For the setting of this ceremony, see Theoph. Cont., 140–43. Dagron, 'Trônes', 180–185; Dagron, 'L'organisation et le déroulement des courses', 123; Magdalino, 'Court and capital in Byzantium', 131–144, here at 137.

<sup>91</sup> See below on musical instruments, 439–41.

<sup>92</sup> See the commentary at Ps.-Kod. 130.10–12; Cameron, *Circus factions*, 258–61.



The people gathered at the *prokypsis* use the occasion to voice their views.<sup>93</sup> The *provestiarios*, like the *praipositos*, marks the stages in the preparation.<sup>94</sup>

Gregoras draws attention to the Roman origins of *prokypsis* when he compares the *prokypsis* of his day with a 'triumph'.<sup>95</sup> By the fourteenth century, when he wrote, the performance was integral to Christmas and Epiphany, winter feast days associated with light. Epiphany even more than Christmas, as the Feast of Light, celebrated the appearance and the revelation of God's son on earth. The emperor's sudden appearance, accompanied by fanfare and a burst of light, was in imitation of that revelation, that *Theophaneia*.

The immobile illuminated emperor appeared with his sons framed by the columns and balustrade of the *prokypsis*. On the dark afternoons of December and January the emperor emerged as if from the frame of an icon with light emanating from it. He was represented with his attributes, his sword and large candle,<sup>96</sup> both of which were miraculously suspended; no human agency was apparent. The emperor looked down upon his subjects, 'leaning down from on high, as if from some superior realm of nature, in this too imitating God'.<sup>97</sup> The emperor on the *prokypsis* platform was like Christ Pantokrator leaning over the rim of the dome to look down on the people on earth.

The verses composed by Manuel Holobolos and Manuel Philes from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries on the occasion of Christmas and Epiphany performances are the best evidence for the significance of the *prokypsis*, what it conveyed about imperial power and authority to its audience-participants. The poems are examples of the kinds of verses to which Pseudo-Kodinos alludes when he refers to the chanting of 'verses appropriate to the feast'.<sup>98</sup> The emperor is celebrated as the one who imitates Him who was 'born today in a cave, the lord of all'. Like Christ he emerges from the darkness of his *prokypsis* with light shining upon him and from him. The emperor like the sun rises over the crest of the hill, from the eastern horizon. He brings light to his subjects but to his enemies he is a fire that burns. As Christ came to earth on this day, the emperor ascends to heaven.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>93</sup> See below, 411.

<sup>94</sup> *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 305.

<sup>95</sup> Greg. II, 616.20–23: 'in the likeness of the triumph of the Romans of old'.

<sup>96</sup> On the combination of the sword and the candle, see 350–51. The visual record has several examples of the emperor's sword being held hilt upwards, as it must have been held on the *prokypsis*, but the candle that was held wherever the emperor was is not represented. It is mentioned only in literary sources.

<sup>97</sup> Xanthopoulos, PG 145, 585C; trans. Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 13.

<sup>98</sup> Ps.-Kod. 144.10–146.1.

<sup>99</sup> Holobolos, ed. Boissonade, 159–82; Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzzeit', 115–31 for an analysis of the Holobolos verses; Philes, ed. Miller, 379.5–6.

The emperor ‘stages’ Christ.<sup>100</sup> The sun in the sky, the sun of justice, shines on the universe, represented by the court officials, guardsmen, palace clergy the people of the city and the army. This was the emperor’s face-to-face encounter with the people of the city. As at the Hippodrome, so too here in the courtyard of the palace, the people might express their preferences. Gregoras reports that they shouted abuses against Kantakouzenos while celebrating John V’s emergence in 1341/2.

The *prokypsis* projected an illusion of permanence and immobility, created by the symbols of authority, the *akakia* and cross, held by the emperor, and the sword and large candle, held by unseen men. The performance likewise played with distance, the sudden appearance of the remote illuminated imperial figure.<sup>101</sup> These elements of the ceremonial were not new, although their new context, the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany, gave them novelty; nor were they restricted to Byzantium. *Prokypsis* shares similarities with the audiences held by the Fatimid caliph on the four nights of lights in the two months before Ramadan and the anniversary festivals for the Prophet Ali and the imam. Qadi and witnesses went with candles to the parade ground below the belvedere of the Emerald Gate of the palace. The caliph appeared in a window, his head and face only, surrounded by eunuchs.<sup>102</sup>

### *Peripatos*

*Prokypsis* is mentioned together with another ceremony both in Pseudo-Kodinos and in the 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII: the *peripatos* or ‘walk’ that took place on Palm Sunday. The 1272 *prostagma* contains the earliest reference to the ceremony by name. It states that Andronikos II is to perform the *peripatos* also when he is away from Constantinople.<sup>103</sup> As in the case of *prokypsis*, Michael does not say what feast day was celebrated by the *peripatos*. The *peripatos* is mentioned in the singular, whereas *prokypsis* is in the plural.

The word *peripatos* appears long before the thirteenth century, in the narrative of Theophanes Continuatus where it designates marble paths or walkways at the Great Palace, one at the Sigma associated with Theophilos<sup>104</sup> and another built by Basil I. Basil’s extended from the Pharos eastward in the direction of the chapel of

<sup>100</sup> Kantorowicz, ‘Oriens Augusti’, 138–62, here at 151.

<sup>101</sup> Pach.’s account (I, 189. 19–20) of the Tatar embassy to Theodore II stresses these aspects: μακρὰν ... ἐξαίφνης δ’ ἐξ ἁδήλου. See above, 408–409.

<sup>102</sup> Sanders, *Fatimid Cairo*, 35. The reception of the emperor by the leaders of the demes in the *parakypikon* featured eunuchs standing behind the emperor’s throne: *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 301.21–302.1; 303.7–9.

<sup>103</sup> Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzeit’, 38.13–17; 82–3.

<sup>104</sup> Theoph. Cont. 140.18–20; *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 600.21–22.

St John the Theologian. It is described as ‘elevated’ (αιθρείου) and ‘sun-bathed’.<sup>105</sup> In the Blachernai the *peripatos* was a raised external walkway that connected the palace with the palace church. According to Pseudo-Kodinos it extended from the emperor’s chamber to the church and it faced onto the courtyard.<sup>106</sup> There is no suggestion in Theophanes Continuatus that either walkway was the site of a ceremonial practice or that Basil’s walkway adjoined the Chrysotriklinos. Centuries later Pachymeres refers to a *peripatos* at the Great Palace. He relates that the emperor Andronikos II ‘came out’ onto the *peripatos* and spoke to those standing below, for the Chrysotriklinos could not contain such a large gathering.<sup>107</sup> The implication of his statement is that the Chrysotriklinos was near the *peripatos* but was not necessarily connected to it. The *peripatos* to which he refers could well be Basil’s. Andronikos would have come out onto the nearby *peripatos* which overlooked the terrace of the Pharos.<sup>108</sup>

Although the walkway existed already in Basil I’s time, the *Book of Ceremonies* makes no reference to it or to its ceremonial use.<sup>109</sup> The tenth-century protocol for Palm Sunday stipulates that the emperor goes from the Chrysotriklinos, where the ‘usual litany’ takes place, to the church of the Pharos for the liturgy.<sup>110</sup> Since the Great Palace *peripatos* was near the Chrysotriklinos and went as far as the Pharos, emperors could have used the walkway to arrive at the Pharos, even though no mention is made of it. One can conclude, therefore, that in the tenth century if the *peripatos* of the Great Palace was used on Palm Sunday, its function was not ceremonial. The other mention of Palm Sunday ceremonial before Pseudo-Kodinos is that at the ‘empire of Nicaea’ in the thirteenth century. There Palm Sunday was celebrated by a triumphal adventus into Nymphaion where the palace was situated. Akropolites states that in 1254 the emperor John III was anxious to return to Nymphaion before Palm Sunday ‘when the emperor was accustomed to make a triumphal entry’.<sup>111</sup>

The *peripatos* and the *prokypsis*, the two centre-pieces of Pseudo-Kodinos’ ceremonial, provide contrasting cases in ceremonial history: for the one

<sup>105</sup> Theoph. Cont. 336.5–9; ed. Ševčenko, §90.21–24. Ševčenko translates αιθρείου as ‘open-air’. Bardill, ‘Visualizing the Great Palace’, 33, 36–7, suggests that the *peripatos* ‘may have run along the top of the fortification between the Pharos and the eastern limit of the palace’. See his fig. 10.

<sup>106</sup> Ps.-Kod. 170.13–14. The palace church is not to be confused with the chapel of the Theotokos in the courtyard of the palace. See 369, 376–377.

<sup>107</sup> Pach. IV, 401.9–11.

<sup>108</sup> See Bardill, ‘Visualizing the Great Palace’, fig. 10; Guiland, *Études de topographie*, 318, identifies the *peripatos* on which Andronikos stood with that built by Basil. I thank Jonathan Bardill for his help in locating the *peripatos*.

<sup>109</sup> Mention is made by the *Book of Ceremonies* to the walkway near the Triconch, known from Theoph. Cont. (see n. 105 above); ed. Reiske, 600.21–22.

<sup>110</sup> Ed. Reiske, 175.9–22.

<sup>111</sup> Akrop. §52: 102.8–10.

– *peripatos* – a structure existed centuries before there is direct evidence for the ceremony; for the other – *prokypsis* – a ceremony existed at least a hundred years before there is clear evidence of the structure.

The *peripatos*, like the *prokypsis*, represents the emperor at a height, from a distance, and at the centre of the ceremony. From Pseudo-Kodinos' text which provides the only description of the ceremony, it appears that its performance was restricted to the emperor, palace clergy and the patriarchs, while court title holders would have been the audience.<sup>112</sup> The walkway, strewn with myrtle, laurel or olive branches, commemorated the path along which Christ entered Jerusalem, strewn with the cut branches of trees. The emperor, dressed in *sakkos* and crown, his most solemn attire, worn on few occasions,<sup>113</sup> ascended the *peripatos*, preceded by the *lampadarios* holding a large candle and chanting a hymn which called forth the people to behold the king of the heavens. Pseudo-Kodinos explains that in the *peripatos*, the Gospel book represents Christ. He makes this statement immediately after he relates the beginning words of the hymn. Yet it is the emperor and not the gospel book that follows the *lampadarios*. The candle and the hymn open the way for the emperor as the likeness of Christ on earth.<sup>114</sup>

The *peripatos* is the only palace procession among the ceremonies described by Pseudo-Kodinos. Movement takes place along an elevated gallery facing the courtyard of the palace. The *prokypsis* is the pendant ceremony. Both ceremonies have names that serve to denote the essential structural prop, platform or walkway, and also the principal activity of the ceremony, progress along the walkway and emergence from the tall platform. Both ceremonies take place in the courtyard on an elevated area on central feast days of the year. While the one is a living tableau, the other is static; each ceremony is in keeping with the biblical event it seeks to commemorate and reproduce. Movement is central to the Entry, while in the Birth and Baptism a motionless Christ is illuminated. The appearance of the emperor would have been reminiscent of images depicting these feast days, while the staging of the feast days may have been inspired by iconography.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> As with the *prokypsis*, it may be that Ps.-Kod., or more likely his protocol, omits to mention the people of the city as audience. See on the *prokypsis*, above.

<sup>113</sup> Palm Sunday is one of the few days on which the emperor must wear this combination of *sakkos*, crown and *loros*. See 170.19–23.

<sup>114</sup> See 443.

<sup>115</sup> Flier, 'Seeing is believing', 79, draws this conclusion about the Epiphany celebrations in tsarist Russia.

## Promotions

### *Coronation of the emperor*

The coronation protocol of Pseudo-Kodinos (chapter VII) is the fullest surviving description of an imperial coronation not only for late Byzantium but also for early and middle Byzantium. It is somewhat longer but much more circumstantial than the closely related description by Kantakouzenos which purports to be a report of the coronation of Andronikos III in 1325.<sup>116</sup> Other extant accounts of coronations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are those for Manuel II's coronation in 1392,<sup>117</sup> and the descriptions by authors of narrative sources. Among the latter, Pachymeres' account of the coronation of Michael IX in 1294 is the most extensive.<sup>118</sup>

As in the *Book of Ceremonies*, so too in Pseudo-Kodinos, the coronation protocol comes at the head of the protocols for promotions.<sup>119</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol makes provision for several situations: the coronation of a son and heir of a ruling emperor who is living at the time of the coronation; the coronation of a son whose father emperor is deceased;<sup>120</sup> by implication, the coronation of a man who is not a son of an emperor. The first two situations prevailed in the Palaiologan dynasty, with Michael VIII, the founder of the dynasty, and John VI Kantakouzenos as the notable exceptions. Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol firmly locates the coronation ceremony and festivities in Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace. On the following day festivities continue in the 'other palace', the Blachernai. The setting of ceremonies in the southeast part of the city is rare in Pseudo-Kodinos.

<sup>116</sup> Kant. I, 196.8–204.3. See below also 428 for the nature of this text and its relationship to Ps.-Kod.'s protocol.

<sup>117</sup> The report of Manuel II's coronation by an anonymous author is edited by Verpeaux, *Traité*, 353–61 and Schreiner, 'Hochzeit und Krönung', 76–9. This text combines elements of a protocol with specific references to Manuel II's coronation. Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 416, concludes that it is 'based at least in part on written material, notably on the common source drawn on by Pseudo-Codinus and John Cantacuzenus'. For Ignatius of Smolensk's eyewitness report of Manuel II's coronation, see Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 104–113.

<sup>118</sup> Pach. III, 219.3–221.16. For Michael VIII: Akrop. 159.7–18; Pach. I, 139.23–141.1; Andronikos II: Pach. II, 413.15–17; John V: Greg. II, 617.7–12; John VI: Greg. II, 787.15–788.15; Matthew Kantakouzenos: Greg. III, 204.10–16.

<sup>119</sup> In Ps.-Kod. it precedes the protocols for the promotions of the dignitaries, the despot (ch. VIII), the *sebastokrator* and caesar (ch. IX), and that of the promotion of the patriarch (ch. X). In the *Book of Ceremonies*, the coronation is likewise at the head of a section devoted to 'the promotion of dignitaries', making of the emperor 'a sort of top civil servant'. Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 57; *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 191–93.

<sup>120</sup> See 212.2–3, 216.7–8, 216.11, 222.19–21, 234.9–11. Andronikos II and Michael IX Palaiologos (and Matthew Kantakouzenos) were crowned when their fathers were alive; Andronikos III, John V, Manuel II and Constantine XI were crowned after their fathers' deaths. Andronikos III's grandfather was however alive at the time of his coronation. See Rochette, *Le Ciel et le sang*, chap. 2.

The Great Palace makes only one appearance, that is, here, and Hagia Sophia is mentioned in the work seven times in all.<sup>121</sup> However, Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace maintained their central position with respect to coronation, both in Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol and in the narratives of authors who describe the coronations of the Palaiologoi. John VI's coronation is an exception. It was held in 1347 in the Blachernai church and palace, since Hagia Sophia was in disrepair as the result of an earthquake.<sup>122</sup>

The ceremonial for coronation as presented by Pseudo-Kodinos has the following main elements: 1. The new emperor writes and delivers his profession of faith to Hagia Sophia before his coronation, in the morning; 2. The new emperor is raised on the shield on the same day as the coronation, in the Thomaïtes, overlooking the Augusteon; 3. The new emperor is anointed with chrism before he is crowned; 4. The new emperor crowns the empress; 5. The newly crowned emperor leads the Great Entrance and receives holy communion in the sanctuary; 6. The new emperor, his wife and imperial parents appear on a platform in the gallery of Hagia Sophia.

Like Pseudo-Kodinos' text, the *Book of Ceremonies* presents imperial power as 'normally hereditary and dynastic' but, unlike the fourteenth century text, the tenth-century coronation protocol gives, as Dagron has shown, 'the common denominator of all possible coronations'.<sup>123</sup> However, included in the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*, in addition to the coronation protocol, are descriptions of actual proclamations and coronations added either by the compiler or a later redactor of the collection. These individual cases of past emperors derive from the sixth century collection of Peter the Patrician and also from the tenth century. They provide elements and details missing from the pared down and reduced coronation protocol. It is important to note that these accounts of the ceremonies of individual emperors are also part of the *Book of Ceremonies* and were inserted to provide a range of protocols from which to choose.<sup>124</sup>

A comparison of Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol for coronation with that of the *Book of Ceremonies*<sup>125</sup> shows several differences of varying significance. The profession of faith has been included in Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol; it is rarely otherwise mentioned and there is no other extant version of the entire document. The raising on the shield is described as a part of the coronation ritual and takes place in a

<sup>121</sup> Chapters IV, V, VII, X. Five of the occasions are annual celebrations of feast days. The other two are the coronation of the emperor and promotion of the patriarch. Also in the 10th c. and earlier the emperor attended services in Hagia Sophia relatively rarely, as is shown by the *Book of Ceremonies*. See McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 227–28.

<sup>122</sup> Greg. II, 787.15–788.6.

<sup>123</sup> Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 70.

<sup>124</sup> Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 70, 72. For Peter the Patrician's work and its incorporation in the *Book of Ceremonies*, see Sode, 'Die Krönung des Kaisers Justin I', 429–46.

<sup>125</sup> The *Book of Ceremonies* provides two protocols, one for the coronation of a senior emperor, a new man, and the other for a co-emperor. Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 54–6.

space associated with the patriarchate. The coronation has become integrated with the liturgy; in the *Book of Ceremonies* coronation takes place separately, before the ecclesiastical office. The coronation of the empress has also become part of the coronation of the emperor; it is not a ceremony held separately in the palace, as in the *Book of Ceremonies*. The crowned imperial couple and other members of the family make an appearance from the gallery of Hagia Sophia before leaving for the Great Palace. Such an appearance is not known from the *Book of Ceremonies*.

Several elements in Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol appear to have been introduced after Constantine VII's time – unction, and the appearance of the imperial family from the gallery – or to be old ceremonies which had fallen out of use but were reintroduced later. In the latter category are the emperor's profession of faith and raising on the shield.

The 'profession of faith', written by the new emperor 'in his own hand' and deposited by him in Hagia Sophia before his coronation, appears once in the *Book of Ceremonies*, not in the protocol for coronation but in the account of Anastasius' elevation to the throne in 491<sup>126</sup> and is attested in narrative sources sporadically from the late fifth until the early ninth century.<sup>127</sup> It then disappears from the sources until the late twelfth century, when Choniates mentions it in an account of Alexios III's coronation day in 1195.<sup>128</sup> This is the last reference to the profession of faith until Pachymeres relates that Andronikos II gave a 'written assurance' to God and the Church in 1272 when he was crowned.<sup>129</sup> Other surviving Palaiologan descriptions of coronations do not refer to it, not even Kantakouzenos' account of Andronikos III coronation, which is so similar to Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol in other ways and is based on a common source.<sup>130</sup> However, it does not follow from the absence of the profession of faith from the coronation protocol of the *Book of Ceremonies* and from the narrative sources that the practice of giving a written declaration to the Church on the day of coronation was discontinued from the ninth century and revived in the twelfth only to fall out of practice again until the late thirteenth century. Rather, the reason for the gap in the sources should be seen in the nature of narratives concerning customary procedures. The ordinary

<sup>126</sup> The account derives from Peter the Patrician: *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 417–25, here at 422.19–21: 'oath'.

<sup>127</sup> See ch. VII, note 605.

<sup>128</sup> Chon. 457.14–458.40. See below, note 132.

<sup>129</sup> Pach. II, 415.6–7. Greg. (I, 109.10–14) states that Andronikos II had to give an oath to respect the church and preserve its privileges in every way. However, he states that the oath was to Michael VIII and not to the church. Andronikos is known to have provided another two documents, one for Athanasios I at the start of his second patriarchate (1303) and another in 1310, at the demand of the Arsenites. See Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 412–13.

<sup>130</sup> In addition, there are no references to a profession of faith with respect to John V, John VI or Matthew Kantakouzenos. For Manuel II and Constantine XI see 417 n. 134.



is not recorded; it is the extraordinary that merits mention.<sup>131</sup> Thus, if it were not for Choniates' mention of Alexios III's statement of faith – and it is only a passing reference<sup>132</sup> – we would have thought that the practice was revived in the late thirteenth century after a gap of four hundred years. Yet Choniates' real interest in narrating Alexios III's coronation was to describe the extraordinary and inauspicious behaviour of the horse Alexios tried to mount after his coronation. His delineation of the horse's movements is by far the longest part of his coronation day account.<sup>133</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos' apparently verbatim citation of the text of the profession gives it a weight and importance that the intermittent and casual references to it in narrative sources do not convey. While the latter make references to part of the profession of faith – the emperor's maintenance of the true faith and the church's customs, his abstinence from shedding his subjects' blood – late ecclesiastical authors, often writing against imperial rights in the church, emphasise and select the emperor's role as 'servant' and 'defender and vindicator' of the Church.<sup>134</sup> No one account from any period gives a summary of the entire document which combines the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed with the emperor's assurances in doctrinal, canonical, judicial and moral matters. Therefore, it is not possible to know when and if additions or alterations were made to the emperors' promises.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> See McCormick, 'Analyzing imperial ceremonies', 8, who argues that the atypical is emphasised because the familiar is presumed.

<sup>132</sup> Chon. 457.14–17: 'When he entered the celebrated and great temple of God's Wisdom to be anointed as emperor, according to the custom, and to put on the symbols of state, first, late, he wrote the symbol of faith in imperial ink...'

<sup>133</sup> Chon. 457.20–458.40.

<sup>134</sup> For the narrative accounts, see ch. IX, note 611. Makarios of Ankara, in an unpublished treatise (ca. 1404–1409), quotes from a text that is almost word for word the section of Pseudo-Kodinos' profession of faith: 'faithful servant and son of the holy church and defender and vindicator of it'. See Laurent, 'Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu Ier', 25–9, here at 26; Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 372–73. Symeon of Thessalonike, 440A, likewise speaks of the emperor as 'defender' and 'servant' of the church in his description of the election of the patriarch. Markos Eugenikos, in an address to Constantine XI, refers to the written profession of faith promising the vindication and defense of correct doctrine: Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, I, 124–25. Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 411–14, sees in these references proof that the words, 'servant' and 'defender' were added to the profession of faith in the 14th c., after the second patriarchate of Athanasios I (1289–1294, 1303–1309). The phrase is cited only by 15th c. authors and not in the promissory document of 1303 which the patriarch drew up on behalf of Andronikos II and which emphasises the subjection of the emperor to the church and his obligations toward justice. No reference is made to any previous promise of the emperor at his coronation. See Laurent, 'Le serment', esp. 136.34–137.51.

<sup>135</sup> An exception is the mention of 'seven ecumenical councils' which can act as a *terminus post quem*. It is only from the time of Photios' patriarchate in the ninth century that references are made to 'seven' councils. See Munitiz, 'Synoptic Greek accounts of



Pseudo-Kodinos' text can neither be assumed to be the document all Byzantine emperors, from Anastasius until Constantine XI, produced at all times,<sup>136</sup> nor, equally, can changes to the document over time be pinpointed with confidence.

The raising of the new emperor on the shield which appears in Pseudo-Kodinos' coronation protocol as an integral part of the coronation day seems, like the profession of faith, to be a revival of an old custom that had fallen into disuse. Although originally a late Roman military custom associated with usurpers to the throne who were proclaimed on the field by their troops, in the fourteenth century the ceremony is associated with heirs to the throne and takes place in the heart of the city, in an elevated place, above an open courtyard. Originally elevation on the shield formed a part of the proclamation of an emperor. By the fourteenth century it had become integrated into the coronation ceremony.

First there is the question of the history of the practice. The *De ceremoniis* makes no mention of the raising on the shield in the chapter on coronation,<sup>137</sup> while the *De administrando imperio*, also from the time of the *De ceremoniis*, refers to the act in the context of Chazar custom.<sup>138</sup> It has therefore been assumed that the practice fell into disuse after Phokas, in 602.<sup>139</sup> According to this view, by the tenth century it was so unfamiliar a practice that it could be said to be a foreign custom. It was revived in the thirteenth century, when Theodore II was raised on the shield in 1254. Yet, in describing Theodore's elevation Akropolites claims that it was 'the custom'.<sup>140</sup> To explain this phrase Ostrogorsky argued that the practice was restored in the thirteenth century through Latin influence.<sup>141</sup> Kazhdan took the revival back further, to the eleventh century, citing two examples, Psellos' description of the proclamation of the usurper Leo Tornikios and the raising on the shield by Bulgarian rebels promoting Peter Deljan as their ruler.<sup>142</sup>

The lack of reference in the chapter on coronation in the *Book of Ceremonies* has until now stood in the way of seeing a continuous history for the elevation on a shield. But the *Book of Ceremonies* does include a description of the raising on the

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the Seven Councils', 147–86; idem., 'The manuscript of Justel's *Anonymi Tractatus de Synodis*', 239–57. A possible later addition, closer in time to Ps.-Kod., is the phrase 'servant and defender' of the Church, as argued by Angelov. See 213 n. 611.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 82 n. 111.

<sup>137</sup> Ed. Reiske, 191–93. On the coronation chapter see Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 70–83.

<sup>138</sup> Ed. Jenkins, §38.51–53 (p. 172): 'and so they made him prince according to the custom, or "zakanon" of the Chazars, by lifting him upon a shield.'

<sup>139</sup> Theoph. 287.7–8.

<sup>140</sup> Akrop. §53:105.20–21.

<sup>141</sup> Ostrogorsky, 'Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung', 148–52. See Nicol, 'Kaisersalbung', 41 n. 14, for evidence which negates Ostrogorsky's argument.

<sup>142</sup> Psellos, *Chronographia*, II, 18.3–5: αἵρουσιν ἐπ' ασπίδος; I, 77.21–22: ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἅπαντες. See Kazhdan, 'The aristocracy and the imperial ideal', 51; Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, 280 and fig. 544, for the miniature showing Leo Tornikios being raised on the shield.

shield. It is not to be found in the section on coronation, and this for two reasons: as shown by Dagron, this chapter has been reduced to a basic scenario; furthermore, raising on the shield was, in the tenth century, a ceremony of proclamation and not of coronation. We would not expect to find a reference to it in the coronation protocol. However, the *Book of Ceremonies* does contain a reference to the custom. It is found in the account of the proclamation of Nikephoros Phokas (963), an account that was added to the *Book of Ceremonies* by Basil the Parakoimomenos.<sup>143</sup> The description of Nikephoros' proclamation refers to his 'elevation', even if the word 'shield' is not used: 'raising him up outside of the tent, they proclaimed him emperor'.<sup>144</sup> Thus, there is a tenth-century example of the raising of the proclaimed emperor in the *Book of Ceremonies* itself. Although there is still a large gap in the evidence for the raising on a shield – from the seventh to the tenth centuries – the case of the 'profession of faith' shows that the silence of the sources is not a good indicator of the non-existence of a practice.

It is possible, therefore, that the practice described by Pseudo-Kodinos had a continuous presence in the proclamation and, later, coronation of Byzantine emperors. Likewise the setting of the elevation, as presented in Pseudo-Kodinos, had a long tradition. According to him, the ceremony took place in the centre of Constantinople, in a gallery of the (patriarchal) palace overlooking the courtyard of Hagia Sophia. The change of setting, from a site outside Constantinople to the centre of the city, had taken place centuries earlier. Elevation on the shield had lost some of its military associations and become more urban already in the fifth-sixth century when the act could take place in the palace, either in the *kathisma*, the box at the Hippodrome which was connected to the palace and part of it, or in the Triklinos of the Nineteen Beds or the large courtyard next to it.<sup>145</sup> So, too, in 1254 Theodore II was elevated on the shield at Nymphaion, where the palace was.<sup>146</sup> Michael VIII was also elevated there in 1259.<sup>147</sup> Matthew Kantakouzenos, likewise, is said to have been elevated on the shield in Constantinople in 1353 'in the palace of the Romans'.<sup>148</sup> It is Michael IX's proclamation, however, in 1294

<sup>143</sup> Featherstone, 'Further remarks on the *De cerimoniis*', 114, 117–119; Featherstone, 'The Great Palace as reflected in the *de cerimoniis*', 59, remarks that this is the only contemporary coronation protocol in the *Book of Ceremonies*. See also Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 72–3.

<sup>144</sup> *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 434.12–13: ἐκ τῆς τέντας ὑψώσαντες ἀνηγόρευσαν αὐτὸν βασιλεῖα; Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 73; Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, 280 n. 4.

<sup>145</sup> For the *kathisma*, in the cases of Anastasius I and Justin I, see Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 66–7, 68–9; for the palace, in the case of Justin II, see Cameron, *Corippus*, 5, 156–57.

<sup>146</sup> Akrop. §53:105.20–22.

<sup>147</sup> Akrop. (§77. 159.6–18) does not specify. Holobolos (ed. Treu, 92.27–28) and an anonymous chronicle (Cod. Mosqu. gr. 426) give the palace of Nymphaion as the site. See the discussion of the sources by Wirth, 'Die Begründung der Kaisermacht Michaels VIII. Palaiologos', 85–91, here at 86–7.

<sup>148</sup> Greg. III, 188.24–189.2.

that is most like Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol. According to Pachymeres, Michael was raised on the shield in the *triklinos* of the Makron, that is, the gallery of the Thomaïtes, overlooking the Augusteon.<sup>149</sup>

Thus, already from the early sixth century the palace, either the *kathisma* itself or another part of the Great Palace, was the site of the elevation on the shield. However, two aspects of this ceremony stand out as possible innovations in the thirteenth century. The new emperor is specifically said to 'sit' on the shield, both in Pseudo-Kodinos and in descriptions of the elevations of Theodore II, Michael VIII and Michael IX.<sup>150</sup> In earlier proclamations, when, rarely, his posture is specified, he is said to be 'standing'.<sup>151</sup> This change in position, if there is a change, may have to do with the elevated site of the ceremony. Now the new emperor can be seen, even when sitting, since he is raised on the shield in an elevated place high above the heads of the onlookers.<sup>152</sup> It is impossible to determine how long this had been the case given the lack of references between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.

Another apparent difference with earlier practice is the raising of the shield by members of the higher clergy – the patriarch, in Pseudo-Kodinos – and the non-participation of members of the army, who are present in the courtyard for the acclamations but do not lift the shield. The combination of participation of the churchmen and the non-activity of soldiers could give the impression that ecclesiastics had replaced soldiers in the ceremony. However, authors are not consistent in mentioning all participants on each occasion. Furthermore, there were variations in the way ceremonies were conducted from one occasion to another. Thus Symeon of Thessalonike (d. 1429), a churchman who is a keen defender of the Church's rights, does not mention ecclesiastics but rather 'dignitaries (*axiomatikoi*) taking part'.<sup>153</sup> Pachymeres, writing about Michael VIII's elevation in 1259 in Asia Minor, speaks of bishops and grandees (*megistanes*) holding the shield, whereas for Michael IX in Constantinople at the Augusteon, he makes no reference to any churchmen but rather 'those in office'.<sup>154</sup> Akropolites, on the other hand, shows that members of the army, 'the better men of the armies', were involved in the raising on the shield of Michael VIII in 1259.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>149</sup> See ch. VII note 621.

<sup>150</sup> Theodore II: Akrop. §53:105.20–21; Michael VIII: Akrop. §77:159.13; Pach. I, 137.14–17. Michael IX: Pach. III, 221.4.

<sup>151</sup> The standing position on the shield is specified in only two cases: Anastasius I (491): *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 423.7; Justin II (565): Cameron, *Corippus*, 51.139–140, 97: 'Justin himself stood on top, upright like his own letter.' See Walter, 'Raising on a shield in Byzantine iconography', 160 n. 96.

<sup>152</sup> The example of Anastasius I's elevation works against this suggestion since he stood on the shield even though the raising took place in the *kathisma*, high up.

<sup>153</sup> PG 155, 352D.

<sup>154</sup> Pach. I, 137.14–15; III, 221.2–5.

<sup>155</sup> Akrop. §77: 159.13–15.

Two points emerge from this discussion. It seems that soldiers do continue to participate, although now they are called 'the better men of the army'. They would thus be among the *megistanes*, the grandees or those 'in office'. Furthermore, churchmen were not necessarily new participants in the raising of the shield. They are mentioned long before Pseudo-Kodinos, at Michael VIII's elevation, and therefore may have been involved much earlier. Earlier evidence is lacking.

Thus, the raising on the shield, as it emerges from Pseudo-Kodinos, can be said to be a traditional element in the making of an emperor, with a continuous history, even if documentation of that history is sporadic. Within this continuum, however, there are changes in emphasis and shifts in meaning. Aspects of this ceremony place it within the domain of the church. First, the ceremony is no longer part of the proclamation of an emperor, a ceremony with Roman military origins; rather it is part of the coronation ceremony in Hagia Sophia. Second, the elevation on a shield takes place now in the patriarchal palace, on a balcony overlooking the large courtyard, the Augusteon, in front of Hagia Sophia. Third, members of the church take part in the raising of the shield, a sign of the church's contribution to this once civil ceremony.<sup>156</sup>

These changes are difficult to date because of the few circumstantial descriptions of the raising on the shield. Nor are the changes fixed and constant. Variations can be detected. Matthew Kantakouzenos is said to have been raised on the shield 'in the palace of the Romans'; this act took place one year before his coronation.<sup>157</sup> In his case elevation on the shield appears to be part of proclamation, although his father John VI does not mention the ceremony in his account of that proclamation.<sup>158</sup> Indeed, the protocol of Pseudo-Kodinos reflects a practice – elevation on the shield on the day of coronation – which is documented only in the case of Michael IX.<sup>159</sup> This example can act as a reminder that there were deviations from the 'rule' laid down in a protocol.

The practice of separating by a long period of time the proclamation of an heir to the throne as *basileus*, from his coronation<sup>160</sup> appears at first sight to be an innovation of the Palaiologoi. Earlier emperors associated their sons on the throne all in one day. There was no later ceremony.<sup>161</sup> But with the Palaiologoi there was a two-stage elevation of the co-emperor to the throne. Such was the case with

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<sup>156</sup> See Angelov, 'Byzantine ideological reactions to the Latin conquest of Constantinople', 309, who sees in the participation of ecclesiastics a sign that the latter were acting as a 'constituent element of the polity'.

<sup>157</sup> Greg. III, 188.15–189.2; 204.10–16.

<sup>158</sup> See 422 note 165.

<sup>159</sup> See below also for the case of Theodore II, at note 169 and note 175.

<sup>160</sup> Rochette, 'Empereur et serment sous les Paléologues', 157–58; Rochette, *Le Ciel et le sang*, chap. 2, p. 58, remarks on this chronological gap between the two acts and suggests that it is an innovation of the Palaiologoi.

<sup>161</sup> Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, 74, 76–7, 79.

Andronikos II, first proclaimed emperor in 1265 but not crowned until 1272.<sup>162</sup> Michael IX, Andronikos' son, was proclaimed in 1281 but crowned only in 1294.<sup>163</sup> Andronikos III, Michael IX's son, was proclaimed emperor by 1313 and crowned in 1325.<sup>164</sup> Matthew Kantakouzenos was proclaimed in 1353 and crowned a year later. John VI Kantakouzenos' description of his son's proclamation as emperor provides an account of the constitutive elements of the act of proclamation.

Everyone was present in the palace; the son of the emperor was proclaimed. On his feet were put red boots and on his head was placed a head-covering (*pilos*) decorated with gems and pearls, as is the custom for emperors, and he was included with the emperors in the acclamations and in the commemoration of the emperors in the holy offices.<sup>165</sup>

Kantakouzenos in this passage emphasises the imperial attire and the acclamations. From other sources it is clear that oaths to the new young emperor were also part of the proclamation ceremony.<sup>166</sup>

The proclamation made one a *basileus*. To become *autokrator*,<sup>167</sup> elevation on a shield and coronation with the *stemma* had to take place. This distinction is made for Theodore II who was *basileus* while his father was alive but became *autokrator* upon his father's death in 1254, when he was 'seated on the shield, as is the custom, and acclaimed *autokrator* by all'.<sup>168</sup> He had been *basileus* for almost two decades, since his betrothal in 1234. Despite the testimony of Pachymeres and Gregoras to the contrary, many sources both Latin and Greek attest to Theodore's imperial status in his father's lifetime.<sup>169</sup> What is more, the practice appears to have been well established in the 'empire of Nicaea'. Theodore I's son Nicholas

<sup>162</sup> For these dates see Failler, 'La proclamation impériale de Michel VIII et d'Andronic II', 243–51.

<sup>163</sup> Pach. III, 99.26–31; 98 n. 29.

<sup>164</sup> For the coronation: Kant. I, 196.8–11. The usual date given for his proclamation is 1317 but Andronikos was *basileus* already in a document of 1313: Kutlumus, no. 8, p. 51. His son John V is not known to have had a separate earlier proclamation in his father's lifetime and before his coronation in 1341. See Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III*, 188.

<sup>165</sup> Kant. III, 269.9–14.

<sup>166</sup> See at notes 173, 178 below.

<sup>167</sup> The *autokratoria*, the assumption of effective power, is used to count the years of the reign.

<sup>168</sup> Akrop. §53:105.18–21.

<sup>169</sup> See Pach. I, 61.20–21; Greg. I, 53.2–3; Macrides, *George Akropolites. The History*, 39–40 for references. It may be, however, that modern historians have misunderstood Pachymeres and Gregoras when they say that Theodore did not have the 'title of emperor' was not 'proclaimed emperor' in his father's lifetime. They may be referring to the fact that Theodore was not crowned *autokrator* while his father was alive. See the discussion of the terms *anagoreusis* and *stepsis* below, 424 and n. 180.

is called *basileus* and heir and successor in a patriarchal document of 1208, while Theodore II also named his son John IV co-emperor but did not have him crowned while he was alive.<sup>170</sup>

The separation of a proclamation from a coronation can be traced even further back, to the Komnenoi. Alexios I had his firstborn son John II proclaimed as an infant but crowned a few years later.<sup>171</sup> Both John II and Manuel I associated their sons with them on the throne but did not have them crowned in their lifetime. According to Choniates John gave his son Alexios the purple, and red sandals and allowed him to be acclaimed along with his father, the *autokrator*.<sup>172</sup> Manuel I had his son Alexios II recognised as emperor when he was only a few years old by having oaths taken in the Blachernai church that Alexios would be regarded as Manuel's heir: 'by the ceremony of the oaths, so he thought, he transferred to his offspring the holding of the sceptre.'<sup>173</sup> It was not until after Manuel's death in 1180 that Alexios was 'crowned *autokrator*' in the Great Church.<sup>174</sup>

The Palaiologoi were, it seems, continuing a tradition that was in place before Constantinople fell to the Latins. There appears to be no rupture in the thirteenth century with regard to the way in which emperors associated their sons with them on the throne.<sup>175</sup> The two-stage elevation to the throne is reflected also in Pseudo-Kodinos' comment that the emperor is to wear his crown 'in the blessing' if he has been crowned already.<sup>176</sup> Also, in his protocol for the *prokypsis* he mentions a son of the emperor, 'crowned or uncrowned'.<sup>177</sup> The same gap in time between elevation to the *basileia* and coronation is reflected in a formula for an oath to the

<sup>170</sup> For Nicholas, see Akrop. §18; Macrides, *George Akropolites*, 158–59. For John IV, see Pach. I, 63.14–16.

<sup>171</sup> According to Anna Komnene, Alexios I crowned his son at the time of his (infant) baptism: 'Because they wanted to raise this child to the eminence of [the position of] *autokrator*, they deemed him worthy of the crown (*stephos*) and baptism in the Great Church of God' (*Alexiad*, 6.8.5; ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, 185.45–186.51); see also Zon. III, 739.3–6: 'his father immediately crowned him with a diadem'. Both Anna and Zonaras appear to be referring to the raising of John to the status of co-emperor, a proclamation which includes crown wearing. John was not crowned until 1092. In a Neapolitan document dated in the name of the Byzantine emperors, John is said, in November 1092, to be in the 'first year' of his reign. See *Regii neapolitani archivi monumenta*, V (1849) 146, no. 457. I owe this reference to Vlada Stanković. For the issue of a series of coins on the occasion of John's coronation, see also Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 192–93.

<sup>172</sup> Chon. 16.25–29; 17.32–38. He appears in the mosaic in the southeast gallery as '*basileus*'.

<sup>173</sup> Chon. 169.9–170.12.

<sup>174</sup> Chon. 264.73–265.76. The case of John II appears to be different.

<sup>175</sup> Even though Theodore II was not raised on the shield on the same day as his coronation, it is clear that raising on the shield in his case also is related to his becoming *autokrator*, not to his proclamation as emperor.

<sup>176</sup> See at 242.1–3.

<sup>177</sup> Ps.-Kod. 142.5–6.

emperor from the Palaiologan period. The subject of the emperor swears to be faithful all his life not only to the emperor but also to his 'kingdom which he has or will have'.<sup>178</sup>

The language used to describe the process also changed, reflecting developments in practice. Thus the words *αναγόρευσις* and *στέψις*, as they are used by Akropolites, Holobolos, Pachymeres and Pseudo-Kodinos, no longer signify two different stages in the accession of an emperor. Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the emperor on the shield as the one 'who is being proclaimed'. Likewise he speaks of the mother of the emperor 'who is being proclaimed'.<sup>179</sup> In both these cases one would expect an aorist participle instead of the present because Pseudo-Kodinos is describing the coronation of someone who has already been proclaimed emperor when he comes to Hagia Sophia. Failler, who studied this usage, concluded that *ἀναγόρευσις* sometimes has the meaning of coronation.<sup>180</sup>

This change in usage has, it seems, a foundation in the change in the ceremony of accession. Raising on the shield was no longer a ceremony in the proclamation of the new emperor which would be followed by coronation on the same day. Now the new emperor was already 'emperor' before he came to be raised on the shield. He had been made emperor years before and he had been acclaimed as emperor on that occasion. Raising on the shield had become an occasion for display which preceded the unction and coronation of the emperor.

Unlike the profession of faith and the raising on the shield, the unction of the new emperor is an element of the coronation ritual that has no certain origin or history before the thirteenth century.<sup>181</sup> The only thing that can be said with certainty about this practice is that it had taken place at least once when the patriarch at Nicaea Germanos and the archbishop of Ohrid Chomatenos argued about the correct substance to use, consecrated oil or chrism (*myron*).<sup>182</sup> Their correspondence indicates at the least that a material unction had taken place at Nicaea, for John III Batatzes' coronation in 1221, and at Thessalonike, for Theodore Komnenos Doukas' in the 1220s. All subsequent descriptions of coronations

<sup>178</sup> Sathas, MB VI, 652–53, here at 652.18–19. See the discussion of this passage by Rochette, 'Empereurs et serment sous les Paléologues', 157–58 who has pointed out the two-stage association to the throne of the Palaiologoi.

<sup>179</sup> Ps.-Kod. 216.7–8, 220.1. See, however, the beginning of the protocol: 'the one who is to be crowned' (210.3).

<sup>180</sup> Failler, 'La proclamation impériale de Michel VIII et d'Andronic II', 237–51. For Akropolites see Macrides, *George Akropolites. The History*, 52. Gregoras may also use *ἀναγορεύω* in the same way when speaking of Theodore II: *ἀνηγορεύετο ἤδη θανόντος ἐκείνου* (I, 53.3–4). See n. 169 above.

<sup>181</sup> See Ostrogorsky, 'Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung', 252, for the suggestion that unction was introduced into the Byzantine coronation ceremony in imitation of the Latins.

<sup>182</sup> Nicol, 'Kaisersalbung', 37–52, was the first to discuss the correspondence as evidence for the practice. See Macrides, 'Bad historian or good lawyer?', 187–96, for another point of view.



include a reference to the substance used in anointing, 'chrism'.<sup>183</sup> However, before the thirteenth century, descriptions of coronation use a language which has been interpreted as metaphorical since no specific substance is mentioned.<sup>184</sup> Thus attempts to assign a date of introduction of imperial unction to the coronation ceremony are insecure because of the impossibility of distinguishing between literal and metaphorical usage.

Arguments can be made in favour of the continuity of the practice from a time before the thirteenth century. The repeated naming by late authors of the substance used in anointing, *myron*,<sup>185</sup> is one of the major differences with discussions and descriptions of earlier centuries. Also late authors assert a connection between the 'holiness' of the emperor and unction with *myron*. Yet the repetition and the assertion can be read as a reaction to the crisis that had occurred in the thirteenth century when two men were claiming the right to anoint an emperor and two men, one in Epiros, the other in Asia Minor, were called 'emperor of the Romans'. The '*hagios*' acclamations at the moment of anointing can be found both in Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol and in the coronation ritual in the *Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>186</sup> What was the source of the emperor's holiness in earlier centuries if not unction? Furthermore, the actions involved in the anointing of an emperor are themselves unobtrusive. The patriarch's prayers are said some in a low voice, some out loud, and the gesture of anointing the head of the emperor is a small gesture. Neither of these acts could be seen or heard by observers in the nave below, at a distance from the high ambo. The unobtrusiveness of the act of anointing, compared to the act of crowning, is perhaps why Ignatios of Smolensk, eyewitness to Manuel II's coronation, does not even mention the unction of the emperor<sup>187</sup> and Pachymeres, a churchman, in his detailed account of Michael IX's coronation refers first to the coronation and after to the unction, reversing the true order of the acts.<sup>188</sup> The anointing of the emperor at his coronation could well have been much older than the thirteenth century but it was not until it became a cause célèbre that shook the Byzantine world that authors began to discuss it in material terms.

The coronation is an integral part of the liturgy in Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol; the emperor receives communion after his coronation. In the *Book of Ceremonies* the emperor's coronation communion is mentioned only in passing at the end of the coronation protocol.<sup>189</sup> The same text, however, relates that on major feast

<sup>183</sup> See, e.g., Pach. III, 221.12; Kant. III, 270.6–7.

<sup>184</sup> See Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, 275–84; Macrides, 'Bad historian or good lawyer?', 194–96.

<sup>185</sup> See Nicol, '*Kaisersalbung*', 37–52, for a discussion of these points.

<sup>186</sup> Ps.-Kod. 220.14; *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 193; Goar, *Euchologion*, 726–27, for the 8th century prayers.

<sup>187</sup> Majeska, *Russian travelers*, 419–20, 429, gives as an explanation for the omission that unction was unfamiliar to Ignatios.

<sup>188</sup> Pach. III, 221.10–13.

<sup>189</sup> Ed. Reiske, 193.20–21.



days, the emperor receives communion under both species, as described by Pseudo-Kodinos,<sup>190</sup> with the difference that in the tenth century the emperor communicates outside the sanctuary or in the gallery.<sup>191</sup> The communion of the emperor in the sanctuary of Hagia Sophia, as described by Pseudo-Kodinos, has a precedent in Andronikos I's coronation communion, as recounted by Choniates.<sup>192</sup> Yet the practice must be older, introduced at some time after the compilation of the *Book of Ceremonies*.

The appearance of the new emperor with his wife and parents from the gallery of Hagia Sophia is the one main element of Pseudo-Kodinos' coronation protocol that at first appears to be new and specific to his times.<sup>193</sup> After the liturgy and before departing for the palace, the emperors go up to the gallery where a platform with thrones has been erected. Golden curtains part to reveal the enthroned emperors. The cantors sing, 'Rise', rise'. The people in the gallery acclaim the emperors.<sup>194</sup>

Two other fourteenth-century descriptions survive of the elevated appearance, after coronation, of the new emperor and his family: Gregoras' account of John VI Kantakouzenos' coronation in Constantinople in May 1347, and the anonymous account of Manuel II's coronation in 1396. In neither of these cases did the elevated appearance take place in Hagia Sophia. John VI was crowned in the Blachernai church because Hagia Sophia was damaged by earthquake. After the coronation, 'they came to the palace [Blachernai] and there they made the usual appearance from the high tribune (*bema*)'.<sup>195</sup> Although Manuel II's coronation did take place in Hagia Sophia,<sup>196</sup> he made his appearance after the coronation not from the gallery of the church but in a 'residence',<sup>197</sup> where the platform (*anabathra*), covered in red fabric, was prepared.

<sup>190</sup> See the commentary at 232.27–234.1.

<sup>191</sup> E.g. ed. Reiske, 134, 18–23. See Taft, 'The Byzantine imperial communion ritual', 11–21.

<sup>192</sup> Chon., *History*, 272.70–75.

<sup>193</sup> In the *Book of Ceremonies* after coronation the emperor sits on his throne in front of the *metatorion*, in the nave where he receives the acclamations and wishes of his court officials: ed. Reiske, 193.6–20.

<sup>194</sup> In his description of the coronation of Andronikos III, Kantakouzenos (I, 202.1–12) does not mention the platform, thrones and curtains but merely says the emperor goes up to the catechumens so that he might be seen by all from far away and acclaimed. For more differences with Pseudo-Kodinos' text see below, 428.

<sup>195</sup> Greg. II, 788.10–14.

<sup>196</sup> Ed. Verpeaux, 359.12–360.8; ed. Schreiner, 79.85–91.

<sup>197</sup> The *oikos* could be the Great Palace. A parallel usage can be found in a synodal document of 1250 which refers to the palace at Nymphaion as the *oikia* of lord John Doukas: Laurent, 'Recherches', 22. After their appearance, the emperor and empress move into the 'interior' of the *oikos* to sit at the banquet table, while on the next day they ride to the palace (Blachernai) where they feast: ed. Verpeaux, 360.8–10; 361.4–12; ed. Schreiner, 79.92, 101–104.

Verses of Nicholas Eirenikos, written on the occasion of the wedding of the emperor John III Batatzes to Constanza-Anna, daughter of Frederick II Hohenstaufen, in 1241 at Nicaea,<sup>198</sup> show that the elevated appearance of the emperor and empress after a coronation was a practice that was not new to the fourteenth century. The verses describe the newly married imperial couple as the sun and the moon, revealed from behind parting curtains that are compared to parting clouds. Although the ceremony and its celebration in verse is not connected with the emperor's coronation, as in Pseudo-Kodinos and Gregoras, it occurs after the imperial wedding and the bride's coronation. Just as in the coronation of Manuel II, the display of the imperial couple takes place in the palace and not the church.<sup>199</sup>

## Conclusions

The protocol transmitted by Pseudo-Kodinos contains elements that date from the fifth century – the profession of faith and the raising on the shield, both first attested with Anastasius I's accession. It is argued here that these elements have a continuous history, even though continuity is not evident in the sources.<sup>200</sup> Other elements of the coronation protocol of Pseudo-Kodinos were demonstrably in existence in the thirteenth century and may have been much older – unction and the appearance of the crowned couple from a height.

Although Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol for coronation is made up of acts whose origins can be traced back to previous centuries, the date of the protocol itself is more difficult to place in time. A comparison of Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol and descriptions of Manuel II's coronation shows that the protocol was used until at least the end of the fourteenth century. However, it also appears to have been in use earlier, at the end of the thirteenth century, for Michael IX's coronation in 1294. Similarities can be detected thanks to Pachymeres' description of the

<sup>198</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzzeit', 104.93–108. For the date of the wedding and the place, see Macrides, *George Akropolites. The History*, 194–95, n. 19. See above, 405.

<sup>199</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzzeit', 104. 93–95. The lemma reads 'Other verses, when the emperor, coming to the palace, goes behind the curtain and having been concealed, appears again to the people'. See above, 405. Pinatsi, 'New observations on the pavement of the church of Haghia Sophia, Nicaea', 122–23, in an attempt to identify the patriarchal church in Nicaea, discusses the presence or absence of galleries as a criterion. As has been shown above, a gallery is not a necessary architectural feature in a coronation church. Other spaces were used for the appearance of the crowned couple when Hagia Sophia was not available and even when Hagia Sophia was the coronation church for centuries before 1204, the gallery was not used for this purpose. In the *Book of Ceremonies*, the newly-crowned emperor receives the *proskynesis* of his court officials enthroned in the nave of the church.

<sup>200</sup> Even after the 13th c. when the raising on the shield is supposedly reintroduced, there is no mention of it for the accessions of Andronikos II, John V, John VI or any of the emperors after them.

latter, perhaps the most detailed narrative account of a coronation to have survived from Byzantium.<sup>201</sup> The resemblance encourages the suggestion that the protocol Pseudo-Kodinos presents was already in use at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>202</sup>

The protocol for a coronation that Pseudo-Kodinos included in his work was based on a protocol available also to Kantakouzenos when he composed his *History*.<sup>203</sup> Both authors introduced changes to their model, so that although the main lines and structure of the original are discernible in both, there are differences in detail. Instead of a personal description of Andronikos III's coronation Kantakouzenos presents an account that is a blank formula with no specifics, no locations for any of the events of the coronation day, neither the name of the place for the raising on the shield, nor the church of coronation, nor the identity of the palace. Pseudo-Kodinos, on the contrary, locates the ceremonies in real space, giving names of places and even specifying the area in the courtyard of the Blachernai palace where coins are scattered.

The Palaiologoi continued a tradition of a two-stage elevation to the throne of their sons and heirs, stages separated by many years. This practice existed in the 'empire of Nicaea' and may also have been in use already in the twelfth century.<sup>204</sup> However, the Palaiologoi, the last dynasty of Byzantium, also introduced a change from the established pattern: coronation of the son and heir during the lifetime of the father emperor. John Kantakouzenos dated the change in practice to the reign of Michael Palaiologos. Before him 'the son of the emperor was not adorned with imperial symbols unless his father had died and the empire had already clearly been transmitted to him.'<sup>205</sup> The practice of crowning a son during the lifetime of his predecessor, his father emperor, began, according to Kantakouzenos, with the founder of the dynasty, Michael VIII.<sup>206</sup> It is in this context that Michael's *prostagma* of 1272 must be seen, a unique document that ordains how Andronikos II is to

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<sup>201</sup> While most authors of narrative accounts describe ceremonies only to point out the unusual that has taken place, Pachymeres seems to be interested in describing ceremonies for their own sake. See, also, his account of the last triumph of Michael VIII: II, 649.10–653.11.

<sup>202</sup> Pach. III, 219–21. Similarities in Pachymeres and Pseudo-Kodinos are the gathering at dawn on the coronation day, the raising on the shield in a gallery above the Augusteon, the coronation in Hagia Sophia with father emperor and patriarch holding the crown together, the procession to the Great Palace accompanied by the throwing of purses of coins. Differences are Pachymeres' lack of mention of the profession of faith and his description of the candle-lit service of all-night hymns in Hagia Sophia that Andronikos II attended in the gallery of the church, the night before the coronation.

<sup>203</sup> See the Introduction, 5, 15. For the date of the composition of the *History*, see 15. For an analysis of the relationship of the texts, see Verpeaux, *Traité*, 31–5.

<sup>204</sup> As appears in the cases of John II's son, Alexios, and Manuel's son, Alexios.

<sup>205</sup> Kant. I, 17.4–8. Kantakouzenos is explaining the origin of giving an oath to all emperors, whether they are crowned or not.

<sup>206</sup> Whether this is the case or not (see above, 423, for Alexios I's coronation of John II), Kantakouzenos ascribed the practice's origins to the founder of the Palaiologan dynasty.

behave both when he is with his father the emperor and when he is away from Constantinople, without his father.<sup>207</sup> Michael stipulates that his son must inform his father concerning ‘everything’, wherever Michael might be.<sup>208</sup> It is likewise in this context that Michael’s tergiversations must be understood. Pachymeres describes how Michael allowed his son, after his coronation, to hold an ‘imperial gilded wooden staff’, when he listened to the hymns, as was the custom, together with his father. However, he soon took the staff away, for he considered that as there is only one authority (*arche*) and the staff is a symbol of authority, there could be only one staff.<sup>209</sup> Furthermore, Michael allowed Andronikos to sign as emperor but not by means of the *menologion*.<sup>210</sup> He required of Andronikos that he swear oaths to him of his loyalty and submission.<sup>211</sup> The significance of the phrase in Pseudo-Kodinos’ coronation protocol – ‘If he has a son and if the father permits, he also writes at the beginning, as follows, either “*autokrator* of the Romans” or “in Christ God faithful emperor of the Romans” – is best understood in this context.<sup>212</sup> Under the Palaiologoi there were often two *autokratores*.<sup>213</sup> The Palaiologan emperors attempted to ensure their succession by crowning their heirs in their lifetimes. Civil war was an unexpected consequence of this measure. On the first occasion when an heir was not crowned before his father’s death, civil war was again the consequence.

### Promotion of a Despot

Pseudo-Kodinos gives protocols for the promotions of the dignitaries, despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar, directly after his description of the imperial coronation. The order of his presentation of the protocols follows actual procedure at court. As narrative sources indicate, a new emperor promoted his subjects after his coronation.<sup>214</sup> Feast days were chosen for the coronation day of the emperor;<sup>215</sup>

<sup>207</sup> See 362, for a discussion of this text as a protocol.

<sup>208</sup> Heisenberg, ‘Palaiologenzeit’, 38–41, here at 41.105–108. The phrase ἡ βασιλεία μου is constantly repeated.

<sup>209</sup> Pach. II, 413.21–415.3.

<sup>210</sup> Pach. II, 415.3–5. See the commentary at Ps.-Kod. 214.7.

<sup>211</sup> Pach. II, 415.6–9.

<sup>212</sup> Ps.-Kod. 210–12. The evidence for Andronikos is mixed. Pachymeres indicates that he signed as ‘Andronikos by the grace of God *basileus* of the Romans’, while a Latin document from the 1277 shows that he signed also as *autokrator*. Pach. II, 415.5–6. See the discussion by Failler, ‘La proclamation impériale de Michel VIII et d’Andronic II’, 248–51.

<sup>213</sup> See Dölger, Review of Kornemann and Ostrogorsky, 137–41, who points out how unusual it was before the Palaiologoi to have two emperors designated as *autokrator*.

<sup>214</sup> E.g. Akrop. §21:34.5–12; Pach. III, 219–21; Kant. II, 218.3–13.

<sup>215</sup> See Ps.-Kod ch. VII, n. 600.

thus the promotions of dignitaries also took place on special days of the year.<sup>216</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos indicates that promotions took place after the daily reception which could be extended for this purpose.<sup>217</sup>

Despots are mentioned throughout the work. The author recognises three imperial relations who might be despots: sons, relations-in-law of the emperor (sons-in-law or brothers-in-law) and brothers of the emperor.<sup>218</sup> However, in giving the protocol for the promotion of a despot he discusses the crown or *stephanos* of only two categories of despot, the son and son-in-law.<sup>219</sup> This may indicate differences in Pseudo-Kodinos' sources. The protocol he used for the promotion of a despot envisaged only son and relations-in-law despots. Another possibility is that the brother despots mentioned elsewhere in the text<sup>220</sup> are brothers of the new emperor who were made despots not by the new emperor but by his father the emperor. They would be wearing the *stephanos* fitting for the son of an emperor. In any case there would be no need for a special crown for a brother made despot by the reigning emperor. In the Palaiologan period despot brothers were rare. The emperor Michael VIII bestowed the dignity on his brother John. After his defeat in Thessaly John renounced the title, saying that it was more fitting for the sons of the emperor to be named despot.<sup>221</sup>

The title of despot was originally created for the son-in-law heir of the emperor Manuel I who had no son.<sup>222</sup> In the thirteenth century it was bestowed more widely, on the brothers of the emperor,<sup>223</sup> and from the late thirteenth century onwards also on the sons of the emperor.<sup>224</sup> The title was also given to men not related to the emperor and with whom no marriage alliance was made: the emperors at Nicaea

<sup>216</sup> E.g. Pach. IV, 571.1–6: the promotion of Roger de Flor to caesar took place on the Saturday of Lazaros. The same procedure held in the 10th c. as the *De cer.* shows.

<sup>217</sup> Ps.-Kod. 90.10–12.

<sup>218</sup> Ps.-Kod. 42.4 (*gambroi*: sons- or brothers-in-law); 46.16–48.1, 7–8 (son); 262.7 (brother).

<sup>219</sup> Ps.-Kod. 244.18–22.

<sup>220</sup> Ps.-Kod. 262.7.

<sup>221</sup> Pach. II, 435.19–25. See also commentary, note 773, for Michael IX's brother.

<sup>222</sup> Manuel I Komnenos bestowed the title in 1163 on Bela of Hungary whom he chose as a husband for his daughter Maria. He withdrew the title immediately upon the birth of his son Alexios. See Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 79, 184. For the history of the title see Guillard, 'Le despote', *Recherches*, II, 1–24; Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 27–48.

<sup>223</sup> Both Theodore I Laskaris and Theodore Komnenos Doukas made their brothers despots in the early 13th c. For Constantine Laskaris see Macrides, *George Akropolites. The History*, 168; for Manuel Angelos see Akrop. §26. On the history of the title in the 13th c., see Magdalino, 'A neglected authority for the history of the Peloponnese', 316–23.

<sup>224</sup> Andronikos II was the first to name his sons despot: Pach. II, 221.21–23 (John in 1294); IV, 659.12; 659.13–14. Guillard, 'Le despote', *Recherches*, II, 4–6.

gave the title to members of the Komneno-Doukas family in an effort to keep their imperial ambitions in control.<sup>225</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol for the promotion of a despot is the only surviving one; the dignity was introduced into the court hierarchy two centuries after the *Book of Ceremony* was compiled. His protocol differs from Pachymeres' description of the promotion of the despot John Palaiologos in 1294 that took place in the palace but included the patriarchs who were present in Constantinople, bishops, clergymen and monks. Michael IX, crowned emperor the day before, is said to help to hold the crown (συνεπιλαμβανομένου) of the despot, his brother, together with his father, Andronikos II. The participation of clergymen is also indicated by the *Book of Ceremonies* for the promotion of a caesar and a *nobelissimos*, the highest dignities of the time, while Philotheos' *Kletorologion* states that these promotions took place in a church.<sup>226</sup> The absence of men of the church from Pseudo-Kodinos' protocol is therefore striking.

The two-coloured (violet and white) insignia of the despot, which included his horse's saddle and cloth, are described by Pseudo-Kodinos in chapter II.<sup>227</sup> However, it is only in the chapter on promotion (VIII) that the despot's crown is specified, that is, the *stephanos* used for the coronation. Other sources also refer to the despot's crown as a *stephanos* but they do not describe its appearance.<sup>228</sup> How it differed, if at all, from those of the *sebastokrator* and caesar is not known.<sup>229</sup> The crown of the despot Constantine Palaiologos, depicted with great clarity on his seal, shows a bejewelled fillet or band that sits on his brow, open at the top, with a projection or arch in front and pendants. (Pl. 4) There do not appear to be four arches, front and back, as stipulated by Pseudo-Kodinos. However, the seal is dated to ca. 1292, while Pseudo-Kodinos could be describing a later development in the crown of the son-despot.<sup>230</sup> It is not possible, on the basis of the surviving

<sup>225</sup> E.g. John III Batatzes made Theodore Komnenos Doukas' son John despot after stripping him of his imperial insignia: Akrop. §40.

<sup>226</sup> Ed. Reiske, 217.20–222.3; 225–229. Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, ed. Oikonomides, 97.12–99.3 and 97n. 52.

<sup>227</sup> Ps.-Kod. 34–42.

<sup>228</sup> Pach. III, 221.23. Ps.-Kod.'s synonym for a *stephanos*, the *stemmaotyryon*, gives the impression of a band or fillet, as does Akrop.'s word for the despot's crown, ταῦνια ('fillet'): §77:159.9. See the headpiece depicted on the lead seal of the despot Constantine: Pl. 4 and n. 232 below.

<sup>229</sup> See the discussion below, 432–33. The crown of the despot Michael II of Epiros differs from all other despots' crowns known from surviving images. It has a hemispherical dome and pendants, like the imperial crown. See Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/2, p. 47.1.1–2; Bendall, 'The coinage of Michael II Angelos of Epiros, 1231–1265', p. 4, type 5.

<sup>230</sup> For the date see Evans, *Byzantium*, cat. no. 7d, p. 32. The crown is wrongly identified as a '*skiadion*'. Hendy, *Catalogue*, IV/1, 167, interprets Ps.-Kod.'s 'arches' as meaning strips of metal that stretch from front to back and cross each other over the top of the head.

visual evidence, to corroborate the distinctions Pseudo-Kodinos makes in the circlets of the despot sons and despot relations-in-law.

### Promotions of a *Sebastokrator* and a Caesar

Pseudo-Kodinos pairs the *sebastokrator* and caesar in his account of their promotion, but also in his description of their attire above, where the caesar's clothing is said to be similar to that of the *sebastokrator*. The pairing of these two dignity-holders dates from Alexios I Komnenos' creation of the title of *sebastokrator* for his brother Isaac at the end of the eleventh century. Until then, 'caesar' was the highest title in the hierarchy after the emperor and the caesar was the only title holder who wore a headdress at court.<sup>231</sup> When Alexios created the dignity of *sebastokrator* he also decreed what the *sebastokrator* and caesar should wear on their heads. Their crowns were to be 'inferior to his own'. They were to have 'scattered pearls and stones', and to be 'without a hemispherical cap'.<sup>232</sup>

This is perhaps the headdress 'used of old' that Pseudo-Kodinos was seeking to find. How it differed from the *stephanoi* of blue stones and pearls that John VI gave to the Asan brothers is not clear since visual representations are few and descriptions in narrative sources after Anna Komnene do not specify the appearance of the crown, except to say that it differed from the emperor's, not being hemispherical.<sup>233</sup> It is, however, the case that John VI bestowed on the *sebastokratores* Asan honours above their dignity. Above, Pseudo-Kodinos states that the emperor gave them cloaks and stockings like those of the despots.<sup>234</sup> The crown he devised for them had 'only one arch in front', making it like that of the despot relations-in-law.<sup>235</sup>

Representations of *sebastokratores* and caesars on seals, frescoes, mosaics and manuscripts depict them wearing crowns that are circlets or fillets. Some have one projection in front: the crowns of the late eleventh century caesars John Doukas and Nikephoros Melissenos and the *sebastokrator* Kalojan at Boyana (1259).<sup>236</sup> The *sebastokrator* Constantine Palaiologos, brother of Michael VIII Palaiologos

<sup>231</sup> Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 3.4.1. On the title see Guillard, *Recherches*, II, 25–43. For the caesar's headdress, called a *kaisarikion* in the *De cer.* (ed. Reiske, 218.24–219.1; 219.11–12; 221.21–22), see Parani, *The reality of images*, 67; Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, ed. Oikonomides, 97.16–99.1.

<sup>232</sup> Anna Komnene's description shows that this crown has similarities with the despot's. Both are called a *stephanos* and are open circlets. Other sources also use the word *stephanos* of the caesar's headdress: Bryennios, ed. Gautier, 263.29–265.1; Greg. I, 89.8–9.

<sup>233</sup> Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 3.4.1: ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισφαιρώματος.

<sup>234</sup> Ps.-Kod. 44.4–7.

<sup>235</sup> Ps.-Kod. 244.21–22.

<sup>236</sup> Zacos-Veglery, *Byzantine lead seals*, I/3, pp. 1458–1459, no. 2683 a-d; pp. 1482–1484, nos. 2698, 2699 a-e; Grabar, *L'église de Boiana*, 68–9, pl. 23.



depicted in the Lincoln Typikon, wears a fillet with two bands that cross on top.<sup>237</sup> Whether this is the crown contemporary with him, late thirteenth century, or the crown of the *sebastokrator* at the time of the creation of the manuscript, early fourteenth century, cannot be determined. (Pl. 7) The *sebastokrator* Isaac, brother of the emperor John II Komnenos, is depicted in the *Deesis* mosaic at the Chora monastery in a crown that is composed of a bejewelled fillet with a projection in the front, an arch which is likewise decorated with jewels. However, this crown is closed on top with a hemisphere made of blue cloth. (Pl. 20) The mosaic was made at the time of Metochites' restoration of the church in 1315–1320/1.<sup>238</sup> Isaac's crown differs greatly from that of the *sebastokrator* depicted in the Lincoln Typikon although the Chora restoration and the typikon's creation are roughly contemporary. Therefore, it seems that one of these crowns was contemporary with the time of the creation of the image and not with the wearer of the headpiece. As Muntaner describes the crown of the newly made caesar Roger de Flor as a 'blue cap'<sup>239</sup> it is possible that the *sebastokrator* Isaac is represented in a crown worn by the *sebastokrator* and the caesar in the early fourteenth century.<sup>240</sup>

The lack of knowledge about the headdresses 'used of old' and also about the *skaranika* of these dignitaries<sup>241</sup> shows that few *sebastokratores* and caesars were promoted in Pseudo-Kodinos' time and those that were appointed were often foreigners who were not present at court for receptions and feast day celebrations. This suggestion is supported by Pseudo-Kodinos' remark concerning the dignitaries who hold the shield on which the new emperor is raised: 'The side and back parts [of the shield] are held by the most exalted dignitaries, that is, despots, *sebastokratores*, [caesars], if there are any.'<sup>242</sup>

<sup>237</sup> Spatharakis, *The portrait*, pl. 143.

<sup>238</sup> Underwood, *Karije Djami*, I, 11, 13, 15, 48.

<sup>239</sup> Muntaner, §212: 42.14–16.

<sup>240</sup> Choniates (*History*, 458.41–459.53) relates that the *stephanos* of the *sebastokrator* John Doukas fell to the ground when he was mounted on a mule in a procession, revealing his bald head. Hendy *Catalogue*, IV/1, 167, interprets the story as an indication that from the end of the 12th c. the *stephanos* was covered on top by a cap.

<sup>241</sup> Ps.-Kod. 42.3–4.

<sup>242</sup> Ps.-Kod. 216.5–10. See the commentary, n. 623. On the scarcity of caesars in the Palaiologan period, see Guiland, *Recherches*, II, 34–5. Roger de Flor, one of the few caesars created in the 14th c., was sent the insignia of his office (in 1305): Pach. IV, 555.28–557.2; IV, 571.3–4. On the title of *sebastokrator*, given in the 14th c. also to neighbouring rulers who likewise would be absent from the receptions at the Byzantine court, see Ferjančić, 'Sevastokratori v Vizantiji', 141–92.



## Promotion of a Patriarch

The protocol for the promotion of a patriarch follows, in Pseudo-Kodinos' compilation, that for the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar<sup>243</sup> and presents a number of parallels with the latter.<sup>244</sup> The same word – πρόβλησις – designates the elevation of the highest dignitaries and of the patriarch. The promotions take place in the palace, in the *triklinos*. Silk partitions are used in the same way, as Pseudo-Kodinos makes explicit.<sup>245</sup> The emperor wears his crown.<sup>246</sup> The patriarch-elect is escorted by a high title holder when he steps forward to receive his ensign of office, the staff, from the emperor.<sup>247</sup> The patriarch leaves the palace on horseback, mounting his horse in the palace courtyard, and returns to Hagia Sophia accompanied by the court title holders.<sup>248</sup>

These elements of the patriarch's promotion which are also elements of the dignitaries' promotion raise questions about the status of the patriarch. He is both above the highest dignitaries and equal to them. This ambiguity is demonstrated by Pseudo-Kodinos when he explains why the despot, *sebastokrator* and caesar are not present for the patriarchal promotion. It is 'inappropriate' for them to stand while the patriarch sits; nor can they sit while he stands.<sup>249</sup>

Other elements in the protocol further illustrate ambiguity with regard to the patriarch's status vis-à-vis the emperor. Both the emperor and the patriarch sit on thrones that have been prepared for the occasion in the *triklinos*. However, it is soon evident that no equality is implied. The two thrones are not side by side on the same level. Not only is the emperor's throne raised up on a platform but it is also higher than his usual throne. This throne is like the one used at the emperor's coronation; it is 'four or even five steps high'.<sup>250</sup> By contrast, the throne of the patriarch is on the floor of the *triklinos*, and thus much lower than the emperor's which it faces. To receive his staff of office the patriarch has to 'mount' the platform where the emperor stands. He 'again descends'.<sup>251</sup> On the other hand, unlike the despot, the patriarch does not kiss the foot of the emperor after his promotion, a sign of submission and gratitude, but rather blesses him.<sup>252</sup>

<sup>243</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos states (248.3–4) that the promotions are carried out in the same way for all three.

<sup>244</sup> See Rochette, *Le Ciel et le sang*, 387–95.

<sup>245</sup> Ps.-Kod. 252.1–2.

<sup>246</sup> Ps.-Kod. 252.2–3.

<sup>247</sup> Ps.-Kod. 254.3–10.

<sup>248</sup> Ps.-Kod. 254.14–256.5. For mounting and dismounting in the courtyard, a privilege accorded to few, see Ps.-Kod. 389–90.

<sup>249</sup> See the commentary at 252.11–254.1.

<sup>250</sup> Ps.-Kod. 250.19–252.1. See also 384.

<sup>251</sup> Ps.-Kod. 252.5–7, 254.9–11.

<sup>252</sup> Ps.-Kod. 254.9–11.

If these outward gestures and material conditions on the occasion of the promotion provide a mixed response to the question of the patriarch's status, the protocol leaves no room for doubt when it describes the way a patriarch-elect becomes the patriarch. It is the emperor who creates the patriarch. Until his promotion in the palace he is a patriarch-elect.<sup>253</sup> When the emperor pronounces the words, 'The Holy Trinity ... promotes you archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and ecumenical patriarch', the patriarch is made. This formulation is similar to that used in the 'little consecration'<sup>254</sup> by which a bishop is ordained and, as Pseudo-Kodinos says, in the case of the patriarch the emperor's promotion takes the place of that consecration.

The protocol cannot be dated. The absence of a reference to an attribute associated with patriarchs in late Byzantine texts may, however, indicate a pre-Palaiologan date. Pachymeres relates that at the promotion of the patriarch John Kosmas (1294–1303) the emperor Andronikos II gave him a staff but also a candlestick with the double wreath (*dibampoulon*): 'He receives the pastoral staff from the ruler, as was the custom, and is honoured also by the double-wreathed candlestick'.<sup>255</sup> The *dibampoulon*, an imperial attribute, was given to the patriarch Kosmas as a special honour.<sup>256</sup> Sylvester Syropoulos in his account of the council of Ferrara-Florence of the early fifteenth century implies that the double-wreathed candlestick had become a symbol for all patriarchs. It was carried before the patriarch in processions, along with his staff.<sup>257</sup> At what point this became the case is not known. In the twelfth century Theodore Balsamon describes a single-wreathed candle as a patriarchal attribute: αἱ λαμπάδες ... τῶν δὲ πατριαρχῶν ... ἐνὶ κατακυκλοῦνται θριγγώματι.<sup>258</sup> Thus, when Arsenios resigned from office (1259), he handed over the staff and the candleholder (*lampadouchon*).<sup>259</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos mentions neither the single-wreathed nor the double-wreathed candlestick in his protocol for a patriarch's promotion. In his protocols it is only the emperor who has the *dibampoulon* carried before him, announcing his presence.

### Arrival of an Imperial Bride

Pseudo-Kodinos' provision of a protocol for the reception in Constantinople of an imperial bride who comes from abroad reflects the large proportion of imperial

<sup>253</sup> Ps.-Kod. 252.7.

<sup>254</sup> 'The grace of God ... raises you to the bishopric ...': Goar, *Euchologion*, 142. Ps.-Kod. 256.13–16.

<sup>255</sup> Pach. III, 207.26–27.

<sup>256</sup> Ps.-Kod. 120.5–6. See 350–51 on this candlestick; also Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 399.

<sup>257</sup> Ed. Laurent, §37:238.22–27.

<sup>258</sup> Rh-P IV, 545.

<sup>259</sup> Pach. I, 163.22–23.

brides who were 'imported' into Byzantium in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century.<sup>260</sup>

The author specifies two places of reception in the capital, depending on the bride's manner of travel, by land or by sea. If she arrives by land she dismounts at Pege; if by ship, she disembarks outside the city walls, near the Blachernai church. She is met by the groom and his father, if he is alive, as well as the wives of the dignitaries, senators and highest holders of court titles. The women dress the bride in red and she departs for the palace with an escort. In an additional note,<sup>261</sup> the author states what arrangements are to be made in the case of two groups of people who contribute to the wedding celebrations, the *pard trainers* and the suppliers of containers used to keep the drinks cool. He gives no details about the wedding festivities and, unlike the *Book of Ceremonies*, says nothing about musical instruments sounding or acclamations for the bride.<sup>262</sup>

The reception protocol of Pseudo-Kodinos has several elements in common with the procedure followed when brides arrived in Constantinople in earlier centuries. In the eighth century, Eirene the Athenian, the fiancée of Leo IV, was met at Constantinople by the eminent people of the city and their wives.<sup>263</sup> Bertha of Sulzbach, Manuel I's betrothed, was met by noble women and her sister-in-law.<sup>264</sup> The illustrated *epithalamion*, a poem written for the reception and marriage of a foreign princess, preserved in Vat. gr. 1851,<sup>265</sup> gives evidence of the role of noble women (and the sister-in-law of the bride) in meeting the bride and dressing her in imperial clothing.<sup>266</sup> Neither Pseudo-Kodinos nor the *epithalamion* refers to the presence of the mother of the groom, the mother-in-law, among the women who greet the bride. Her absence seems to have been customary; historical narratives of the reception of brides likewise make no reference to the mother of the groom.<sup>267</sup> Both Pege and

<sup>260</sup> See Origone, 'Marriage connections between Byzantium and the West in the age of the Palaiologoi', 226–41; Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 12. By contrast, the arrival of a foreign groom in Constantinople is not given any attention. See Gregoras' (III, 505.4–509.10) extensive description of the reception of Orhan in Constantinople before his marriage to John VI's daughter in 1346. Orhan saw his fiancée, Theodora, on the third day after his arrival, 'according to a custom which holds of old' (508.5–8). On that marriage see Bryer, 'Greek historians on the Turks: the case of the first Byzantine-Ottoman marriage', 471–93.

<sup>261</sup> Introduced by the phrase, 'One should know this also'. Ps.-Kod. 268.5.

<sup>262</sup> Ed. Reiske, 379.

<sup>263</sup> Theoph. 444.15–19.

<sup>264</sup> Kinnamos, 36.1–8.

<sup>265</sup> See Spatharakis, *The portrait*, 210–230, for the text of the poem and the illustrations. For a discussion of its date, see 364–65.

<sup>266</sup> Spatharakis, *The portrait*, 223.1–224.20.

<sup>267</sup> Only one description of a reception of a bride mentions the presence of the empress mother. John V's mother, Anne of Savoy, is said to be present at the reception of the young

the area outside the walls at the head of the Golden Horn, the Philopation,<sup>268</sup> are attested as places of reception also in other sources.<sup>269</sup> The presence of the groom and his father the emperor, as Pseudo-Kodinos relates, is attested in the receptions of fourteenth-century brides<sup>270</sup> but also in the tenth century, in the case of the arrival of a groom. The emperor Romanos Lekapenos went to the Blachernai to meet Peter of Bulgaria, arriving by ship to marry Maria, his granddaughter.<sup>271</sup>

The section on the arrival of a foreign bride is the concluding part of Pseudo-Kodinos' work. It has been called 'confused and confusing' because the author appears to give two different disembarkation points for the bride who arrives by sea, the Blachernai church and the Eugenios Gate near the Acropolis. The discrepancy can be resolved if one imagines the author excerpting from two texts which give accounts of two different occasions in the Comnenian and Palaiologan periods.<sup>272</sup> However, another possibility suggests itself: the author gives not two different points of disembarkation but one, the Blachernai. He begins by saying that this is the point of disembarkation (286.13–16). After having mentioned the composition of the reception party (286.17–287.1) he turns to the question of the place where the emperor and the court title holders meet the bride: if she arrives by land, 'he meets her outside the city, just as mentioned'. But if she travels by ship, the emperor 'on horseback along with the court title holders' meets her 'near the Acropolis at the Eugenios Gate' (287.1–6). In other words, in the case of a sea journey, the place of disembarkation is different from the place of reception. One reason for this could be the lack of a specific place to greet the bride, for Pseudo-Kodinos states that 'she comes ashore near the church of the Blachernai outside the city, wherever it might be suitable' (286.13–16). Besides, the Eugenios Gate was the starting point of a triumphal route under the Komnenoi but was also used under the Palaiologoi for at least one adventus.<sup>273</sup> The triumphal associations of the place would make for a more festive occasion for greeting the bride. Also, the ships bearing the bride would encounter the welcoming party earlier, at the Eugenios Gate, before sailing on to the narrow end of the Golden Horn.

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bride Helen in 1347: Kant. III, 11.19. Her presence should perhaps be interpreted in light of her role as regent; she received the bride as one of the emperors, not as mother of the bridegroom.

<sup>268</sup> For the Philopation as the 'threshold' of the city, a place of induction of foreign brides, see Maguire, 'The Philopation as a setting for imperial ceremonial and display', 71–82.

<sup>269</sup> Pegé: Helen, daughter of John VI Kantakouzenos: Kant. III, 11.15–21; Rita-Maria of Armenia: Kosmidion, head of Golden Horn: Pach. III, 233.3–7.

<sup>270</sup> Kant. III, 11.19–21.

<sup>271</sup> Symeon Magister, ed. Wahlgren, 327.367–328.388.

<sup>272</sup> This solution was proposed by Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 11–13.

<sup>273</sup> Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 11–13. If Ps.-Kod is excerpting from different texts which preserve descriptions of two different occasions he makes an attempt to smooth over any discrepancy by the phrase 'just as mentioned' (266.18). He is aware of what he has said a few lines above.

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# Music, Acclamations, Lighting

Pseudo-Kodinos refers to a small number of occasions on which musical instruments are played, either on their own or, more rarely, as an accompaniment to the human voice.<sup>1</sup> These occasions are the emperor's 'riding out' or *kabalikeuma*, and the *prokypseis* at Christmas and Epiphany.<sup>2</sup> All three take place outdoors, in the open. The instruments played on these occasions are therefore those that produce sounds that carry. Pseudo-Kodinos specifically states that none of the 'delicate' (*lepta*) instruments are present at the *prokypsis*.<sup>3</sup> Trumpets, bugles, clarinets and kettledrums are the wind and percussion instruments he mentions.<sup>4</sup> (Pl. 15)

Other, narrative, sources confirm the playing of musical instruments at *prokypseis*. That trumpets were part of the Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis* of John V in December-January 1341/2 is revealed by Gregoras in an indirect way. He relates that John Kantakouzenos' mother heard the acclamations for John V at his Christmas *prokypsis* but also the jeers and abuses of the people against her and her son John, from the building in which she was confined in the imperial courtyard. The same scene was repeated twelve days later at Epiphany. It was then, 'shortly before the sounding of the trumpets' that she died.<sup>5</sup> A Byzantine reader would have known from this reference to trumpets that she died before the acclamations of the emperor, before the 'many years', for it was at the latter point that the musical instruments struck up, according to Pseudo-Kodinos.<sup>6</sup>

Another *prokypsis*, that of the daughter of John VI Kantakouzenos, at Selymbria, is described by Kantakouzenos who relates that trumpets and other wind instruments accompanied the performance of the bride: 'when the curtains opened ... the bride appeared ... trumpets sounded to the greatest extent and pipes and reed instruments and all that has been invented for the pleasure of the people. When they stopped, encomiastic songs were sung which had been written for the bride by some learned men.'<sup>7</sup>

The Sinaiticus 1234 preserves the acclamations at the Christmas *prokypsis* for the emperor John VIII Palaiologos and his wife Maria. The music survives

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<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Kod. (144.6–7) indicates only once, in this passage, that music played while the *polychronion*, the 'many years' was being sung.

<sup>2</sup> *kabalikeuma*: Ps.-Kod., 80.5–7; *prokypsis*: 132.7–9, 166.13–14.

<sup>3</sup> Ps.-Kod. 132.8–9. Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, 261, relates the 'delicate' instruments of Ps.-Kod.'s text to those referred to as 'bas' in the medieval west.

<sup>4</sup> Ps.-Kod. 80, 132. On the musical instruments see the commentary at n. 140.

<sup>5</sup> Greg. II, 616.16–618.5.

<sup>6</sup> Ps.-Kod. 144.5–9.

<sup>7</sup> Kant. II, 588.5–13.

in a Byzantine manuscript of the late fourteenth, early fifteenth century.<sup>8</sup> The manuscript reflects, to a large extent, the content and order of the *prokypsis* performance, as described by Pseudo-Kodinos. A cantor or *psaltes* chants the *polychronion*, alternating with the people. Then the people and the cantor take turns in acclaiming the emperor and empress by name. Pseudo-Kodinos says nothing about the role of the people but Gregoras shows that they did have a part to play in the acclamations of the emperor.<sup>9</sup>

Music was played both at static performances, such as the *prokypsis*, and to accompany ceremonial movement, departures and arrivals. The emperor's *kabalikeuma* or riding out was announced by the playing of several instruments, kettledrums, trumpets and silver bugles, but it is the wind instruments which are emphasised in both Pseudo-Kodinos and the 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII, the only other text to give an account of the procedure.<sup>10</sup> Both of these texts show that the wind instruments sounded when the emperor rode horseback through the city or outside the capital. The sound of the horns was the signal to the people that they could approach the emperor for help: 'the sounding of these [instruments] in the riding out of the emperors was devised for no other [thing] than that the advance of the emperor be announced to those who have been treated unjustly, so that those who need help from this source can approach the Imperial Summit'.<sup>11</sup>

Both Pseudo-Kodinos and Michael VIII associate the emperor's passage on horseback, announced by the playing of wind instruments, with his care for justice: they both imply that there might be occasions when the emperor appeared in public without the sound of the horns. People would in this way know that he could not be approached with petitions at those times.<sup>12</sup>

Authors contemporary with Pseudo-Kodinos make reference to the sounding of musical instruments at the arrival and departure of imperial guests. Ibn Battuta mentions kettledrums, trumpets, bugles and clarinets upon the arrival in Constantinople of the emperor's sister in 1332.<sup>13</sup> The emperor and the empress rode out to greet her, their departure from the palace announced by drums, trumpets and fifes.<sup>14</sup> Likewise, when Orhan, the son-in-law of John VI, left Constantinople to return to Bithynia, the emperor arranged for cymbal- and drum-players to accompany him on his journey.<sup>15</sup> Authors writing later than Pseudo-Kodinos

<sup>8</sup> Maliaras, *Die Orgel*, 270–71 n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Greg. II, 616.24–617.1; 617.24–618.1.

<sup>10</sup> Ps.-Kod. 80.5–82.1; Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 39.29–52.

<sup>11</sup> Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 39.35–39. For the *kabalikeuma*, see 399–400.

<sup>12</sup> Ps.-Kod. 82.1–8; Heisenberg, 'Palaiologenzeit', 39.34–43.

<sup>13</sup> Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, II, 503.

<sup>14</sup> Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, II, 504.

<sup>15</sup> Greg. III, 508.25.

confirm the continued use of musical accompaniment for departures and arrivals of the emperor and other dignitaries.<sup>16</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos refers to *organa*, always with the meaning of ‘instruments’ and not the ‘organ’ specifically. The absence of the organ – an instrument which features in the court ceremonial of the tenth century – from the instruments enumerated by Pseudo-Kodinos and other contemporary authors, has occasioned discussion. Several explanations have been offered which stress change in the ceremonial setting, from the palace and the outdoors (Hippodrome, streets) in the tenth century, to the church, where musical instruments were never played, in the fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup> This perceived change in ceremonial venue is based on the idea that the *prokypsis* took place in church.<sup>18</sup> There is, however, no doubt that the *prokypsis* was always and without exception an outdoor ceremony.<sup>19</sup> The idea that the church had become the site of most ceremonies in the later Byzantine period is a mistaken one, based on the absence of the Hippodrome from the life of the fourteenth-century city, the absence of descriptions in Pseudo-Kodinos’ text of processions inside or outside the palace, as well as a misreading of Pseudo-Kodinos. There were outdoor ceremonial occasions at which the organ could have been played and at which it would not have been out of place, yet the sources do not mention the organ. Evidence for organs and organ players is scarce in the period after the *Book of Ceremonies* but indirect evidence does exist. In 1199, to please his new sons-in-law, as carnival was approaching, Alexios III organised a mock horse race in the Blachernai palace courtyard for which organ bellows were used as the turning post.<sup>20</sup> On the eve of the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1449, Sphrantzes went on an embassy to the king of Georgia and the emperor of Trebizond, accompanied by, among others, ‘men who played the organ’.<sup>21</sup> Players of the organ are therefore attested in late Byzantine Constantinople; organs might still have been played in Constantinople in the Palaiologan period, as also earlier, even if there are no explicit statements to this effect.

<sup>16</sup> Syropoulos describes the fanfare upon the departure of the imperial and ecclesiastical delegation to the council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439): ed. Laurent, 196.15–16; 544.19–20.

<sup>17</sup> Berger, ‘Die akustische Dimension des Kaiserzeremonielles’, 73; De’Maffei, ‘Gli strumenti musicali zu Bisanzio’, 82; Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, 372–73; Maliaras, *Die Orgel*, 279–80.

<sup>18</sup> Maliaras, *Die Orgel*, 279; idem., *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, 367–68.

<sup>19</sup> Several historians identify the appearance of the emperor from the gallery of Hagia Sophia with a *prokypsis*. There is, however, no evidence that Byzantine authors did so.

<sup>20</sup> Chon. 508.89–90. I understand the passage to mean that the bellows were used in this way because it was carnival time and not necessarily because the bellows had been rendered useless as organ-playing equipment.

<sup>21</sup> Ed. Maisano, §30:102.20–27. All modern authors who write about the lack of organs in the late Byzantine period have cited this source but do not dwell on its implications.



## Acclamations

In great contrast to the *Book of Ceremonies*, where acclamations of the emperor and chants can be found for almost every ceremony, Pseudo-Kodinos makes only passing references to the ‘many years’ acclamation and other chants. The acclamations take the form of the *polychronion*: ‘Many years to the emperor ...’ or ‘May God give long life to the emperor ...’.

Pseudo-Kodinos is most detailed in his description of the Christmas Eve *prokypsis*. The music and words for the acclamations have been preserved in a fifteenth-century Sinai manuscript. These acclamations for John VIII and his wife Maria Komnene preserve the same hymn ‘Christ is born who crowned you king’, as does Pseudo-Kodinos, and also the same acclamations and in the same sequence.<sup>22</sup>

For certain ceremonies Pseudo-Kodinos specifies that verses are sung, appropriate to the feast day.<sup>23</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos makes no reference, however, to orations, set pieces in prose the declamation of which was part of the ceremonial. For the fourteenth century, after the reign of Andronikos II, surviving imperial orations are few.<sup>24</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos’ silence concerning the delivery of orations should not be taken to signify their absence from the ceremonial occasions he describes.<sup>25</sup>

## Lights and Lighting

In Pseudo-Kodinos’ protocols, light accompanies the emperor; wherever the emperor is there is also a large lit candle and a candlestick.<sup>26</sup> Not only is light present wherever the emperor is; it precedes the emperor, announcing his arrival. At the daily reception the *lampadarios* stands holding a candlestick and large candle in front of the enthroned or standing emperor, on the floor of the *triklinos*,

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<sup>22</sup> See commentary at 146.4.

<sup>23</sup> The verses by Manuel Holobolos for the *prokypseis* of Michael VIII and his sons are an example of these. See 410.

<sup>24</sup> See Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 46–50, for the number of orations and their contexts of delivery.

<sup>25</sup> It is impossible to imagine, for example, that no orations were delivered on the occasion of a coronation. See Toth, *Imperial orations in late Byzantium*, 209–210: ‘... by overlooking the obvious, the book by Pseudo-Kodinos makes no reference to the fact that literary pieces such as imperial orations were performed during at least some of the ceremonies it describes’.

<sup>26</sup> See also 350–51.

below the platform that holds the throne.<sup>27</sup> The appearance of the candlestick<sup>28</sup> is not elaborated but the *lampas*, a large candle, is described.<sup>29</sup> It had red and gold adornment; around its middle gold circles were inscribed with red crosses,<sup>30</sup> a motif associated with emperors and known from surviving coins, embroideries and descriptions of imperial garments.<sup>31</sup> During the vigil on Holy Thursday between each of the 12 Gospel readings, a page holding a candle stood in front of the door of the emperor's chamber.<sup>32</sup> The large candle was also with the emperor when he appeared from a height, at *prokypseis* and the *peripatos*. The *lampadari* went onto the platform or walkway before the emperor. Light preceded the emperor and the accompanying hymn announced him as the likeness of the 'king of the heavens'. On feast days that were celebrated at monasteries around the city, the emperor's bootmaker arrived ahead of the emperor and lit a large candle when the emperor arrived.<sup>33</sup> The candle that preceded the emperor, announcing his arrival and marking his presence, is attested already in the late eleventh century.<sup>34</sup> For candles, as for all aspects of ceremonial practice, hierarchy is observed. When the emperor holds a large candle (*λαμπάς*), court title holders hold a taper (*κηρός*).<sup>35</sup>

It is difficult to gauge the effect of artificial lighting in the spaces of the palace. Unlike the *Book of Ceremonies*<sup>36</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos' work does not describe the lighting fixtures in the *triklinos* and elsewhere. It is also not known what other lighting, besides the large imperial candle, there may have been on the *prokypsis*.

<sup>27</sup> Ps.-Kod. (120.5–6) specifies the presence of the *lampadari* for Christmas Eve in particular but the same must hold for all receptions. The *lampadari* stands before the enthroned emperor also in Hagia Sophia, at the coronation, according to the anonymous protocol for Manuel II's coronation: Verpeaux, 356.20–23; Schreiner, 78.47–48.

<sup>28</sup> For the *dibampoulon*, not a double-branched candelabrum but a candlestick with two wreaths or rings decorating it, see the commentary at 118.2.

<sup>29</sup> Together, the candle holder and the candle may have been as tall as a man. See n. 31 below and the picture of a modern candle holder in Parani, '“Rise like the sun, the God-inspired kingship”', fig. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Odo of Deuil (ed. Berry, 68), in Constantinople at the time of the second crusade, describes the candles of the Byzantine clergy who celebrated the feast of St Dionysios. The emperor had 'equipped (each clergyman) with a large candle (*cereo magno*) decorated elaborately with gold and a variety of colours'.

<sup>31</sup> Ps.-Kod. 120.7–8. For the ornamentation, see 343–44. According to an early 13th c. *ethopoiia* of a man who failed to become patriarch of Antioch, written by Nicholas Mesarites, a *lampas* was as 'tall as a man' and was made of small pieces of papyrus bound round by linen and covered with melted wax. See Flusin, 'Nicolas Mésarités. Éthopée', 241.112–115; Failler, 'Le roseau, le papyrus et le papier', 207–216, here at 215–216.

<sup>32</sup> Ps.-Kod. 178.8–11.

<sup>33</sup> Ps.-Kod. 200.15–202.5.

<sup>34</sup> See 351.

<sup>35</sup> Ps.-Kod. 178.3–4, 180. 17–19.

<sup>36</sup> For the lighting devices mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*, see Parani, '“Rise like the sun, the God-inspired kingship”'.

Some ceremonies took place in daylight with lit candles. The wedding *prokypsis* of Kantakouzenos' daughter would seem to be one example; the *peripatos* on Palm Sunday, another.<sup>37</sup> However, the Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis* took place on dark winter afternoons. On those occasions, candlelight, especially if deployed from below to light the emperor, would have had a dramatic effect and would have intensified the light that emanated from the jewels and gold of his garments and headgear.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> The *peripatos* takes place in the morning hours: Ps.-Kod. 170.13–17. Kantakouzenos (II, 587.24–588.4) makes reference to spending the night at Selymbria and carrying out the *prokypsis* 'on the next day'. The *prokypsis* may therefore have taken place during daylight hours.

<sup>38</sup> See 355.

# Conclusions

Attempts to form a picture of Byzantine ceremonial begin and end with the two texts that have a 400 year gap between them. The *Book of Ceremonies* and the work by Pseudo-Kodinos represent two approaches to the ‘writing’ of a ceremony book. Grabar characterised Pseudo-Kodinos’ approach as ten times more detailed than that of the *Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>1</sup> This statement should be qualified. Each text has detail in areas where the other does not. Pseudo-Kodinos’ work contains a section on the attire/insignia of the entire court from the emperor to the least of the title holders. The tenth-century ceremonial book mentions the same in passing. Pseudo-Kodinos discusses the functions of the title holders, both ceremonial and other. The *Book of Ceremonies* does not go beyond the ceremonial service of some title holders. Pseudo-Kodinos describes a wide range of hierarchical arrangements. They are behind almost every prescription and description. He presents differentiation by attire, by physical gesture, by speech and posture. The *Book of Ceremonies* does not do so to the same extent nor as directly. Where the tenth-century ceremonial book surpasses Pseudo-Kodinos in its detail is in the coverage of ceremonial events, the provision of a protocol for almost every movement, both to and from sites and monuments in the city, and the texts of the acclamations for every event. To sum up, the *Book of Ceremonies* is about movement and sound. By comparison Pseudo-Kodinos’ text gives the impression of a ceremonial that is nearly silent and almost always stationary.

Comparison of the two ceremonial books is at the centre of attempts to define what changed in Byzantine ceremonial in the 400 years that separate them. The surface impression created by a comparison yields the following picture: Ceremonial declined in Byzantium, there was less of it and it was less spectacular. Emperors and their officials remained isolated behind the walls of the fortress-like Blachernai palace, a palace of restricted size.

Such is the image that a comparison conjures up. Yet the comparison is of two works with different purposes. The ostensible purpose of the *Book of Ceremonies*, as expressed in its two prefaces, is to create order in the mass of ceremonies that had all but fallen into oblivion, so as to provide a record for later generations, but also to record other ceremonies not yet written down. Pseudo-Kodinos gives no statement of his purpose; there is no preface. His aim – if we draw inferences from his shorter text which has indirect references to many ceremonies – is not strictly to record all ceremonies but to provide an annotated protocol book. While the *Book of Ceremonies* includes ceremonies that ‘had all but fallen into oblivion’, demonstrating by its overwhelming thoroughness its relationship with the past,

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<sup>1</sup> Grabar, ‘Pseudo-Kodinos et les cérémonies de la cour byzantine au XIV siècle’, 203.

Pseudo-Kodinos' protocols are drawn from ceremonial practices that are, in many cases, demonstrably in use in the middle of the fourteenth century. (Table III) His work's relationship with the past is evident not in the collection of out-of-date and out-of-use protocols but in his interest in origins of practices, of the accessories of ceremony. His is an annotated ceremony book; the notes are historical.

A comparison of the fat tenth-century dossier with the thin history book might lead to the conclusion that ceremonial was in a lesser state in the fourteenth century. Ceremonial was certainly in a different state. Some of the differences with the earlier centuries are related to the change in the physical setting of the ceremonies, the palaces themselves. The Great Palace was a complex of low lying buildings spread over a large area. In the *Book of Ceremonies*, therefore, processions within the palace were a major feature, not only of the 'daily reception' but also of most of the ceremonies collected in that work. Pseudo-Kodinos' palace, on the other hand, consisted of tall buildings of many storeys, arranged around a courtyard. The courtyard was the site of several ceremonies. In this palace, ceremonial is not about horizontal movement; it is concerned with vertical elevation and display.

The location of the palaces in diametrically opposite parts of the city also contributes to the differences in ceremonial. The Great Palace was next to the monuments that are practically synonymous with Byzantium, the Hippodrome and Hagia Sophia. The first adjoined the Great Palace by means of a spiral ramp; the second was connected to the palace by a covered walkway. The Blachernai was far from these monuments in the opposite corner of the city.<sup>2</sup> In the Blachernai the courtyard has taken the place of the Hippodrome. The emperor still appears from a height, from the *prokypsis* platform or the *peripatos* walkway, but in the context of 'staging Christ' at Christmas/Epiphany and Palm Sunday, and before a smaller audience. The palace has taken the place of the Hippodrome for public displays. Now it is also the balconies of the palace that perform the function of the *kathisma* which was itself a projection of the Great Palace. It is from the palace balconies that emperors see and are seen. The triumph that Michael VIII celebrated in 1281 exemplifies the Blachernai palace's role as a new Hippodrome. Beneath the emperor the prisoners passed, performing *proskynesis* on their horses.<sup>3</sup>

Other differences with earlier centuries have to do with developments in ceremonial that were already underway in the tenth century. Some of these can be pinpointed with confidence. Games at the Hippodrome were less frequent in the tenth century and of a changed character. They had become 'a museum piece', to judge from the account of the 946 Tarsiot delegation preserved in the *Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>4</sup> Already at the end of the twelfth century Alexios III preferred to stay

<sup>2</sup> The distance from the Blachernai to Hagia Sophia is approximately 6 km. McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 221, estimates that the 5.5km from the Golden Gate to Hagia Sophia is an hour's walk at a normal pace.

<sup>3</sup> Pach. II, 651.8–653.11.

<sup>4</sup> Featherstone, 'The Great Palace as reflected in the *De Cerimoniis*', 58; Mango, 'Daily life in Byzantium', 344–47.

in the Blachernai palace to celebrate the games at carnival time, instead of holding games at the Hippodrome. He prepared a mock race and gymnastic contests for the benefit of his close family and servants. The show took place in the courtyard of the palace.<sup>5</sup>

Some differences also are not real differences but are based on misconceptions of the nature of ceremonial in the tenth century, a false picture that derives from the out-of-date protocols in the *Book of Ceremonies*. The so-called withdrawal of ceremonial to the confines of the palace is such a 'change'. Many of Pseudo-Kodinos' ceremonies seem to be performed by members of the court for members of the court. Yet the *Book of Ceremonies* gives evidence of similar routines.<sup>6</sup> Thus, what we see in Pseudo-Kodinos is not a late Byzantine ceremonial development but one that has its origins in earlier centuries. The emperor visits Hagia Sophia only five times a year in Pseudo-Kodinos' protocols, on the Sunday of Orthodoxy, Easter, Pentecost, Dormition, the feast day of John Chrysostom. In the tenth century the number of times was not appreciably greater.<sup>7</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos' list of churches and monasteries to which the emperor went on feast days shows the emperor's presence in the city throughout the year. (See map viii). Again, the number of venues has not appreciably diminished since the tenth century.<sup>8</sup> What has changed is the number of monasteries, from one in the tenth century to eight of the twelve out-of-the-palace destinations in the fourteenth. Yet this too was already an eleventh-century trend.<sup>9</sup> Palaiologan emperors did not withdraw from the city, turning their backs on it, anymore than earlier emperors who lived behind the fortified walls of the Great Palace lived in isolation. The ceremonies of Pseudo-Kodinos' book do not indicate that a progression has taken place away from the public to the private. The mixture existed from the beginning in ceremonial life.<sup>10</sup>

A development whose origins cannot be fixed with any precision is the incorporation of imperial ceremonial into the ecclesiastical offices. The most common ceremony, the daily reception, has become a part of matins and vespers. All ceremonies are now connected with feast days of the ecclesiastical calendar. Further, the influence of monastic practice can be seen in the Washing of the Feet on Holy Thursday which takes place in the emperor's chamber and in the Elevation

<sup>5</sup> Chon. 508.83–509.17.

<sup>6</sup> As indicated by Cameron, 'The construction of court ritual', 130–132; Featherstone, 'Der grosse Palast von Konstantinopel', 25, shows that emperors did not even leave the lower terrace of the Great Palace to go to the upper terrace where the older palace buildings were, except on high feasts (the twelve days of Christmas and liturgy in Hagia Sophia).

<sup>7</sup> McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 227–28: 'The hold of this great building on the modern imagination inclines us to forget how rarely the emperors of the early Middle Ages attended services there, little more than half a dozen times per year'; Featherstone, 'Der grosse Palast von Konstantinopel', 27: 'only on high feasts, otherwise in the Pharos'.

<sup>8</sup> Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 1.

<sup>9</sup> Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople', 8–10.

<sup>10</sup> Cutler, 'Constantinople and Córdoba', 1–18.

of the Panagia which follows the Christmas meal in the *triklinos* just as it follows meals in monasteries. Monastic associations are reinforced in Pseudo-Kodinos' text by the use of the words *kellion* for the emperor's chamber and *sakkos* for his tunic. The colour of the emperor's *sakkos* is specified as 'black' bringing with it ascetic associations. Finally, the sacralisation of the emperor is evident in his 'performance of Christ', on the *prokypsis*, on the *peripatos* but also in the Washing of the Feet.

In all of this – the shift to the northwest corner of the city,<sup>11</sup> the importance of the Blachernai palace and its use as a place to conduct the business of the empire and to perform ceremonies, the sacralisation of the emperor – we should not see Palaiologan innovation. As has been repeatedly shown here, the overwhelming majority of the practices exposed by Pseudo-Kodinos, the ceremonial objects and attire, the palace buildings, can be traced back to origins in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and earlier.<sup>12</sup> (Table III) They are not Palaiologan phenomena.<sup>13</sup> The Palaiologoi used what they inherited from their predecessors, adding a few refinements of their own. Pseudo-Kodinos' book reflects that process.

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<sup>11</sup> Magdalino, *Medieval Constantinople*, 75–84, on the growing prominence of the northwest area of the city, a shift that started with the Komnenoi.

<sup>12</sup> The importance of restoring Constantinople and imperial rule to pre-1204 conditions is exemplified by the measures taken by Michael VIII Palaiologos. See Macrides, 'The New Constantine and the New Constantinople – 1261?' and 'From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi'.

<sup>13</sup> Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 45, makes the same point about gold embroideries. They are not, as once thought, an 'isolated phenomenon of the Palaiologan period'.

## Appendix (Tables III, IV, V)



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Table III      Earliest attestations of ceremonies, items of clothing, insignia, terms  
**Bold:** Attested in 14th c. texts/images, as well as Pseudo-Kodinos.

Practice/ceremony	First known attestation	Origin
petitioning the horseback emperor	Constantine I	late Roman
communion of the emperor in hand and from chalice	Andronikos I (Choniates)	?
<b>prokypsis at Christmas/Epiphany</b>	1272 <i>prostagma</i>	before 1259
<i>prokypsis</i> of bride	Nicholas Eirenikos Nicaea, 1241	before 1204?
<i>peripatos</i> on Palm Sunday	1272 <i>prostagma</i>	before 1259
<i>megas domestikos</i> holds sword of emperor	1272 <i>prostagma</i>	before 1259
<i>megas domestikos</i> serves emperor at table on feast days	1272 <i>prostagma</i>	before 1259
candle and sword in imperial displays	Theophylact of Ohrid	11th c.?
sword held hilt upwards next to emperor	Vat. gr. 1851 (12th c.?)	12th c. or earlier
<i>skouterios</i> holds <b>round shield and spear</b>	Cyrenius and guard, Chora mosaic early 14th c.	?
profession of faith at coronation	Anastasius I (491) (Theophanes)	4th–5th c.
raising on the shield	Julian (4th c.)	late Roman
raising on the shield as part of coronation, not proclamation	Theodore II Laskaris (13th c.) (Akropolites)	12th c.?
<b>emperor invests abbots of imperial monasteries with staff</b>	Stoudios <i>typikon</i> , 11th c.	?
bride-to-be dressed in red	Vat. gr. 1851 (12th c.)	?
Hodegetria at Blachernai palace during Lent	Pseudo-Kodinos	14th c.?
<b>appearance of newly married imperial couple from a height</b>	Nicholas Eirenikos 1241 Nicaea	before 1204?
Elevation of the Panagia in palace	Pseudo-Kodinos	?
Washing of the Feet in the palace, Holy Thursday	Pseudo-Kodinos	?

Practice/ceremony	First known attestation	Origin
<b>1 September at Forum</b>	Typikon of the Great Church	earlier than 10th c.
<b>Genoese ships acclaim emperor</b>	Gregoras (14th c.) and Pseudo-Kodinos	13th c.?
<b>dismounting at gate of palace courtyard</b>	<i>Book of Ceremonies</i>	earlier than 10th c.
Ceremonial for an emperor in mourning on Christmas/Epiphany and Palm Sunday	Andronikos II: 1282 (Pachymeres)	13th c.?
Attire/Insignia/Props	First known attestation	Origin
<b>headgear worn at palace</b>	11th c. images; 12th c. texts	11th c.?
turban worn with <i>epilourikon</i>	<i>Digenis Akrites</i> , G version (12th c.)	before 12th c.
<b>lapatzas</b>	13th c. images	
<b>gold embroidery</b>	11th/12th c.	
two-wreathed candlestick ( <i>dibampoulon</i> ), imperial attribute	Balsamon (12th c.)	before 12th c.
sword and candle, imperial attributes	Theophylact of Ohrid (late 11th c.)	11th c.?
<b>white for mourning</b>	Gregoras, Kantakouzenos, Panaretos	14th c.?
<b><i>akakia</i> held with handkerchief</b>	John V Palaiologos mosaic Hagia Sophia 1354/55	mid 14th c.
<b>black imperial <i>sakkos</i></b>	Ps.-Kod.: John VI Kantakouzenos: Paris. gr. 1242	14th c.
turbans worn by emperor	8th/9th and 10th/11th c. (texts)	?
red hats with tassels worn by title holders	Coislin 79 f. 2v (11th c.)	11th c.
<b>cross-in-circle motif</b>	Manuel I, <i>ekphrasis</i> (12th c.); 13th c. coins and embroidery	before 12th c.
<b>beta-cross motif</b>	late 13th/14th c., on coins and stone	Late 13th c.

<b><i>skaranikon</i> with image of emperor</b>	late 13th/14th c. images and texts	after 1261?
<b>lattice motif</b>	John III Batatzes, coins (13th c.)	before 13th c.?
<b>double-headed eagle</b>	Alexios III or John III Batatzes (fresco): late 12th/13th c.	12th c.?
red silk ribbons on legs of horses	Bamberg silk; <i>Book of Ceremonies</i>	10th c. or earlier
<b><i>baion</i> sceptre</b>	11th/12th c. coins and manuscripts	11th c. or earlier
<i>phyalin</i>	Coislin 79 f. 2v (11th c.)	11th c. or earlier
<i>peripatos</i> structure	Pseudo-Kodinos: Blachernai palace	?
<i>pilatikia</i>	Pseudo-Kodinos	?
<b><i>prokypsis</i> platform</b>	Xanthopoulos: e. 14th c., Blachernai palace	?
staffs for title holders	Vat. gr. 1851 (12th c.)	11th/12th c.?
<b>Terminology/place names</b>	<b>First know attestation</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<i>authentopoulos</i>	Vat. gr. 1851 (12th c.)	
<b><i>diadem=loros</i></b>	patriarch Germanos (13th c.)	13th c. or earlier
<b><i>tamparion=chlamys</i></b>	14th c. <i>metaphrasis</i> of Choniates	before 14th c.
<i>dibolea</i>	Pachymeres, short version	13th–14th c.
<i>margellion</i>	Balsamon (12th c.)	?
<b>Porphyry Column=Forum of Constantine</b>	14th c. texts	13th c.?

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Table IV      The fourteenth-century Lists of Court Precedence

\* before a title: title not in Pseudo-Kodinos.

\* after a title: title in Pseudo-Kodinos, but with a slightly different name in other lists.

**Title in bold:** the relative internal ranking of the title within a specific cluster is higher in Pseudo-Kodinos than all the other court lists.

[illegible]

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
11 <i>megas primmikerios</i>	11 <i>megas primmikerios</i>	11 <i>megas primmikerios</i>	11 <i>megas primmikerios</i>	11 <i>megas primmikerios</i>	11 <i>megas primmikerios</i>	11 <i>megas primmikerios</i>	11 <i>megas primmikerios</i>
12 <i>megas konostaulos</i>	12 <i>megas konostaulos</i>	12 <i>megas konostaulos</i>	12 <i>megas konostaulos</i>	12 <i>megas konostaulos</i>	12 <i>megas konostaulos</i>	12 <i>megas konostaulos</i>	12 <i>megas konostaulos</i>
13 <i>protosebastos</i>	13 <i>epi tou kanikleiou</i>	13 <i>epi tou kanikleiou</i>	13 <i>protosebastos</i>	13 <i>protosebastos</i>	13 <i>protosebastos</i>	13 <i>protosebastos</i>	13 <i>protosebastos</i>
14 <i>pinkernes</i>	14 <i>protosebastos</i>	14 <i>protosebastos</i>	14 <i>pinkernes</i>	14 <i>pinkernes</i>	14 <i>epikernes*</i>	14 <i>pinkernes</i>	14 <i>epikernes* (pinkernes)</i>
<b>15 <i>kouropalates</i></b>	15 <i>pinkernes</i>	15 <i>pinkernes</i>	15 <i>parakoimomenos tes sphendones</i>	15 <i>parakoimomenos tes megales sphendones*</i>	15 <i>parakoimomenos tes megales sphendones*</i>	15 <i>parakoimomenos*</i>	15 <i>parakoimomenos tes megales sphendones*</i>
16 <i>parakoimomenos tes sphendones</i>	16 <i>parakoimomenos tes sphendones</i>	16 <i>parakoimomenos tes sphendones</i>	16 <i>parakoimomenos tou koitonos</i>	16 <i>parakoimomenos tou koitonos</i>	16 <i>parakoimomenos tou koitonos</i>	<b>16 <i>kouropalates</i></b>	16 <i>parakoimomenos tou koitonos</i>
17 <i>parakoimomenos tou koitonos</i>	17 <i>parakoimomenos tou koitonos</i>	17 <i>parakoimomenos tou koitonos</i>	17 <i>megas baioulos</i>	17 <i>megas baioulos</i>	<b>17 <i>kouropalates</i></b>	17 <i>protovestiarites</i>	<b>17 <i>kouropalates</i></b>
<b>18 <i>logothetes tou genikou</i></b>	18 <i>megas baioulos</i>	18 <i>megas baioulos</i>	<b>18 <i>kouropalates</i></b>	<b>18 <i>kouropalates</i></b>	18 <i>protovestiarites</i>	18 <i>domestikos* [om. tes trapezes]</i>	18 <i>protovestiarites</i>
19 <i>protovestiarites</i>	<b>19 <i>kouropalates</i></b>	<b>19 <i>kouropalates</i></b>	19 <i>protovestiarites</i>	19 <i>protovestiarites</i>	19 <i>domestikos tes trapezes</i>	19 <i>epi tes trapezes</i>	19 <i>domestikos tes trapezes</i>
20 <i>domestikos tes trapezes</i>	20 <i>protovestiarites</i>	20 <i>protovestiarites</i>	20 <i>domestikos tes trapezes</i>	20 <i>domestikos* [om. tes trapezes]</i>	<b>20 <i>logothetes tou genikou</i></b>	20 <i>megas papias</i>	20 <i>epi tes trapezes</i>
21 <i>epi tes trapezes</i>	21 <i>domestikos* [om. tes trapezes]</i>	21 <i>domestikos tes basilikes trapezes*</i>	21 <i>epi tes trapezes</i>	21 <i>epi tes trapezes</i>	21 <i>megas papias</i>	21 <i>eparch</i>	<b>21 <i>logothetes tou genikou</i></b>

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
22 <i>megas papias</i>	22 <i>epi tes trapezes</i>	22 <i>epi tes trapezes</i>	<b>22 <i>logothetes tou genikou</i></b>	<b>22 <i>logothetes tou genikou</i></b>	22 <i>eparch</i>	22 <i>megas droungarios tes vigles</i>	22 <i>megas papias</i>
23 <i>eparch</i>	<b>23 <i>logothetes tou genikou</i></b>	<b>23 <i>logothetes tou genikou</i></b>	23 <i>megas papias</i>	23 <i>megas papias</i>	23 <i>megas droungarios tes vigles</i>	23 <i>megas hetaireiarches</i>	23 <i>eparch</i> ( <i>eparch of the imperial senate*</i> )
24 <i>megas droungarios tes vigles</i>	24 <i>megas papias</i>	24 <i>megas papias</i>	24 <i>eparch</i>	24 <i>eparch</i>	24 <i>megas hetaireiarches</i>	24 <i>logothetes tou dromou</i>	24 <i>megas droungarios tes basilikes vigles*</i>
25 <i>megas hetaireiarches</i>	25 <i>eparch</i>	25 <i>eparch</i>	25 <i>megas droungarios tes vigles</i>	25 <i>megas droungarios tes vigles</i>	25 <i>logothetes tou dromou</i>	<b>25 <i>megas chartoularios</i></b>	25 <i>megas hetaireiarches</i>
<b>26 <i>megas chartoularios</i></b>	26 <i>megas droungarios tes basilikes vigles*</i>	26 <i>megas droungarios tes vigles</i>	26 <i>megas hetaireiarches</i>	26 [ <i>megas</i> ] <i>hetaireiarches</i>	<b>26 <i>megas chartoularios</i></b>	26 <i>mystikos</i>	26 <i>logothetes tou dromou</i>
27 <i>logothetes tou dromou</i>	27 <i>megas hetaireiarches</i>	27 <i>megas hetaireiarches</i>	27 <i>logothetes tou dromou</i>	27 <i>logothetes tou dromou</i>	27 <i>mystikos</i>	<b>27 <i>protasekretis</i></b>	<b>27 <i>megas chartoularios</i></b>
<b>28 <i>protasekretis</i></b>	28 <i>logothetes tou dromou</i>	28 <i>logothetes tou dromou</i>	<b>28 <i>megas chartoularios</i></b>	<b>28 <i>megas chartoularios</i></b>	<b>28 <i>protasekretis</i></b>	<b>28 <i>epi tou stratou</i></b>	28 <i>mystikos</i>
<b>29 <i>epi tou stratou</i></b>	29 <i>*hypatos ton philosophon</i>	29 <i>*hypatos ton philosophon</i>	29 <i>mystikos</i>	29 <i>mystikos</i>	<b>29 <i>epi tou stratou</i></b>	29 <i>megas droungarios tou stolou</i>	<b>29 <i>protasekretis</i></b>
30 <i>mystikos</i>	<b>30 <i>megas chartoularios</i></b>	<b>30 <i>megas chartoularios</i></b>	<b>30 <i>protasekretis</i></b>	<b>30 <i>protasekretis</i></b>	30 <i>megas droungarios tou stolou</i>	<b>30 <i>domestikos ton scholon</i></b>	<b>30 <i>epi tou stratou</i></b>
<b>31 <i>domestikos ton scholon</i></b>	31 <i>mystikos</i>	31 <i>mystikos</i>	<b>31 <i>epi tou stratou</i></b>	<b>31 <i>epi tou stratou</i></b>	<b>31 <i>domestikos ton scholon</i></b>	31 <i>primmikerios tes aules</i>	31 <i>megas droungarios tou stolou</i>



I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
32 <i>megas droungarios tou stolou</i>	<b>32 <i>protasekretis</i></b>	<b>32 <i>protasekretis</i></b>	32 <i>megas droungarios ton ploimon*</i>	32 <i>megas droungarios tou stolou</i>	32 <i>primmikerios tes aules</i>	32 <i>protospatharios</i>	<b>32 <i>domestikos ton scholon</i></b>
33 <i>primmikerios tes aules</i>	<b>33 <i>epi tou stratou</i></b>	<b>33 <i>epi tou stratou</i></b>	<b>33 <i>domestikos ton scholon</i></b>	<b>33 <i>domestikos ton scholon</i></b>	33 <i>megas tzaousios</i>	33 <i>megas archon</i>	33 <i>primmikerios tes aules</i>
34 <i>protospatharios</i>	34 <i>megas droungarios tou stolou</i>	34 <i>megas droungarios tou stolou</i>	34 <i>primmikerios tes aules</i>	34 <i>primmikerios tes aules</i>	34 <i>praitor tou demou</i>	34 <i>tatas tes aules</i>	34 <i>protospatharios</i> called <i>amyrtzantarios</i> among the Persians
35 <i>megas archon</i>	<b>35 <i>domestikos ton scholon</i></b>	<b>35 <i>domestikos ton scholon</i></b>	35 <i>protospatharios</i>	35 <i>protospatharios</i>	35 <i>logothetes ton oikeiakon</i>	35 <i>megas tzaousios</i>	35 <i>megas archon</i>
36 <i>tatas tes aules</i>	36 <i>primmikerios tes aules</i>	36 <i>primmikerios tes aules</i>	36 <i>megas archon</i>	36 <i>megas archon</i>	36 <i>megas logariastes</i>	36 <i>praitor tou demou</i>	36 <i>tatas tes aules</i>
37 <i>megas tzaousios</i>	37 <i>protospatharios</i>	37 <i>protospatharios</i>	37 <i>megas tzaousios</i>	37 <i>tatas tes aules</i>	37 <i>skouterios</i>	37 <i>logothetes ton oikeiakon</i>	37 <i>megas tzaousios</i>
38 <i>praitor tou demou</i>	38 <i>megas archon</i>	38 <i>megas archon</i>	38 <i>praitor tou demou</i>	38 <i>megas tzaousios</i>	38 <i>protokynegos</i>	38 <i>megas logariastes</i>	38 <i>praitor tou demou</i> who translates from Frankish
39 <i>logothetes ton oikeiakon</i>	39 <i>tatas tes aules</i>	39 <i>tatas tes aules</i>	39 <i>tatas tes aules</i>	39 <i>praitor tou demou</i>	39 <i>amerales*</i>	39 <i>skouterios</i>	39 <i>logothetes ton oikeiakon</i>
40 <i>megas logariastes</i>	40 <i>megas tzaousios</i>	40 <i>megas tzaousios</i>	40 <i>logothetes ton oikeiakon</i>	40 <i>logothetes ton oikeiakon</i>	40 <i>epi ton deeseon</i>	40 <i>protokynegos</i>	40 <i>megas logariastes</i>
41 <i>protokynegos</i>	41 <i>praitor tou demou</i>	41 <i>praitor tou demou</i>	41 <i>megas logistes*</i>	41 <i>megas logariastes</i>	41 <i>megas adnoumiastes</i>	41 <i>amyrales*</i>	41 <i>skouterios</i>

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
42 skouterios	42 <i>logothetes ton oikeiakon</i>	42 <i>logothetes ton oikeiakon</i>	42 skouterios	42 skouterios	<b>42 koiaistor</b>	42 <i>megas adnoumiastes</i>	42 <i>epi ton deeseon</i>
43 ameralios	43 <i>megas logariastes</i>	43 <i>megas logistes*</i>	43 <i>protokynegos</i>	43 <i>protokynegos</i>	43 <i>logothetes tou stratiotikou</i>	<b>43 koiaistor</b>	43 <i>protokynegos</i>
44 <i>epi ton deeseon</i>	44 <i>epi ton deeseon</i>	44 <i>epi ton deeseon</i>	44 <i>amyrales*</i>	44 <i>amerales*</i>	44 <i>protoierakarios</i>	44 <i>logothetes tou stratiotikou</i>	44 <i>ameriales*</i>
<b>45 koiaistor</b>	45 <i>*archidiakonos</i>	45 <i>*archidiakonos</i>	45 <i>epi ton deeseon</i>	45 <i>epi ton deeseon</i>	45 <i>*krites tou velou</i>	45 <i>protoierakarios</i>	45 <i>megas adnoumiastes</i>
46 <i>megas adnoumiastes</i>	46 skouterios	46 skouterios	46 <i>megas adnoumiastes</i>	46 <i>megas adnoumiastes</i>	46 <i>megas diermeneutes</i>	46 <i>*krites tou velou</i>	<b>46 koiestor*</b>
47 <i>logothetes tou stratiotikou</i>	47 <i>protokynegos</i>	47 <i>protokynegos</i>	<b>47 koiaistor</b>	<b>47 koiaistor</b>	<b>47 logothetes ton agelon</b>	47 <i>megas diermeneutes</i>	47 <i>logothetes tou stratiotikou</i>
48 <i>protoierakarios</i>	48 <i>amerales*</i>	48 <i>almyralios*</i>	48 <i>logothetes tou stratiotikou</i>	48 <i>logothetes tou stratiotikou</i>	48 <i>akolouthos</i>	<b>48 logothetes ton agelon</b>	48 <i>protoierakarios</i>
<b>49 logothetes ton agelon</b>	49 <i>*aktouarios</i>	49 <i>*aktouarios</i>	49 <i>protoierakarios</i>	49 <i>protoierakarios</i>	49 <i>orphanotrophos</i>	49 <i>akolouthos</i>	49 <i>*krites tou velou</i>
50 <i>megas diermeneutes</i>	50 <i>megas adnoumiastes</i>	50 <i>megas adnoumiastes</i>	50 <i>*krites tou velou</i>	50 <i>megas diermeneutes</i>	50 <i>protonotarios</i>	50 <i>orphanotrophos</i>	50 <i>megas diermeneutes who is megas dragoumanos</i>
51 <i>akolouthos</i>	<b>51 koiaistor</b>	<b>51 koiaistor</b>	51 <i>megas diermeneutes</i>	<b>51 logothetes ton agelon</b>	<b>51 krites tou phossatou</b>	51 <i>protonotarios</i>	<b>51 logothetes ton agelon</b>
<b>52 krites tou phossatou</b>	52 <i>logothetes tou stratiotikou</i>	52 <i>logothetes tou stratiotikou</i>	<b>52 logothetes ton agelon</b>	52 <i>akolouthos</i>	52 <i>domestikos ton teicheon</i>	<b>52 krites tou phossatou</b>	52 <i>akolouthos, that is, chourtzes</i>
<b>53 archon tou allagiou</b>	53 <i>protoierakarios</i>	53 <i>protoierakarios</i>	53 <i>akolouthos</i>	53 <i>orphanotrophos</i>	<b>53 protallagator</b>	53 <i>domestikos ton teicheon</i>	53 <i>orphanotrophos</i>

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
<b>54 protallagator</b>	54 *krites tou velou	54 *krites tou velou	54 orphanotrophos	54 protonotarios	54 vestiariou	<b>54 protallagator</b>	54 protonotarios
<b>55 megas dioiketes</b>	55 megas diermeneutes	55 megas diermeneutes	55 protonotarios	<b>55 krites tou phossatou</b>	55 stratopedarches of the monokaballoi	55 epi tou vestiariou*	<b>55 krites tou phossatou</b>
56 orphanotrophos	<b>56 logothetes ton agelon</b>	<b>56 logothetes ton agelon</b>	56 krites tou phossatou	56 epi ton anamneseon	56 stratopedarches of the mourtatoi	56 stratopedarches of the monokaballoi	56 domestikos ton teicheon
57 protonotarios	57 *dikaiohylax	57 *dikaiohylax	57 epi ton anamneseon	57 domestikos ton teicheon	57 stratopedarches of the tzakones	57 stratopedarches of the mourtatoi	57 protallagator of the monokaballoi*
58 epi ton anamneseon	58 akolouthos	58 akolouthos	58 domestikos ton teicheon	<b>58 protallagator</b>	58 stratopedarches of the tzangratores	58 stratopedarches of the tzakones	58 protallagator of the mourtatoi*
59 domestikos ton teicheon	59 orphanotrophos	59 orphanotrophos	<b>59 protallagator</b>	59 vestiariou	59 prokathemenos tou koitonos	59 stratopedarches of the tzangratores	59 protallagator of the tzakones*
<b>60 prokathemenos tou koitonos</b>	60 protonotarios	60 protonotarios	60 vestiariou	60 stratopedarches of the monokaballoi	60 prokathemenos of the Great Palace	60 prokathemenos tou koitonos	60 protallagator of the tzangratores*
<b>61 prokathemenos tou vestiariou</b>	<b>61 krites tou phossatou</b>	<b>61 krites tou phossatou</b>	61 stratopedarches of the monokaballoi	61 stratopedarches of the mourtatoi	<b>61 prokathemenos tou vestiariou</b>	<b>61 prokathemenos tou vestiariou</b>	<b>61 prokathemenos tou koitonos</b>
62 vestiariou	62 domestikos ton teicheon	62 domestikos ton teicheon	62 stratopedarches of the mourtatoi	62 stratopedarches of the tzangratores	62 prokathemenos of the Blachernai palace	62 prokathemenos of the Blachernai palace	<b>62 prokathemenos tou vestiariou</b>

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
<b>63 hetaireiarches</b>	<b>63 protallagator</b>	<b>63 protallagator</b>	63 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>tzangratores</i>	63 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>tzakones</i>	<b>63 logariastes tes aules</b>	<b>63 logariastes tes aules</b>	63, 64 <i>prokathemenoi</i> of the two palaces
<b>64 logariastes tes aules</b>	64 <i>vestiariou</i>	64 <i>vestiariou</i>	64 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>tzakones</i>	<b>64 prokathemenos tou koitonos</b>	<b>64 megas dioiketes</b>	<b>64 megas dioiketes</b>	64 [See above]
65 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>monokaballoi</i>	65 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>monokaballoi</i>	65 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>monokaballoi</i>	<b>65 prokathemenos tou koitonos</b>	<b>65 prokathemenos tou vestiariou</b>	65 <i>domestikos</i> of the Eastern themes	65 <i>domestikos</i> of the themes	<b>65 logariastes tes aules</b>
66 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>tzangratores</i>	66 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>mourtatoi</i>	66 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>mourtatoi</i>	<b>66 prokathemenos tou vestiariou</b>	<b>66 logariastes tes aules</b>	66 <i>domestikos</i> of the Western themes	66 <i>protokomes</i>	<b>66 megas dioiketes</b>
67 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>mourtatoi</i>	67 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>tzakones</i>	67 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>tzakones</i>	<b>67 logiastes tes aules*</b>	<b>67 megas dioiketes</b>	67 <i>protokomes</i>	<b>67 hetaireiarches</b>	67 <i>domestikos</i> of the themes, that is, East & West*
68 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>tzakones</i>	68 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>tzangratores</i>	68 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>tzangratores</i>	<b>68 megas dioiketes</b>	68 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Great Palace	<b>68 hetaireiarches</b>	<b>68 archon ton allagion*</b>	68 <i>protokomes</i>
69 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Great Palace	69 <i>epi ton anamneseon</i>	69 <i>epi ton anamneseon</i>	69 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Blachernai	69 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Blachernai	69 <i>megas myrtaites</i>	69 <i>megas myrtaites</i>	<b>69 hetaireiarches</b>
70 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Blachernai palace	<b>70 prokathemenos tou koitonos</b>	<b>70 prokathemenos tou koitonos</b>	70 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Great Palace	70 <i>domestikos</i> of the themes	70 <i>prokathemenos ton kastron*</i>		<b>70 archon ton allagion*</b>
71 <i>domestikos</i> of the themes	<b>71 prokathemenos tou vestiariou</b>	<b>71 prokathemenos tou vestiariou</b>	71 <i>domestikos</i> of the Eastern themes	71 <i>domestikos</i> of the Eastern themes	71 <i>droungarios tou stolou*</i>		71 <i>megas myrtaites</i>

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
72 <i>domestikos</i> of the Eastern themes	72 <i>domestikos</i> of the themes	72 <i>domestikos</i> of the themes	72 <i>domestikos</i> of the Western themes	72 <i>domestikos</i> of the Western themes	72 <i>*notarioi</i>		72, 73 two <i>prokathemenoi kastron*</i> ( <i>prokathemenoi kastron</i> )
73 <i>domestikos</i> of the Western themes	73 <i>protokomes</i>	73 <i>protokomes ton nauton*</i>	73 <i>protokomes</i>	73 <i>protokomes</i>			See above
74 <i>megas myrtaites</i>	74 <i>domestikos</i> of the Eastern themes	74 <i>domestikos</i> of the Eastern themes	74 <i>papias</i>	74 <i>papias</i>			74, 75 two <i>droungarioi tou stolou*</i>
75 <i>protokomes</i>	75 <i>domestikos</i> of the Western themes	75 <i>domestikos</i> of the Western themes	<b>75 <i>hetaireiarches</i></b>	<b>75 <i>hetaireiarches</i></b>			See above
76 <i>papias</i>	76 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Great Palace	76 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Great Palace	<b>76 <i>archon ton allagion*</i></b>	<b>76 <i>archon ton allagion*</i></b>			
77 <i>droungarios</i>	77 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Blachernai palace	77 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Blachernai palace	77 <i>megas myrtaites</i>	77 <i>megas myrtaites</i>			
78 <i>sebastos</i>	<b>78 <i>logariastes tes aules</i></b>	<b>78 <i>logistes tes aules*</i></b>	78 <i>sebastos</i>	78 <i>sebastos</i>			
79 <i>*myrtaites</i>	<b>79 <i>megas dioiketes</i></b>	<b>79 <i>megas dioiketes</i></b>	79 <i>droungarios stolou</i>	79 <i>prokathemenos kastrou*</i>			

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
80 <i>prokathemenoi poleon</i>	80 <i>*nomophylax</i>	80 <i>*nomophylax</i>	[80] <i>*aktouarios</i> who is among the doctors [unclear whether he is part of the ranking]	80 <i>droungarios stolou</i>			
[81] <i>epi tou kanikleiou</i> : rank unknown	81 <i>*vestiaritai</i>	81 <i>*vestiaritai</i>		81 <i>*komes stolou</i>			
[82] <i>megas baioulos</i> : rank unknown	<b>82 <i>hetaireiarches</i></b>	<b>82 <i>hetaireiarchai</i></b>		82 <i>*proto-nobelissimos</i>			
	<b>83 <i>archon ton allagion</i>*</b>	<b>83 <i>archon ton allagion</i>*</b>		83 <i>*nobelissimos</i>			
	84 <i>megas myrtaites</i>	84 <i>megas myrtaites</i>		84 <i>*nomophylax</i>			
	85 <i>*krites tou sekretou</i>	85 <i>*krites tou sekretou</i>		85 <i>*dikaiophylax</i>			
	86 <i>*rhabdouchoi</i>	86 <i>*rhabdouchoi</i>		86 <i>*megas protopapas</i>			
	87 <i>*kaballarios</i>	87 <i>*kaballarioi</i>		87 <i>*megas archidiakonos</i>			
	88 <i>sebastos</i>	88 <i>sebastoi (to geras ton sebaston)</i>		88 <i>*lampadarios</i>			

	89 <i>prokathemenos kastrou*</i>	89 <i>prokathemenos kastrou*</i>		89 <i>*protopsaltes</i>			
	90 <i>droungarios stolou*</i>	90 <i>droungarios tou stolou*</i>		90 <i>*maistor</i>			
	91 <i>*komes</i>						

<sup>1</sup> The list is followed by the comment: ‘One should know that [the holders of court titles] from *panhypersebastos* until *megas stratopedarches* [3–10] wear gold-red *skiadia*, those from *megas primmikerios* until *kouropalates* [11–19] wear *syrmateina skiadia*, the ones from *protovestiarites* until the end [20–end] wear *klapota skiadia*. [The holders of court titles] from the beginning until the *logothetes ton agelon* [56] wear *skaranika*, but those from the *akolouthos* [57] until the end wear red *skaranika*.’

<sup>2</sup> The list groups the holders of court titles into clusters of five (*pentades*). Comments interspersed in the text note that the title holders from the *protovestiarios* until the *megas stratopedarches* (3–10) wear gold-red *skiadia*, from *megas primmikerios* until the *protovestiarites* (11–20, that is, the third and fourth groups of five) wear *syrmateina skiadia*, and from the *domestikos tes basilikes trapezes* (21) until the end wear *klapota skiadia*.

Table V            The Hierarchy of Hats at Pseudo-Kodinos' Court

Titles	<i>Skiadion</i>	<i>Skaranikon</i>
1 despot	covered all over with pearls, with a brim bearing the name of the holder	made of gold, precious stones and pearls
2 <i>sebastokrator</i>	gold-red, <i>syrmateinon</i> , with a brim bearing the name of the holder	unknown
3 caesar		
4 <i>megas domestikos</i>	gold-red, <i>klapoton</i> , with a gold-red brim, also <i>klapoton</i>	gold-red, <i>syrmateinon</i> , with metal plaque depicting the emperor (no information is provided for the <i>panhypersebastos</i> and the <i>protovestiarios</i> )
5 <i>panhypersebastos</i>		
6 <i>protovestiarios</i>		
7 <i>megas doux</i>	gold-red, <i>klapoton</i> , without a brim	
8 <i>protostrator</i>		
9 <i>megas logothetes</i>		
10 <i>megas stratopedarches</i>		
11 <i>megas primmikerios</i>	<i>syrmateinon</i>	apricot-coloured silk, <i>syrmateinon</i> , with emperor's image 'under glass'
12 <i>megas konostaulos</i>		
13 <i>protosebastos</i>	gold-green silk, <i>syrmateinon</i>	
14 <i>pinkernes</i>	<i>syrmateinon</i>	
15 <i>kouropalates</i>		
16 <i>parakoimomenos tes sphendones</i>		
17 <i>parakoimomenos tou koitonos</i>		
18 <i>logothetes tou genikou</i>	white silk with borders	gold-white silk, <i>syrmateinon</i> , with emperor's image 'under glass'
19 <i>protovestiarites</i>	<i>klapoton</i>	
20 <i>domestikos tes trapezes</i>		
21 <i>epi tes trapezes</i>		
22 <i>megas papias</i>		
23 eparch		
24 <i>megas droungarios tes vigles</i>		gold-yellow silk, <i>syrmateinon</i> , with image of the emperor
25 <i>megas hetaireiarches</i>		
26 <i>megas chartoularios</i>		
27 <i>logothetes tou dromou</i>		
28 <i>protasekretis</i>	violet-white silk with broad <i>syrmateina</i> borders	



29 <i>epi tou stratou</i>	<i>klapoton</i>	gold-yellow silk, <i>syrmateinon</i> , with image of the emperor
30 <i>mystikos</i>	no <i>skiadion</i> mentioned	no <i>skaranikon</i> , but turban
31 <i>domestikos ton scholon</i>	<i>klapoton</i>	gold-yellow silk, <i>syrmateinon</i> , with image of the emperor
32 <i>megas droungarios tou stolou</i>		
33 <i>primmikerios tes aules</i>		
34 <i>protospatharios</i>		
35 <i>megas archon</i>		
36 <i>tatas tes aules</i>		gold-yellow silk, <i>syrmateinon</i> , with image of the emperor
37 <i>megas tzaousios</i>		
38 <i>praitor tou demou</i>		
39 <i>logothetes ton oikeiakon</i>	no <i>skiadion</i> mentioned	no <i>skaranikon</i> , but turban
40 <i>megas logariastes</i>		
41 <i>protokynegos</i>	<i>klapoton</i>	gold-yellow silk, <i>syrmateinon</i> , with image of the emperor
42 <i>skouterios</i>		
43 <i>ameralios</i>		
44 <i>epi ton deeseon</i>	no <i>skiadion</i> mentioned	no <i>skaranikon</i> , but turban
45 <i>koiaistor</i>	<i>klapoton</i>	gold-yellow silk, <i>syrmateinon</i> , with image of the emperor
46 <i>megas adnoumiastes</i>		
47 <i>logothetes tou stratiotikou</i>	no <i>skiadion</i> mentioned	no <i>skaranikon</i> , but turban
48 <i>protoierakarios</i>	<i>klapoton</i>	gold-yellow silk, <i>syrmateinon</i> , with image of the emperor
49 <i>logothetes ton agelon</i>	no <i>skiadion</i> mentioned	no <i>skaranikon</i> , but turban
50 <i>megas diermeneutes</i>	<i>klapoton</i>	red velvet, with a small tassel on top
51 <i>akolouthos</i>		
52 <i>megas dioiketes</i>		
53 <i>krites tou phossatou</i>		
54 <i>archon tou allagiou</i>		
55 <i>protoallagator</i>		
56 <i>orphanotrophos</i>		
57 <i>protonotarios</i>		
58 <i>epi ton anamneseon</i>		

59 <i>domestikos ton teicheon</i>	<i>klapoton</i>	red velvet, with a small tassel on top
60 <i>prokathemenos tou koitonos</i>		
61 <i>prokathemenos tou vestiariou</i>		
62 <i>vestiariou</i>		
63 <i>hetaireiarches</i>		
64 <i>logariastes tes aules</i>		
65 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>monokaballoi</i>		
66 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>tzangratores</i>		
67 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>mourtatoi</i>		
68 <i>stratopedarches</i> of the <i>tzakones</i>		
69 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Great Palace		
70 <i>prokathemenos</i> of the Blachernai palace		
71 <i>domestikos</i> of the themes		
72 <i>domestikos</i> of the Eastern themes		
73 <i>domestikos</i> of the Western themes		
74 <i>megas myrtaites</i>		
75 <i>protokomes</i>		
76 <i>droungarios</i>		
77 <i>sebastos</i>		
78 <i>myrtaites</i>		
79 <i>prokathemenoi poleon</i>		
80 <i>papias</i>		

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